TAW

TIRANA
ARCHITECTURE
WEEK

[Re]
appropriation of the city

**Architecture as a tool for the re-appropriation
of the contemporary city**

**Tirana Architecture Week
Scientific Conference 2012**

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[Papers]

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INFORMATION

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WELCOME NOTE

Dear Reader,
Dear participant of Tirana Architecture Week,

Thank you for joining us fir the first event of TAW 2012. I believe that all together we are making almost an historic step towards Tirana's and Albania's architecture. In addition this is also a contribution for the region of Balkans and wider on...

At present time Europe is struggling with the instability of one of the worst recessions of its own history. Europeans are tired by the lack of flexibility and rigidity of overregulated societies where nothing happens. But here in Balkans and especially in Albania, despite similar symptoms, things are still evolving. Not because of delayed projections. Indeed people here are very active, entrepreneurial spirit survives, and creativity of society is a never-ending process.

In Tirana, Albania or anywhere - as they say - in Western Balkans, we are still doing still fine, so we might have to learn but also to offer something to the rest of continent, despite our endless efforts to join EU...

This is a land of creativity where all architects and city experts feel just great: amazed, shocked, revolted, confused, enthusiastic, inspired, etc, etc. This is due to the fact that there are layers of a real self-generative city. A city built by people and communities, where there is a deep vacuum of institutions and authorities, although they try hard to manage the energies accumulated out of 4-5 decades of strict centralized society.

You will find here coexisting layers of rich architectural menu: some of the most formal architecture to the most informal one; from the real professional and contemporary one, to the most extravagant turbo-culture. But we are "forced" to live together and find ways towards a society where Architecture becomes not a sign of segregation, but a tool for giving hope to people; an instrument that builds new image and promotes
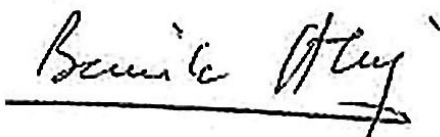
the city, a societal language that bridges consensus within society and bridges partnership with the legal system.

Let's not forget Tirana is a champion of experiment and creativity. So let's use positively such energy and open a debate that might be useful to everyone. Don't consider TAW a boring academic event. Come and make your case with us! Share your professional passion or nightmare. Confront it with Tirana: a city made by people - and get your lesson with you back home. Be extravagant and provocative. Enjoy time with us. There is not a clear recipe but there is always a solution out there to be discovered with passion and commitment.

Come join POLIS University, Co-PLAN Institute and our network of creative partners. It is not occasionally we are all together. I believe we have something in common, and that can help to educate a new generation of architects that would re-appropriate the city and its needs, including those of the real dignitary architecture. This is the point where the architect rediscovers its own place, its own space and meaning within society. This is the DNA restoration of our profession and you can help for that!

So enjoy TAW! Enjoy the Conference! Enjoy POLIS & Tirana.
We are for sure making a change!

Dr. Besnik Aliaj
Rector, POLIS University

Introduction

POLIS University launches the 1st international conference of architecture TAWC_01, as one of the key events of the Tirana Architecture Week. TAWC_01 shall take place in Tirana, from October 09 to 12, at the premises of the POLIS University. The theme of the TAWC_01 is "Re-appropriating the city: Architecture as a tool for the re-appropriation of the contemporary city". Balkan cities are at the focus of the conference's theme, looking forward to identify their position in the international platform of city performances.

Balkan cities have various unique experiences of space appropriation. Alike culture, space is also vivid and human and it is continuously transformed through a mutual process of human – space interaction.
The space for all, the one we name as public, evolves in its interaction with several users. The users are the people, but from an ecological point of few, this could include other species, thus increasing the complexity of space appropriation. All in all, this would be a healthy space appropriation. In Balkan cities, we have been witnessing plenty of devastating intrusions to the public space, made by privileged groups that just "grabbed the opportunity" in a given political and social economic setting.

These intrusions have undermined the human-space healthy balances, by resulting in space capture. The latter has been extremely severe in the Balkan context of shifting from dictatorial to democratic societies, where the concept "space for all" was evilly manipulated into "space for my business". This "laissez faire" psychology was justified with the "need for transition to real capitalism", endorsement of consumerist ideologies and quick removal of legacies of the past, including fractions of social responsibility. Thus, the one that used to be the space for all was taken

over for personal, narrow and selfish interests of the strongest, or the fittest.

Having recognised that, we also observe not to be free as yet of these unhealthy takings that often stand behind the well known business. Thus, we identify a need for getting space back to the public and also maintaining the healthy interactions. In our Balkan context, space appropriation has to enter a "[re]" phase, which encompasses processes of [re]claiming, [re]evaluating, [re]arranging, [re]using, re]building, [re]shaping, [re]modelling, and at last [re]understanding and [re]developing space as a place of all.

Re-appropriation of space in the city stands for a known method, but reversed model, fed into daily practices.

The aim of the TAWC_01 is to support a fertile debate on city/public space re-appropriation. The debate should disclose reasons behind the facts and bring innovative knowledge and tools for achieving reappropriation. Professionals, academics, students and a broad public could participate and try to define, conceptually and physically public spaces, as a fundamental element in re-appropriating the contemporary city.

Architects, urban planners, designers, experts in sustainability issues and space psychology are invited to share their experiences, their knowledge and inspiration, cases from world cities and other useful insights. The contributions would at last provide a solid basis for Balkan cities in the endeavour towards sound and healthy re-appropriation.

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GÖKÇEADA: THE FIRST CITTASLOW ISLAND IN BALKAN REGION

ABSTRACT

Our present era is called "age of globalization, speed and consumption". This understanding is affected societies in our world from small villages to the large metropolitan areas. Besides advantages such as economic, social and cultural circulation and variation, this approach caused to extinction of "vernacular". Today, it become an important issue to preserve the historic, cultural and social values of places and improving the quality of life in towns while resisting "the fast-lane, homogenized" world. Also we should re-understand the relation between nature, species and people who share the same place. Cittaslow movement which is founded in italy in 1999, is against the 'fast' life style, try to preserve towns' cultural, natural and social values and re-established the bonds between them. The most important aspect in cittaslow town is liveability. Liveability depends on how easy a place is to use, and how it feels. It depends not only socio-cultural dimensions but also physical attributes of the built environment such as morphology, form, layout, amenities and architecture of a town.This movement has expanded rapidly and there are currently 147 cit-

taslow towns in 24 countries are officially accredited. On June, 2011; Gokçeada, is an island in the Aegean Sea and the largest island of Turkey, part of Çanakkale, located at the entrance of Saros Bay, has been named world's first cittaslow island by cittaslow international coordination committee. Also it is first example in Balkan region.

In this study, Gokçeada is selected as a case study of a cittaslow movement. First, given detailed information about the cittaslow movement's understanding, its goals and background information about island and then focus on more specifically Gokçeada as a cittaslow island. Besides emphasize cultural, agricultural and economical point of view, architectural values of the island is important because we can see different culture's built environments (muslim and orthodox).In this context, also highlight the term of 'sustainability' and understanding the importance for healthy societies, productive environment and livable towns.

1   INTRODUCTION

Throughout history urbanization has been perceived as the indicator of economic and social development. Cities have been considered as habitats where education and literacy rates increase, healthy environments are created and access to social services, cultural, political and religious activities is easy. As mechanisms assuring growth and the evolution of civilization, cities are helping the development of knowledge, culture, traditions, commerce and industry (United Nations, 2006). But today cities are affected by the rapid growth of population. According to the statistics introduced by the United Nations Habitat Conference (2006), in the year of 2006 half of the world's population was living in cities and it is anticipated that this rate will have increased to % 57 by the year 2020 (Yılmaz, 2008). The over-crowdedness of cities and globalization which has marked this century, has precipitated the increase in pace and consumption and this led to the degradation in the quality of living. Despite the advantages of this life style such as the increase in economics, social and cultural circulation and a more diverse population, it has been seen that this diversity was slowly dissolving the local and regional life styles. Also this rapid development destroy the vernacular both architectural and cultural point of view. New life style needs different places from the vernacular ones. Cittaslow is both aiming a more sophisticated life style and preserving the characteristic values of that area with respect to

traditional architecture.

1.1 The Definition of Slow and the Slow Food Movement

The concept of slow and the manifests related to this term have been introduced decades ago however; it was the Slow Food Movement what has led masses be interested in this concept. Actually "slowness" is an indicator of dissatisfaction towards the rapidness of life and a reaction against the decrease in life quality due to higher speed (Radström, 2005). The defenders of slowness indicate that we could live better when we consume, produce and work in a more decent speed; because a fast living lifestyle life is superficial as details are overlooked and we have an impatient attitude. When we are in a hurry, everything happens or is perceived shallowly and the individual can't constitute a real connection with the world and the people around him.

Founded by Carlo Petrini at Bra, Italy in 1989, the Slow Food Movement intends to preserve local products, especially cuisine, and highlight and maintain cultural connections related to these cuisines. Honoré (2008) has described Slow Food Movement as follows: "As reflected in its name, this movement represent whatever McDonald's isn't: fresh local season products, recipes transferred from generations to generations, sized farming, farmer products and having a pleasant meal with friends and family". By the year 2000 the Slow Food Movement had over 40.000 members from 35 countries and had spread rapidly around the world as an example of ecological and agricultural sustainability. The three words in the official web site of the Slow Food Movement "good, clean and fair" give a clue of how food culture should be. According to this understanding food should be convenient to local culture, should have a good taste and aroma, should be produced with clean technologies that don't harm environment, animals or people, farmers should earn enough money and work in fair conditions and consumers should reach these products by paying reasonable prices (Cingöz, 2010).

The Slow Food Movement intends to find almost forgotten and hard to cook cuisines and to establish a well-earned place in the global market for these cuisines. It is helping small-scaled producers to connect to each other and overcome bureaucratic obstacles. Carlo Petrini, the pioneer of the Slow Food Movement, emphasized that this movement wasn't against globalization; on the contrary, it was standing for a more virtuous globalization. Traditional cuisine should be du-

rable, thus use the latest technology to reach markets overseas and this need to have familiarity overseas, in other words, to provide recognition, is an important component of "virtuous globalization".

The Slow Food Movement aims the consumers to reach exported products as much as defending and spreading local products and the culture they create. The important point here is to ensure equality both to exported and local products and to educate the consumer to reach a consciousness to know which one to choose. Therefore, another significant criterion in this movement is to constitute this consciousness among people about the products.

1.2 Cittaslow (Slowcity) Movement

"International Network of cities where living is easy", shortly Cittaslow, is a movement founded in Italy which was inspired by the Slow Food Movement. Its manifest, which included the Slow Food Movement, was constituted by Bra, Greve-in-chianti, Orvieto and Positano mayors in Toscana, Italy in 1999 to offer a better quality lifestyle in a city. Cittaslow is a movement which emerged to prevent globalization to standardize the texture of cities, its people and lifestyle and to perish its local characteristics.

The Cittaslow Manifest has 59 criteria under 6 main topics and emphasizes that living up to its traditions and in a more humanitarian way without rejecting modern life is possible for cities with a population of 50.000 or less. As a architectural point of view, cittaslow respect the traditional architecture and is prevent to the modern life places like huge shopping malls. For these places liveability is the key aspect. Liveability depends on how easy a place is to use, and how it feels. It depends not only socio-cultural dimensions but also physical attributes of the built environment such as morphology, form, layout, amenities and architecture of a town. Knox and Mayer (2009) define liveability like that

> For most small towns, both the physical and the sociocultural dimensions of liveability are inherited characteristics, hewn from history and the regional cultural landscape. The particular 'feel' of a town is a product of its size, geographic location, climate, underlaying topography, street plan, building materials, and architectural style.(Knox and Mayer, 2009; p: 67)

Cittaslow movement's main topics are "Environmental Legislations", "Infrastruc

ture Policies", "Urban Quality", "Local Products", Hospitality" and "Knowledge".

1.2.1. Environmental Legislations

This topic generally handles the rules to be followed to prevent air, water and light pollution. Besides composting solid wastes, generating alternative energy sources, avoiding vandalism (unpermitted advertising), fulfilling standards like ISO 9001, ISO 14000 and obtaining participation to existing projects like Agenda 21.

1.2.2. Infrastructure Policies

Planning a city mainly constitutes of topics related to common areas. Some of these legislations include construct play gardens, green areas, water closets and walking areas used by the public and designing these areas to be suitable for disabled users. Creating areas open to public and primary to pedestrians is identified as an individual topic as studies are carried out to minimize vehicle traffic. These topics especially aim to increase pedestrians in a city not only around historical sites, but also using the city publicly as a whole. Besides, having a public relations office where citizens can provide their suggestions about a better urban life, can allow the administration and the citizens to have closer relationships and to communicate with one another. Finally, to customize working hours in a city according to fulfil the people's desires and needs is another subtitle. Customizing working hours will also provide working people to have more time for themselves.

1.2.3. Urban Quality

This topic includes items developed to protect cultural and historical values starting with the historical buildings and the overall texture in a city. Other than that, systems needed to provide the citizens an easy and good lifestyle were emphasized; including: regularly picking up wastes, to have a broad internet connection, precautions for theft and regulating alarm sound levels and creating bigger green areas for general public use.

1.2.4. Local Products

Protecting local production, sustaining local economy and saving local identity

and culture are what is needed to be done. The most significant one among these is local products. Stock counting local products annually, selling these products in places where customers can reach them easily, educating people on organic agriculture, legislating regulations about the quality of restaurants and cafeteria, organizing education programmes on local traditions, tasting and traditional gastronomy and making sure that everybody knows what Presidia-[1]products are, are among the significant topics. Furthermore, organizing events to increase the familiarity of regional and cultural events, protecting regional products and hand works and having subsidies to sustain production are among other important topics.

1.2.5. Hospitality

This criterion is mostly about how to lure tourists to the city and how to serve them best. First of all, there must be a well-designed guide for tourists and this guide should have information on how they can carry out a slow sightseeing. There must be tourism information offices from where tourists can acquire these guides and the staff working in these offices should be well-trained. Apart from that, there should be national and international businesses with a corporate identity and false or in adequate advertisements of local businesses should be prevented. Especially prices in the restaurants working mostly with tourists should have some standards. During local events, necessary organizations should be made concerning easy transportation and a secure car park must be arranged near the city.

The last issue under this topic is to create the necessary plans to ensure the development of the Cittaslow. Although this seems like an uncertain point, generally the aim here is to encourage the development of the values specific to that region and its local identity.

1.2.6. Familiarity

This last part is generally about informing the public about Cittaslow, creating a consciousness about its benefits and acting according to it. Informing the public about the events in the city by the local authorities, using the Cittaslow logo in official correspondences, making sure that the announcements about the events related to this movement can get through to everyone and having a special sec

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1   *The Presidia are projects that involve food communities in safeguarding native breeds, plant varieties and food Products*

tion in the official website promoting the activities carried out under the context of the movement, are identified as activities enhancing familiarity. Publishing articles about Cittaslow in the local media, providing financial support to improve the movement and asking opinions and ideas from local business owners about Cittaslow activities and creating new programmes, are other activities under this topic to enhance familiarity even more.

Under these topics it is aimed to create a more sustainable daily life for the public by making sharp decisions in communication, transportation, hospitality, consumption, commerce and administration. To achieve these goals the Cittaslow characteristics could be summarized as follows:

- To have a population under 50.000 is indicated as the most suitable population density in order to carry out and achieve these characteristics productively.
- Planning Cittaslow cities are primarily pedestrian-based. Plus, adopting Slow Food principles is an important criterion.
- Actually to have geographically and culturally different cities in a system with their own local identities and differences and to let them declare these differences to the world influentially is only possible by the use of technology and this leads to constitute strong ties between cities.
- Slow has two different meanings whether it's seen locally or globally. Locally Cittaslow and Slow Food have an understanding to protect local products and cuisine and to cherish the identity these products have created. Globally Slow tends to constitute a system that leads their identities and culture to be recognized all over the world.

To become a member of Cittaslow provides not only a better life quality to the people of that city, but also enables the city to develop economically. Whilst it has an understanding that supports regional products and production, it helps economic growth and increases prosperity.

Tunç Soyer, the Mayor of Turkey's first Cittaslow city, Seferihisar, explains the importance of the Cittaslow Movement:

> "The logic behind Cittaslow is to preserve the values of your city or town, to make them part of your soul and to offer it to other people around the world. Even though at first glance it is perceived as a touristic purpose, in reality its content is rather extensive. It includes a makeover of your city

from A to Z. Your architecture, sensitivity towards environment, culture and economy, all are parts of a big puzzle. You are creating a new brand, an identity with all this. Besides, this is a long-lasting, never to end journey. Maybe at first change will be visual, but actually we, the people are going to change. Our point of view, our perception about the area we live in will change. This will be a nice legacy to the coming generations" (Pala, 2010;80)

2. General Information about Gökçeada and The Cittaslow Criteria

Gökçeada is in the west end of Turkey and has an area of 279 square kilometres. With a population of 8.672, the island is located in the Northern part of the Aegean Sea (Fig 1). The most important characteristic of the island is that it accommodates two different cultural roots: Muslim and Orthodox. Gökçeada has committed to adapt all six issues stated above alongside his own values. The island has undertaken rapid development since 2011 and the completed and planned studies are expressed here under in several topics.

Figure 1: *Photos of Gökçeada (Mutdoğan, 2012).*

2.1. Environmental Legislations

The most significant issue among these studies are the examinations of the potential renewable energy sources and making the necessary investments. The first one is the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Global Environment Facility Fund supported "Tempting the Use of Clean and Renewable Energy Sources in Gökçeada with Solar Energy Illumination Systems" project prepared by Gökçeada Tourism, Publicity, Preservation and Development Association. As a result of this project, the lighting system of a park located in Cumhuriyet Square has been changed to photovoltaic street lights. The technical supervisor of this project was Aegean University Solar Energy Institute (Gefsgp, 2011).

The second important investment on renewable energy sources in the island

is establishing a wind farm. Ağaoğlu Group has started constructing Gökçeada Wind Farm in 2012. It is planned to have a capacity of 78 MW (Sabah Gazetesi, 2012).

2.2. Infrastructure Policies

Studied related to the reconstruction of the existing communal areas have started and projects supported by experts to ensure a more comfortable and quality time have been carried out. These are: Harput Mosque Landscape Design Project, Kaleköy Coast Landscape and Urban Design Project, Değirmen and Countryside Wedding Area Landscape Design Study (Fig 2), Zeytinliköy Dam Picnic Site Project, Gökçeada Square Urban Design Project and Bademli Village Recreation Area Landscape Construction (Gökçeada Municipality, 2012). Besides these urban projects, some important practices come into force such as some roads closed to traffic in town between specific hours. Also there are studies on encouraging the use of bicycles in the city and mountain biking outside the city. Informing the public and making them a part of the project is another important
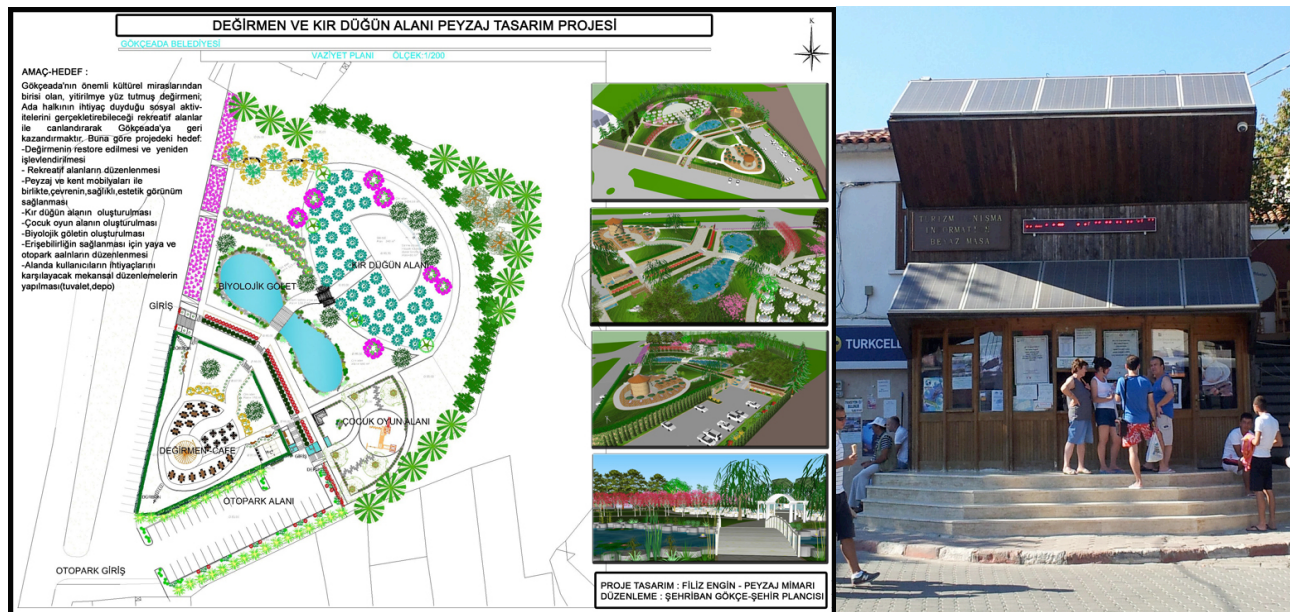
Figure 2: *Değirmen and Countryside Wedding Area Landscape Design (Gökçeada Municipality, 2012).*
Figure 3: *White desk (information office) in Gökçeada city center. (Mutdoğan, 2012)*

criterion here. A white desk unit has been created on the website and in the city center (Fig 3). With the help of white desk link on internet, island inhabitants are able to reach any information they like and can submit their suggestions and complaints. White desk office in city center work as a information desk for tourist so you can take any information you need about the island. Other impor-

tant thing about white desk building is about energy consumption. The building has photovoltaic panels on the roof so it can produce its own energy. It is very important that the public embraces the Cittaslow project and adapts to this lifestyle. The major, conscious of this issue, regularly holds informative seminars on Cittaslow and its criteria.

2.3. Urban Quality

The most important subtitle in this criterion is preserving historical sites and opening them to touristic use. First of all, the natural, cultural and historical values of Gökçeada were listed by Çanakkale Onsekiz March University. Furthermore, Gökçeada Central Bazaar and Fish Market have been reconstructed coherent to its historical and cultural structure and the archaeological excavation studies on Yenibademli Mound which is identified as 5.000 years old, stretching to the Bronz Age, have been started by the supervision of Hacettepe University. Creating green areas for a more beautiful city is also considered under this criterion. According to this, landscape studies have been carried out by planting olive trees and rosebays in and outside the city.

Besides these applications, it is also important to preserve the traditional architecture (houses, mosque and churches). In Gökçeada there are 10 villages (both Turkish and Greek) and some of the villages' architectural heritage protected by law (Fig 4). Although a few people live in some villages, in summer time some of the inhabitants come and stay for a while.

Figure 4*: Some photos from Gökçeada villages (Mutdoğan, 2012)*

2.4. Local Products

The most important criterion of the Slow Food Movement, preserving and developing local production, possesses a significant role in Cittaslow, too. Gökçeada

has started to take some precautions to protect its values it had even before becoming a Cittaslow island. Gökçeada has been announced as an Organic Island and organic agriculture certification studies have started since. The European Union Project "Learning Organic Life in an Island" was carried out with the partnership of Sardinia Island Mandas Municipality, İtaly between 2008 and 2009. With this project local community and farmers were introduced to organic agriculture and agro-tourism. While you are visiting Gökçeada, you can see lots of shops which sell organic and local products such as vine (Barba Yorgo, Nusret Bey), desert(Efi Badem), olive oil, organic yogurt etc... (Fig 5).

Fig 5: *Some local shops (Mutdoğan, 2012)*

Besides, to identify Gökçeada Gastronomy, Gökçeada Municipality carried out a verbal history project and came across 94 traditional Gökçeada recipes and products in association with Slow Food Convivium and Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University in 2006. Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University Gökçeada Applied Sciences Academy Gastronomy Department regularly holds taste and nutrition trainings to local adults and children and introduces them to the Slow Food philosophy. The International Terra Madre (Mother Earth) Day first started by the Slow Food International has been celebrated in the island since 2010. The Slow Market Project started by Cittaslow International in 2011 has been launched in Gökçeada the same year.

The Gökçeada Organic Agriculture Festival is being held since 2009. Studies have started to launch a National Eco-Gastronomy Symposium starting from 2012. The schools in the island have switched to Slow Canteen to ensure a healthy nutrition. By creating natural product sale centres and public bazaars, it was intended to meet both the producers and the consumers.

2.5. Hospitality

Here it is aimed to improve tourism. The climate and wind rates of Gökçeada makes it a suitable holiday location for windsurfers. The island wasn't a attractive location for tourists because of the comparatively cooler climate in summer but with the improvements in surfing tourism, more and more tourists have

started coming to the island (Fig 6). Besides surfing, agro-tourism has also improved in the island. Agro-tourism regards cultural differences and preserving the nature as significant and aims to both offer urban inhabitants from big cities a holiday where they can meet nature friendly people and cultures and provide economical advancements in the countryside by supplying financial support to the island inhabitants (Sabah Gazetesi, 2011).

Fig 6: *Beaches for windsurfing in Gökçeada (Mutdoğan, 2012).*

The restaurants in the island have been reorganized for the tourists, too. Restaurants were guided to use natural, organic and local products particular to Gökçeada and food and beverage prices were listed in a place where everyone can see. The restaurants adapting the Slow Food philosophy were certified and these certifications were placed where the customers can see easily.

Several studies were carried out to train the employees about tourism. Gökçeada Municipality is holding training programmes on local products, taste and hospitality to local inhabitants and producers in association with Gokçeada Slow Food Convivium. Furthermore, restaurant employees are trained on traditional island cuisine by Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University Gökçeada Applied Sciences Academy Gastronomy Department (Gökçeada Municipality, 2012).

The Gökçeada Gastronomy Museum is intended to be opened in 2012 both to accelerate tourism and to let local products reach even more people. Moreover, Gökçeada icons like Imroz Sheep and Ladolia Olives were taken under protection and are being promoted. Traditional Island Tavern, Slow Farm and Gastronomy Bank are projects to be completed in 2012 by the Gökçeada Slow Food Convivium . (Dünya Gıda, 2012)

2.6. Knowledge / Familiarity

Written documents and websites have been prepared to promote Cittaslow and all the activities listed above. Moreover, promotional TV programmes have been shot. Studies carried out under this section aimed both the inhabitants of the island to reach up to date information and other people in Turkey to get informed easily.

In island there is a local newspaper which published every month, also give some information and opinion about cittslow movement.

3. CONCLUSION

Cittaslow Movement has spread to different continents in the world and was embraced by the people of Gökçeada because it improves life quality economically, socially and culturally. Cittaslow has three main principles. These are using technology to improve the quality of living, protecting old values, culture, traditions and cuisines and finally doing the things above by protecting the environment. The success of Cittaslow lies behind achieving these three principles in a balanced way.

Actually, except from the big cities, Turkey has a community that already is strongly connected to its traditions, maintains its regional cultures and is devoted to its soil and culture. Therefore it is known that the Cittaslow principle on preserving cultural values and traditional cuisine is intentionally followed by the local inhabitants. If some values are disappearing in some regions the reasons are financial problems and migration. By increasing their financial status and promoting local production in these cities via Cittaslow will help the region to prosper and increase its population.

Gökçeada is an island that has preserved its values for a long time. The reasons behind slow development and migration were the difficulties in transportation. The main trouble was the lack of sea bus and car ferry rides which were limited to several rides a week and none in worse weather conditions but the airport that opened this year eased this situation. Besides, by entering the Cittaslow network it turned into a more habitable island and had the opportunity to promote itself internationally.

As a architectural point of view, traditional architectural examples are protected by local inhabitants and by law. It is a important to preserve and connect to bond with tradition and local identity. Although some inhabitants leave their house and live in another city, they protect their houses.

To create human-spaced healthy balances in the Balkan region, Cittaslow is the most appropriate understanding. This understanding equals to steps that can create more habitable and sustainable settlements.

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Universal space in dwelling and methods of its spatial, functional and structura analysis

ABSTRACT

Composition and spatial organization of the dwelling can vary due to the multiple factors, such as economical, climatical, cultural etc., but the functional organization of dwelling through all the times is defined by basic human activities. Universal dwelling can be based on this principle – every space inside can easy change its function. As soon as dwelling can not be seen without its inhabitant, it is important to evaluate, how the structure is corresponding towards his constantly changing needs, and how to find the most effective and reasonable way of those adaptation. Construction of the universal dwelling brings it to the other level of sustainability – house spaces can be used more effectively by the users, and establishing of a new living activity will not need any additional material, time and finance resources. The work starts from the brief explanation of the term „universality" regarding to the dwelling spatial unit – the room. Universal space in dwelling is a space, which can potentially fit any of the living activities without significant changes. It is „multi-use" and „undefined" space, and all the rooms of dwelling have equal possibility to host one of the living functions. Uni-

versality in use can be achieved by several techniques – by creating the spaces with equal size, access, similar spatial qualities. Each of it has one result – each space, or dwelling itself can be inhabited in different ways, which makes all of them universal. Second part is devoted to the methods of evaluation of universality in dwelling. The living unit and its subdivided spaces – rooms – are the objects of analysis. Space is analyzed according to its geometrical properties (perimeter configuration, openings, size), circulation, construction, possibility to be divided/united, functional infilling – the amount and character of „places", representing activities, which can be hold potentially in it, relation to the environment and surroundings, the position of the dwelling unit in the structure of the whole building. The final part is a trial test of the several case studies in order to illustrate the appearance of universality in dwelling and to give an examples of this type of space.

Key WORDS: HOUSING, FLEXIBILITY, UNIVERSALITY, SPACE EVALUATION

INTRODUCTION

The problem of housing design can be approached from different points of view. From one side, the house is reflection of people, who are living in it. The inner space is defined by their activities, it is changing together with the growth of family, or together with changing lifestyles of its members. Also in contemporary households singles are about one third of the households. Nowadays there are less families with the traditional lifestyle connected with the idea of having a house for generations, the place of habitation can be changed together with changing of a job, and people are becoming less dependent from one place. There is also a big percentage of rental housing, and one living can change its occupants very often.

The other approach to housing is economy. Most of the homes are designed without any knowledge about their future owner. Moreover, some of the constructions supposed not to have determined commercial, residential, trade or any other function. During 20 century the modernism architecture had tendency to create several housing typologies, and each of them aimed to host specified living activities. So, any house had bigger and smaller spaces, which size was regulated by standards. Even the construction of building often was derived from those rooms. The pattern of housing typologies was created by one, two, three etc – room residential unit, and each of them had similar structure of kitchen, living room, bathroom and bedrooms. The sizes of spaces were changing with time, but inside of the unit there was no possibility to switch the function from room to room. Nowadays the design tendency is moved to the concept of spaces, which the client must solve on his own. The house has not a functional program

any more, but it can have a number of undefined spaces, where it is possible to bring in any living or working processes for different periods of time. The aim of architecture moved from functional design, which actually has shorter lifetime in reality, to the design of building structures, which have itself much longer lifetime and should be universal in use. At the same time the building structure and its spatial subdivisions should be rational, because it is reflected to the total costs of house, which is equally important both for developer and client.

The aspect of changing human behavior with unpredictable living situations also is defining the house structure to be more adaptable to the occasional short-time activities.

All these points are directly connected to the sustainability and ecology. The possibility of building to be used differently without any spatial changes means having the minimal spends of resources during the each action of change. Also to have such a space, which potentially can be used in multiple ways reduces demands for construction of infinite amounts of specified units. Division between lifetimes of supporting structures with materials with longer durability and the temporary partitions, which lifetime can be defined just by activities currently taking place in, construction of the multi-use spaces can increase the ecological qualities of dwelling and minimize the waste of materials. Also sustainability rises with the rising of social quality. The place starts to be suitable for longer periods of occupation by the same owner, the community becomes more stable, which improves the social atmosphere of the place.

Design challenge for the universal spatial unit has to deal with all these approaches – it aims to create a space with higher social, ecological, economical benefits taking in consideration the changing human behavior.

DEFINITION OF UNIVERSALITY IN DWELLING. UNIVERSALITY IN THEORIES OF SPACE.

Universality in housing deals with possibility of dwelling to be adapted to the changing living activities without touching the inner structure of unit. In universal dwelling any space potentially should host all possible actions, therefore it is important to define primarily all range of them. There can be thousands different activities vary from age, culture, profession and habits of the occupants, bit for the evaluation of universality it is necessary to establish the basic ones, the primary activities of human life. Bernard Leupen proposes 6 basic activities: working, sleeping, eating, cooking, bathing and getting together. Each of these functions requires a specific space and also each has different importance for the human life. If we lok at the character of spaces, which are needed, the activity of bathing and cooking are the only ones, which require specially installed

equipments, which means, that these activities are performed in specialized space with determined function. The activity of bathing takes approximately 4% of the day time, meanwhile the sleeping is about 30%. From the 6 basic activities the position of "bathing" is fixed, and the other can be held in different places, which excludes it from the list of basic ones, which are needed for the universality evaluation.

Herman Hertzberger develops a concept of polyvalent space – the form, which is static and permanent, but could be put in different uses without structural interventions. Polyvalence in this context related to the interchangeability of activities between the rooms.

Universality of dwelling means, that there are several spaces in living unit, which can be inhabited in different way. Universality of the whole is a combination of universalities of several or even just of one unit. According to B. Leupen minimal dimensions for the social space in house are 4x4 m, which gives a certain degree of universality – every space with such size can potentially have this function, and if there are more, than one of such spaces in unit, that means, that the functions can be exchanged between those spaces.

Spaces can be analyzed also from social and cultural positions. J. Hanson proposes in any housing system to give importance to the analysis of relations – connections between spaces and configuration – the way, how the system of space is related together in one pattern. Social and cultural conditions bring also some specific requirements to spaces and the way, how it could be approached. Hanson describes the categories of differentiation and relativity in dwelling spaces – these qualities refer to the possibility of space to acquire particular social activities. Differentiation refers to the extent, to which particular functions are assumed unambiguously to specific space within the home. Some spaces can be associated only with specific activities, meanwhile neutral, or multifunctional spaces can contain any activity.

Mies van der Rohe describes universal space as long-span single-volume enclosure, the kind of space, which can house a wide variety of uses ranging from industry to transport, sports and leisure activities, the space, which can be modeled to suit almost any user requirements. If we speak about the universality in dwelling, the size of the space is much smaller, basic living activities are defined, and the dwelling unit is already subdivided into permanent spatial elements – rooms. The task of defining the universality comes to evaluation of the rooms qualities. Designing a house, the architect proposes just a potential environment, and only the inhabitant transforms it into the effective one. The aim of the universal spaces design is to make this transformation fast, simple and with minimal efforts and loses.

METHODS OF EVALUATION OF UNIVERSALITY IN DWELLING.

Dwelling itself is a very complex structure including not only the physical space, where people live, but also multiple social, cultural and behavioral factors. Dwelling is a space, where different activities take place, therefore in dwelling analysis it is important to take in consideration not only the physical properties of the dwelling unit and its partition elements, but also the meaning of these spaces referring to the cultural and social background of inhabitants.

If we speak about the universal dwelling unit, we must overlook at the qualities of spaces combining it. Dwelling can be partially universal, if several or even just one of the subdivision units of it are universal, which means, that they can host potentially each of the 5 basic living activities (working, sleeping, eating, cooking and getting together). Even the rooms itself can have the degree of universality regarding to the number of functions it can have.

Dwelling itself is not a closed object, it is always developed in the correspondence with environment. For the understanding and evaluation of the structure of living unit it is important to look at the external factors affecting to it. The internal organization of the dwelling unit influences to the properties of its rooms, as soon as the infilling of the room itself represents the potential activities.

In semiotics space is analyzed as a connection or relationship between the objects filling it. Space is understood as a background, a context, stage, where the objects can be perceived. Josef Brent explains, that the way, how objects are arranged in space, the quality, or the nature of the objects themselves, the potential uses of the object and its relationship with people define the potential meaning of space.

Even the object of analysis is dwelling itself, there several scales of analysis. Primarily it relates to the idea of environmental levels – the steps of building design proposed by J. Habraken. For the dwelling unit analysis the levels could be: the urban block, dwelling unit itself, room, room infilling (place). In this scheme the room is the main object to determine the universality in use, but the other layers shold clarify and complete the justification. Each layer has a set of criteria, such as environmental, constructive, geometrical properties, accessibility and diversification, which are applicable consequently from one layer to another. Depending on the layer the importance of any criteria in relation to universality in use can change. Some of criteria can work independently and be objective and rational, some points of evaluation can not be measured by rational procedures, because they have direct relation to the human nature of behavior, social and cultural background. It is also important to evaluate some position within the interconnection with higher and lower levels.

Environmental factors have direct relation to the position of the unit in space

and its connection to the other ones, orientation of the unit and the character of surroundings. Orientation towards north/south is one of the key points in design of dwelling. Some spaces have no specific requirement within the orientation and room arrangements, but several specialized spaces can be placed only according restrictions of accessibility, insolation, orientation towards north, ventilation, relation with external environment. Interior spaces can be justified primarily by needs of natural light and insolation time, which will create the hierarchy of restrictions: from the service spaces, which doesn't require natural light to enlightened ones (living rooms, bedrooms, cabinets, studios) and to the spaces with the necessary minimal time of direct sunlight (living rooms, bedrooms). It exists the tendency to orient living spaces to the south, meanwhile bedrooms are preferred to have less sunlight, but natural lighting is a crucial factor for holding any living activity except cooking. The places with long-term activities are preferred to be oriented towards better views. Having the space, which is opened to good view, can not be related directly with definition of universality, but it gives advantage to such space to be chosen by inhabitant. At the same time, public or private character of the space, which is attached to the unit borders, provides some social limitation of its use - several spaces can not contact directly to the public areas. In the cases of corridor or gallery dwelling organization, when one side of the unit is always faced to public spaces, the exterior orientation defines the potential of inner space to be adapted. Places, which are oriented directly to the public areas, are less suitable for application of more intimate daily activities, such as sleeping, but at the same time they are preferred for the socially oriented activities, such as working (the case of the home office) or getting together.

Factors of diversity and repetition characterize the appearance of the analyzed unit in a whole system, which is related to the number of functions, that can correspond with it. The bigger is the difference between rooms in dwelling or the variety of living units in building, the greater would be specialization of each of the spatial units. From the other side, repetition of similar element shows its potential to house different activities, The position of the unit in relation to the whole system shows its potential to have different activities.

Circulation system has direct relation to the privacy of spaces. If the space has only one entrance, it becomes more private, than the space with a passage through it. According to J. Hanson, there are some social and cultural limitations for the most private spaces, such as bedrooms, which means, that rooms, which have 2 points of access can not have this function, which makes them less universal. On the level of the dwelling unit the situation could be opposite – having 2 points of access can make the subdivided spaces more independent, differentiate private and public zones and make the unit more flexible. The physical

length of the path from the entrance point to the unit is important – the more near the space is positioned towards the entrance, more public it could be.

Geometrical properties of the unit, such as size and perimeter, are easier to be measured and compared. To establish a true measure of the universality of spatial unit, it could be compared with the accepted housing standards. Even the standards differ from one country to another, it is possible to find the intermediate numbers and evaluate the potential universality of dwelling, room or place. B. Leupen proposes 16 sq.m room as a minimal space, where people can get together, which mean, that it potentially can fit any of 5 activities. Also in the system of whole dwelling unit it is important to have an extra room, which in future could be transformed according to the needs of dwellers. For the monofunctional place the first attempt to define the universal size of it was done in 1950 by Le Corbusier. He proposed a living unit with dimensions 2.26x2.26x2.26m, "alveolar volume" – "a container of men, cellular volume, which allows a great variety in composition". The unit was understood as container, which could hold only one function – bed, table, kitchen etc. Those containers could be attached to each other in order to create infinite number of layouts.

Perimeter configuration defines the structure of infilling. Spaces with the same area, but with different proportions of sides can provide different layout and different character and number of activities. Spaces with sides related in proportion 1:1 – 1:2 can be used more efficiently and more universal, than longer and narrow ones, where the huge part of the floor will be used for circulation. Also there are some physical limitations: too narrow spaces make rooms impossible to bring in it some living activities, which usually require bigger space and used at the same time by bigger groups of people – for example the spaces for communication and gathering, or master bedrooms.

Openings, such as doors and windows, can be evaluated within the correspondence with the inner layout of the room. These features have rational meaning, such as providing of the access onto the space, or providing in it the natural lighting. Also there are some socio-psychological factors, such as visibility and control of space.

Hanson distinguishes several types of by usability – use-spaces, transitions and architectural spaces. "Use-spaces" are normally simple square or rectangular rooms, which are aggregated together and linked by a circulation system of long thin rectangular transitions, that are defined by exterior wall surfaces of rooms. The other type of spatial organization is "architectural space", which takes form as more fluid, articulated "open-plan" shape, made up of several convex spaces, which differentiate activities and occupations from areas intended for circulation and movement, but without separating them by walls. Even in "open-plan" room circulation spaces are implied. It can be understood by analyzing the pos-

sible layout of space – with furnishing will appear clear division for the circulation space and living.

The constructive system of dwelling defines the character of inner subdivisions by the type and density of supporting elements. This concept relates also to the three spatial categories proposed by anthropologist Edward Hall in his research within the theory of semiotics of space. He divides the spatial types according to the cultural treatment of space. "Fixed feature space" is formed by walls and territorial boundaries, it is a space within the stable frame. "Semi-fixed features" are movable elements – movable walls, curtains, different furniture arrangements, screens. This refers to the concept of flexibility, where the emphasize made on the possibility of different layouts, which can be transformed relatively easy and fast. The third category is "informal or dynamic space", when person varies the spatial features of his surroundings – the space without the frame, space with changeable borders. Universality is primarily related to the permanent spaces, but the character and density of constructive frame defines the potential changeability of the spatial layout. Together with the evaluation of the space size it shows the possibility of spatial units to be united or divided in order to provide the sufficient space. The solidity of the constructive elements characterizes the potential of layout to be reorganized.

Functional program of the dwelling unit and the function of each room can be evaluated by distribution and combination of "places" in it. Spaces, which are already combining several programs, vacant spaces, multiple repetitive spaces without any defined function can be potentially universal.

CASE STUDIES SELECTION

The projects described below are selected because of their unusual spatial organization. All three examples based on the same concept – the inner layout of the dwelling is organized by repetition of only one spatial unit, which demonstrates, that each of the 5 basic living activities can be applied to the any room. The analysis of spaces with equal size allows to understand the importance of irrational factors, such as circulation, environment and structural organization in creating of the universal space.

VILLA V BEROUNE, HŠH ARCHITEKTI, CZECH REPUBLIC.

Villa in Beroun was designed in 2001 by Czech architects Petr Hájek, Tomáš Hradečný and Jan Šépka for the Pszczolka family and realized in 2004. Structurally, the house itself is a 3-dimencional grid combined from 24 cubes with the side of 3m, grouped spatially as 2x6x2 into a simple block. The grid is clearly readable in plans and in facades of the building. There is no distinction between

any of units; the function of each is defined only by the character of equipment. Some units have sliding walls, allowing uniting different spaces, some can be united vertically in order to provide visual connection between 2 stories. There is no specific circulation space – some rooms can be accessed only through the others.
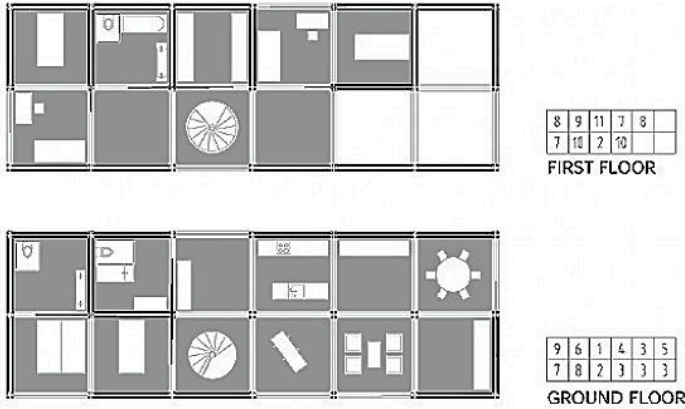
Fig. 1: *First and second floors of villa in Beroun. (http://www.hsharchitekti.cz/index.php?lang=cs&page= project&name=vila-v-beroune)*

GIFU KITAGATA APARTMENT BUILDING, SEJIMA WING – JAPAN.

The whole building is constructed from one type of spatial unit – a room, combined together in different ways. The apartment building is part of a large scale public housing reconstruction project located near Gifu City, Japan. In order to minimize construction waste and to achieve standardization architect used a room 2,5x5m as a single spatial unit of the building. Each apartment consists on 5-6 modules, which can have vertical or horizontal connections. Basically the functions of units are kitchen/dining, bedroom, terrace, tatami room, which are linked in front by narrow sun room (engawa). Each apartment has 3-5 entrances, which can be used differently depending on the owner's lifestyle. Sejima: "Given that this building is made up of rental apartments, it could be assumed that various types of families would live in those units. In other words, we imagined that forms of co-habitation would not be restricted to the existing standard family, but that different types of groupings of people should be considered…"
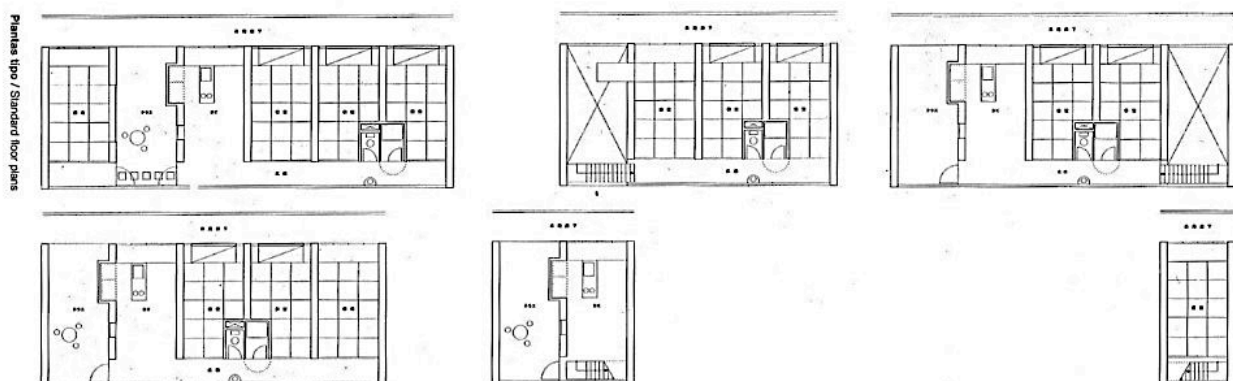
Fig. 3: *Gify Kitagata apartment building dwelling units. Block 1. (http://gifuprefecture.blogspot.com/)*

JAVA EILAND APARTMENT BUILDING (HOOGKWERF), DIENER & DIENER

Diener & Diener architects are well known for their buildings and urban proposals for geometric minimalist housing. The building elements used in Hoogkwerf building are extremely simple, prismatic blocks, logically and volumetrically organized in plan, section, and elevation. There are 2 types of modular units grouped around a central courtyard surrounded by an exterior corridor (one at each floor). The structure is composed of seven parallel load bearing walls in reinforced concrete. The courtyard is 15 x 20 meter, and a standard spatial module is 5x7,5m. There are several types of the service spaces: public spaces, such as stairs, are solved inside the same module, just rotated perpendicularly towards the common orientation, dwelling's entrance and wc are grouped together in 5x5 m space, terraces are 5x2,5m. Each flat is composed from the 3 rooms of equal size with free function. From the entrance there is always access only into 2 rooms, the third one is accessed through one of them, which makes one of the rooms less suitable for the sleeping and working activities. The same dining/living room in each scheme has the only access to the terrace. The similarly sized living areas are not accorded a specific function so that they can be used as desired.

Fig. 5: *Jawa Eiland apartment building typical floor plan. (http://javaeilandapartmentbuilding.blogspot.com/)*

CONCLUSION

Universality in dwelling exists, when the dwelling can be used in different ways. Some rooms can have equal possibility to be used as bedroom, living room, or working or hobby room. The more different living patterns the dwelling can accommodate, the higher is the level of its universality. The analyzed projects demonstrate different approaches in creating the universal layout.

In villa in Beroun the monofunctional place becomes the unified spatial unit. The whole dwelling is constructed from the uniform cubes, where one or two

sides of it are used for providing the access. The size of the cube is big enough to accommodate any of 5 activities. At the same time in the structure of villa there is a major division between public and private: the social spaces of living and cooking area are united in a single space, meanwhile the working and sleeping activities can take place in one of the three similar rooms. The central circulation core with a stair also provides some reserve spaces, which could be attached to the existing ones, or used for the activities with less privacy rate. The location of activities within the building can be easily changed, and the size of the minimal room allows its division into sufficient functional spaces.

In Gifu Kitagata apartment building universality in use is achieved by creating the rooms with independent access. In typical apartment only the kitchen space is fixed, the other rooms are the equal in size units, and each can be reached from two directions – private gallery of the flat and public gallery. Kitchen and terrace in apartment are social spaces, allowing the access to the rest of the flat through them. Three, four or five other spaces can accommodate different activities. These spaces become more private due to the possibility of having independent entrance.

Jawa Eiland project also demonstrates the connection between universality and access to the room. From three spaces with the same size only two can have all living activities. The central space of the dwelling is framed by four entrances, which excludes the sleeping activity.

There are different degrees of universality, depending primarily of the character, organization and number of spaces, combining the dwelling, the number of inhabitants, environment. The universality of the whole dwelling depends on the universality of its spaces, which is defined consequently from the number of units with appropriate size, circulation pattern, relating to the privacy and publicity outside and inside the house. To improve the quality of the spaces, it is important to organize within the structure of dwelling the transitional space, which will collect the circulations inside the dwelling, and make the rest more independent in distribution of basic activities. If there is only one room within the whole dwelling unit, which can be named universal, the whole dwelling universality is limited: there is no possible interchangeability of functions between rooms.

Study of the phenomenon of universality in dwelling and understanding the factors affecting to it can be important in creating new housing typologies dealing not only with statical distribution of functions inside the dwelling spaces, but with the housing, which is organized with the consideration of the living process with its unpredictability and uncertainty.

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PRISHTINA - In between spontaneity and planning of the contemporary city

ABSTRACT

The challenges and opportunities of the capital city of Kosovo in the field of urban and architectural planning are the main focus of study in this paper. I will also address the sub-theme "The Spontaneous City", specifically in the development of public squares and public institutions buildings in Pristina. The method that will be used is the analysis of the process of implementation of these projects in the period after the liberation of Kosovo.

Although all these urban and architectural buildings are designed and built by respecting applicable legal bases, it is noticeable that the approach to implementation has been 'ad-hoc', spontaneous and in most of cases non-transparent,. Instead of using the opportunities that were created after the war to advance the urban and architectural image of Prishtina, these "creations" depend further the urban chaos, even if they have build in accordance with the formal the legal procedures in force. There are two main pieces of evidence supporting this hypothesis:

First of all, Scanderbeg Square in Prishtina, only after ten years of construction, now is being subject to reconstruction, as a new square called "Independence

Square". In addition, as it is shown further in this study, this square is being re-designed without any transparent approach in an non-international design contest, as it would be a normal practice in the European capitals.

Secondly, the new building of the Pristina Cathedral "Mother Teresa" has been constructed without respecting the minimum criteria of urban and architectural space and is also not part of an international design contest. The cathedral project is a copy of a cathedral located in Italy which was built centuries ago.

By analyzing the current situation in Pristina, this research paper focuses on finding solutions, in order to fundamentally alter this erroneous approach and apply instead, a new professional method. In this way it tries to show that the planning process of public architectural works and their implementation should be the object of sustainable analysis, which should display the authentic and contemporary values of the identity of Pristina. In reaching this identity, creative spontaneity would be included in this context, and not within the context of "creations" which are being destroyed by time.

KEYWORDS: Urban planning; architecture; square; cathedral;

2. INTRODUCTION

To address the topic of the possibility of a contemporary approach of "Key aspects of Urban Design" as defined by Llewelyn & Davies (2005), two works of public architecture in the Capital City of Kosovo have been analyzed: Scanderbeg Square, respectively Independence Square; and the Mother Theresa Cathedral in Pristina.

Independence Square in Pristina had a predecessor during the period of ten year after 2000. , During this time, the statue of the Albanian hero, Gjergj Kastrioti-Skenderbeu was inaugurated in Kosovo's capital, and around it, the square was constructed.

Figure 1: a. Scanderbeg Square in Pristina, 2010; b. Scanderbeg Square in Pristina, 2012

A decade later, in 2010, Pristina Municipality, as the administrator of the capital's public spaces, prepared Design Contest in the Dossier for the Design Competition, called "Urban integration – Independence Square Dr. Ibrahim Rugova" (Municipal Assembly of Pristina, 2010, p.1).

Based on the criteria of the Design Contest of the Design Contest Dossier, the winner of the conceptual design for a project of this nature was a domestic company, being the only competitor on a domestic competition. (Regulatory Commission on Public Procurement in Kosovo, 2010). For an important project of such nature it is very important to have an international and more competitive process thus having only one competitor shows at least shows a lack of serious approach inthe Design Contest preparations.

Based on the Design contest standards set by the investor, which were based almost entirely on the paving and urban furnishing of the Independence Square space, the design company drafted an architectural Implementation Project. In the Technical Description of the project (Smart Project, 2010, p.2) the justification of the architecture of the Square took up just 159 words or 3 paragraphs

The second case being addressed in this research is the planning and construction of the Mother Theresa Cathedral. According to the Urban Regulatory Plan of Center 2 zone in Pristina (Municipal Assembly of Prishtina, 2005), a lot of 9730.06 m2 was set aside for the Cathedral's construction, on the site were previously was based

high school "Xhevdet Doda". According to the project for the Cathedral parameters of the Urban Regulatory Plan for Center 2 in Pristina, which includes the lot on which the Cathedral was built, were exceeded.

Figure 2: *Works completed up to now on the construction of the Mother Theresa Cathedral in Pristina, 2012*

3. METHODOLOGY OF STUDY AND APPROACH

The methodology of the scientific research of this question was concentrated on analyzing the approach of public institutions in Pristina to the planning of public architectural works, as well as finding solutions to errors made in this process so that they are not continually repeated. In order to reach a substantive conclusion, the documents on which these two projects were based, were analyzed.

For the Independence Square project, the Contest for the Design Contest, "Urban Integration of Independence Square Dr. Ibrahim Rugova" was reviewed, as well as the Implementation Project for Independence Square Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, and the situation on the ground. While, for the Mother Teresa Cathedral, the Implementation Project was analyzed, besides the Regulatory Plan for Centre 2, and the ongoing construction process.

After analyzing these documents, according to the Law on Access to Public Documents, (Kosovo Official Gazette, 2010) a list of questions were sent to the Municipality of Pristina regarding the two projects. In addition, questions were addressed to the designers of Independence Square as well as to the Kosovo Diocese, responsible for the construction project of the Mother Theresa Cathedral. Of all actors included in the process, answers were received only from the designer of Independence Square, an answer which did not go beyond the context of a technical description of the Implementation Project.

4. CASE STUDY 1: INDEPENDENCE SQUARE IN PRISTINA

"The contemporary square almost never has a specific function, nor does it depend, strictly speaking, on a building or monument. The purpose is still to constitute a place for meeting, coming together, and attraction, but the subject of the project is now the square in its own right. The place where the community gathered for a collective
function (religious, commercial, political) is replaced by a space where single individuals act. Yet a space which is unified and qualified by a design" (Paolo Favole, 1995, p.10).
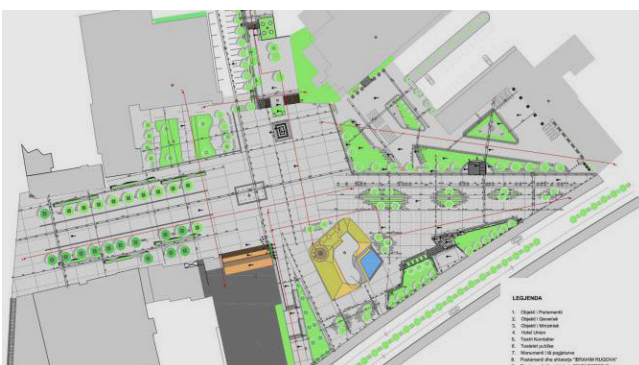
Map 1: *Situation of the Implementation Project for Independence Square in Pristina (Smart Project, Prishtina, 2011, p.2)*

"Scanderbeg" Square was built at the turn of the new millennium 2000, as a result of the need to create a space for the statue of Albanian national hero Gjergj Kastrioti – Skënderbeu. The project was prepared for a limited area of public space, which today is called Independence Square. There is no evidence to prove the "Scanderbeg Square" was build through anopen Design contest. During inquiring it could not be proved that the project which was implemented was selected by a professional either international or domestic jury.

Ten years later, in 2010, Pristina Municipality opened a Design Contest for the urban integration of the space of Independence Square Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, with a surface area of about 5 hectares (Design Contest Dossier for the urban integration of the space of Independence Square Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, 2010) including Scanderbeg Square. One year later, after selecting the winning design, an Implementation Project for Independence Square was drafted (Smart Project, 2011, p.2)

The Design Contest for Independence Square required the treatment of a number of issues in the drafting of the project, including informative factors, addressing physical structure, public activities, identity, movement, circulation, infrastructure and landscape architecture (Prishtina Municipal Assembly, 2010, p.21-23).

This paper treats the following elements of a Design Contest:

1. The Design Contest foresaw a new element in Independence Square, the Monument of Independence;
2. The Project Contest does not foresee addressing the architectural regeneration of the buildings surrounding Independence Square;
3. Part of Design Contest, was the treatment of the area for underground usage, noting that this should be addressed depending on the orientation of the competitors (Prishtina Municipal Assembly; 2010, p.25);
4. The space of the building courtyard of the Government of the Republic of Kosovo and the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo was also treated in the project.
5. According to the Implementing Project for Independence Square, public toilets will be placed in front of the entrance to the Government building of the Republic of Kosovo (Smart Project, Prishtina, 2011, p.12).
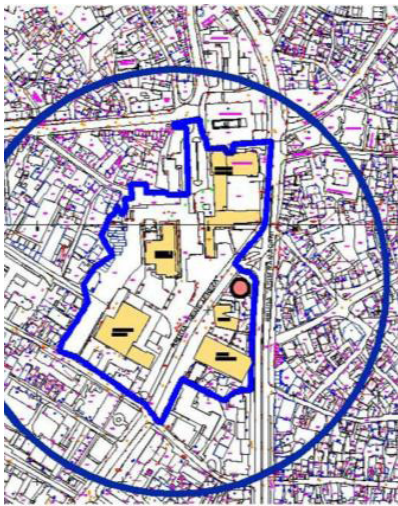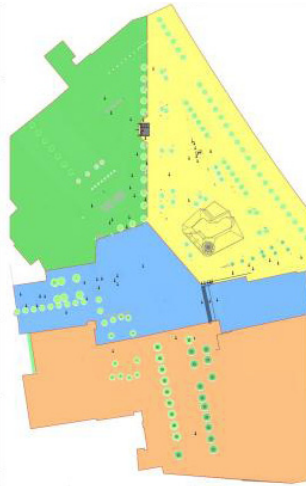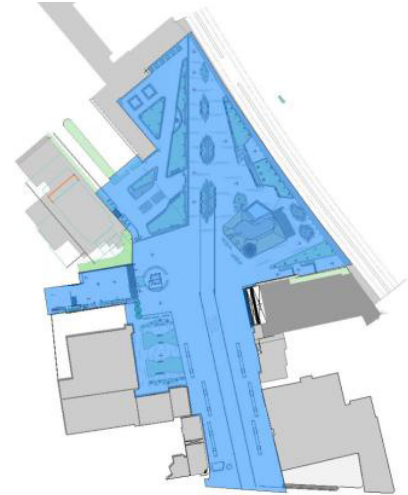
(a) (b) (c)

Map 2: *Three different surface approach to the Square of Independence*
a) site according to the Contest Dossier-5 hectares; b) site of zoning of the project - 3.7 hectares; c) site treated for the Design - 1.8 hectares

4.1. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS OF THE SURVEY FOR CASE STUDY 1

The following will concentrate on above mentioned issues, based on the Design Contest and the Implementation Project for the Square.

1. The Design Contest foresaw as a new element in Independence Square, the Monument of Independence.

However analyzing the Implementation Project of the Square, this monument was not planned. The answer of the Company which designed the Square to the author's question regarding why the Monument of Independence was not foreseen, was that the statute of Dr. Ibrahim Rugova would be used instead (Smart Project, 2012). Lack of a monument of Independence in that square, even though included in the design contest shows at least that the Implementation Project was not prepared in accordance with the design contest.

2. The Project Contest does not foresee addressing the architectural regeneration of the buildings surrounding Independence Square.

This is an essential shortcoming of this process, considering that at its core, the idea of the Square is complete when the surrounding buildings are also addressed.

"A square or plaza is both an area framed by buildings and an area designed to exhibit its buildings to the greatest advantage" (Cliff Moughtin, 2003. Urban Design: Street and Squares. Architectural Press p.87)

An important example in this aspect is the rebuilding of the former Iliria Hotel, which has taken on an entirely new architectural form. The investor made the architectural facade of the building, eliminating a central part of the traditional terrace of the former Iliria Hotel and "attaching" to the structural facade in

part of the building, some "classic" decor that does not belong to the character of the contemporary structural facade.

Figure 3: *a) Non-treatment in the project of building facades surrounding Independence Square (Smart Project, 2011, p.12a) b) Situation of the buildings, which surround Independence Square*

3. The Design Contest required the treatment of the area for underground usage, noting that this should be addressed depending on the orientation of the competitors. (Prishtina Municipal Assembly; 2010, p.25).
This was not done at all and in this respect the opportunity of planning a Museum area in Independence Square was not used which could have been placed in a subterranean space of the square, lit with zenith lighting and well ventilated, giving meaning and high quality to the site area.

4. The space of the building courtyard of the Government of the Republic of Kosovo and the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo was also treated superficially in the project, and designed entirely according to the existing situation.
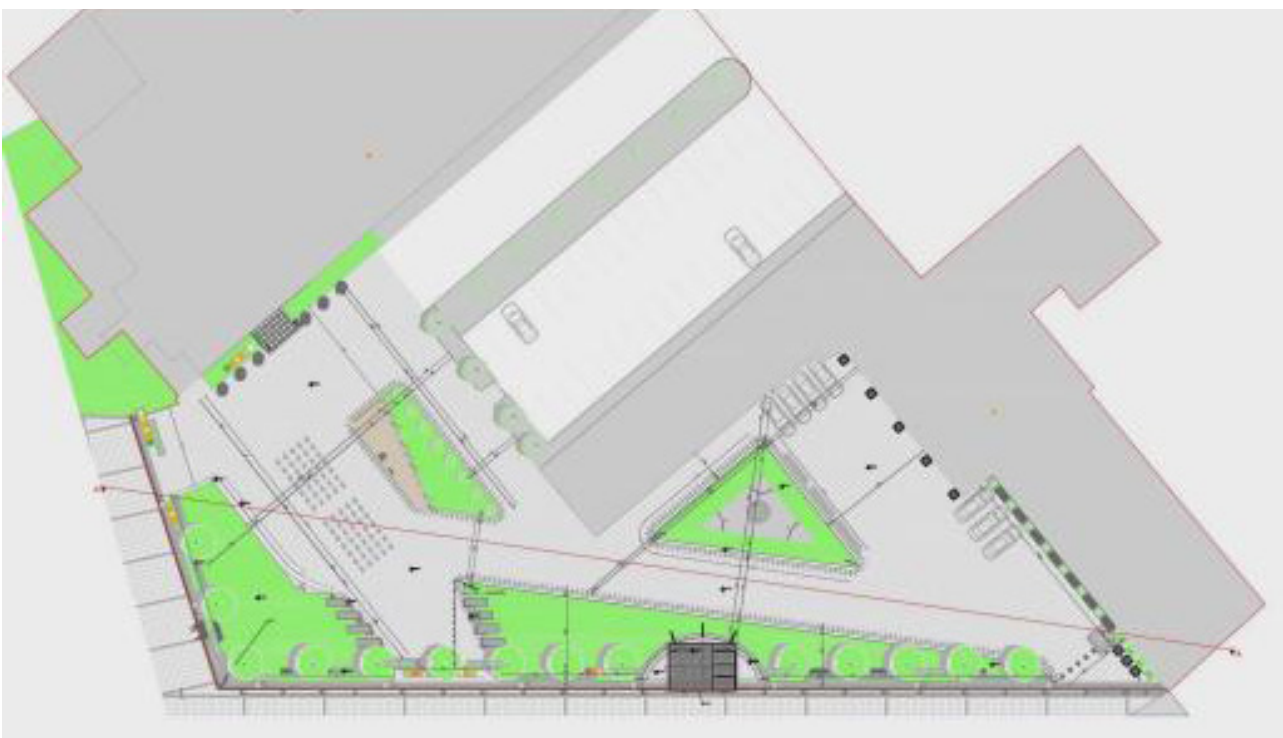
Map 3: *Treatment in the Independence Square Project of the space of the courtyard of the Government building and the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo (Smart Project, Prishtina, 2011, p.4)*

The decision for usage of courtyard of the Government and Assembly buildings by general public is not taken yet. If that space is foreseen to be also open to the public, then it should be paved similarly to the other part of the square, and the landscape architecture also be treated in a similar spirit to that of the other part of the square.

5. According to the Implementing Project for Independence Square, public toilets would have been placed in front of the entrance to the Government building of the Republic of Kosovo (Smart Project, Prishtina, 2011, p.12). Nevertheless, a few days after the construction of these toilets was erected, they were demolished, after public reaction that it was not an adequate location for them.

Following the author's interest to learn more about these issues by sending questions to Pristina Municipality and the Design Studio of Independence Square, the only answer received was from the Studio, which stated that Municipality would decide about the location of the public toilets, and according to them, probably they would not be part of the space of Independence Square (Smart Project, 2012). Such drastic changes to the project during the implementation phase shows that the project was not designed and selected with the due care and dilligence required for such important projects for the Municipality and the Country.
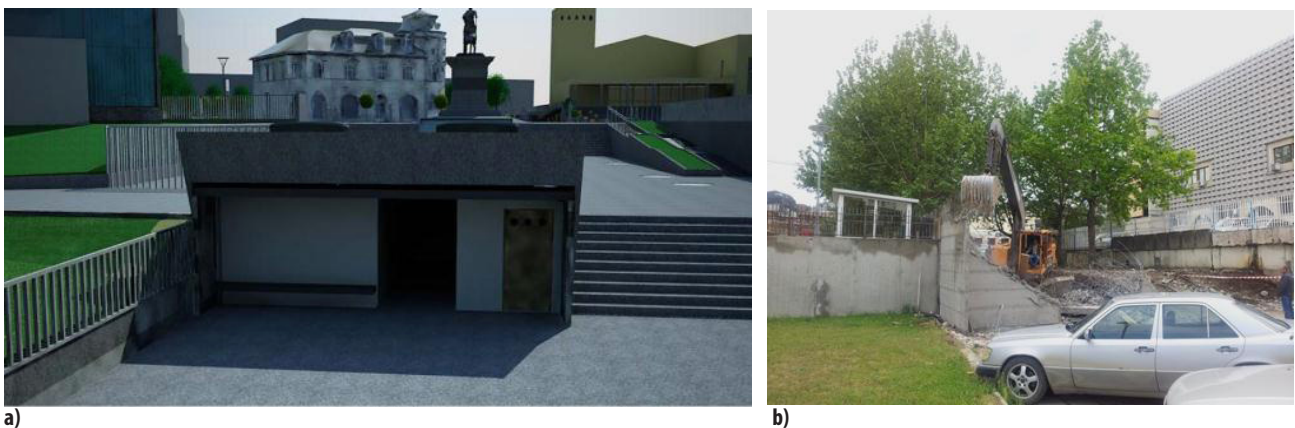
a)   b)

Figure 4. *a) View from the Implementation Project, which sees public toilets placed in front of the entrance to the building of the Kosovo Government (Smart Project, Prishtina, 2011); b) Action of demolishing public toilets, 2012*

5. CASE STUDY 2: MOTHER TERESA CATHEDRAL IN PRISTINA

The Dictionary of Architecture and Building Construction defines a "Cathedral" as "a large and principal church of a diocese, the seat of a bishop" (Nikolas Davies and Erkki Jokiniemi, 2008).

When supporting the initiative to build a cathedral in Pristina, given the name of the great Albanian humanist Gonxhe Bojaxhiu – Mother Theresa, Pristina Municipality allocated a parcel in the center of town (Municipal Assembly of

Pristina, Regulatory Plan "Center 2", 2005).
After approving this decision, in 2005 the Urban Regulatory Plan was drafted, which included a lot where the Mother Theresa cathedral would be constructed.
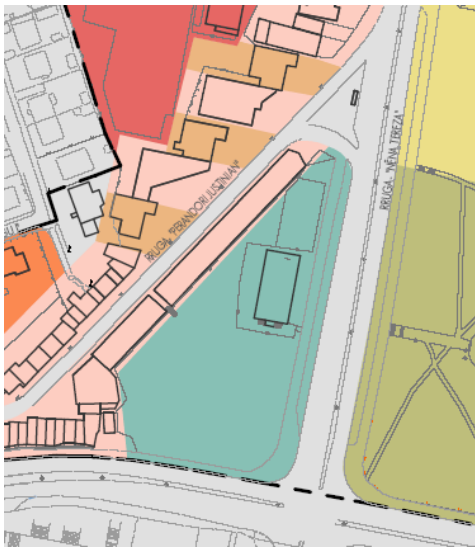
Map 4: *The green area which includes the high school "Xhevdet Doda", is where the Mother Theresa cathedral was later built in Pristina (Municipality Assembly of Prishtina, 2005, p.3)*

After the situation on the ground was recorded, the design studio contracted by the Pristina Municipality, drafted 3 scenarios for the spatial development of the zone (Urban Plus, October, 2005, p.8). Among these scenarios, one proposed the building of the Cathedral, the second focused on creating an open green oasis, and the third the building of a multi-functional building. (Urban Plus, October, 2005, p.8)

Out of these scenarios, the first was selected by Municipality, which according to a SWOT analysis, made during the drafting of the Regulatory Plan by the contracted design studio, resulted in various disadvantages for the building of the Cathedral: "The land use will lead to limited use by a certain group of a society; identification of the city center as religious; initializing new construction (other religious buildings) within the city center" (Urban Plus, October 2005, p.12),

There are two issues significant to be discussed:

1. Rules set by Urban Regulatory Plan, the Implementation Project and the current situation on site and,
2. The architecture of Cathedral according to Urban Regulatory Plan.
        1. The Urban Regulatory Plan Center 2 set the rules with very specific features, according to which should the project be designed and the Cathedral "Mother Theresa" to be built.

Lot total is: 9,730 m2

Cathedral: 1,500 m2 or 15 %;

Height of Cathedral 12 m

Business buildings: 1,100 m2 or 11.3 %

Open space - green: 2,400 m2 or 25%

Open space - square, paths: 5,800 m2 or 60%

Total constructed area: 2,600 m2 or 26.7 %.

Map 5: *Graphic presentation of the regulations defined by PRRU Center 2 for the building of the "Mother Theresa" Cathedral in Pristina*

Meanwhile, according to the Implementation Project of the Cathedral, these data are found:

Lot total is: 9,730 m2

Cathedral: 2,205 m2 or 22.66 %

Height of the Cathedral is: 32 m

Accompanying buildings: 1,636 m2

or 16.80 %

Business buildings: 1, 9730 m2 or

19.6%

Free space: 3,958 or 40%

Total constructed area: 5,811 m2

or 60 %.

Map 6: Location, based on the Implementation Project for the Cathedral

From the ongoing process of construction of the Cathedral, these data are observed:

Total lot is: 9,730 m2

Cathedral: 2,224 m2 or 33 %

Accompanying buildings: 428 m2 or 6.35

Open space: 4,118 m2 or 60 %

Total constructed surface area: 2,652 m2

or 40%.

Map 7: *Location, based on the current situation*

2. With the Regulatory Plan, besides specifying regulations for the use of the space for the Cathedral construction, it was required that the Cathedral architecture be contemporary, in order to create a new architectural image for Pristina and a space of squares, paths, and greenery next to the Cathedral (Urban Plus, October 2005, p.18).
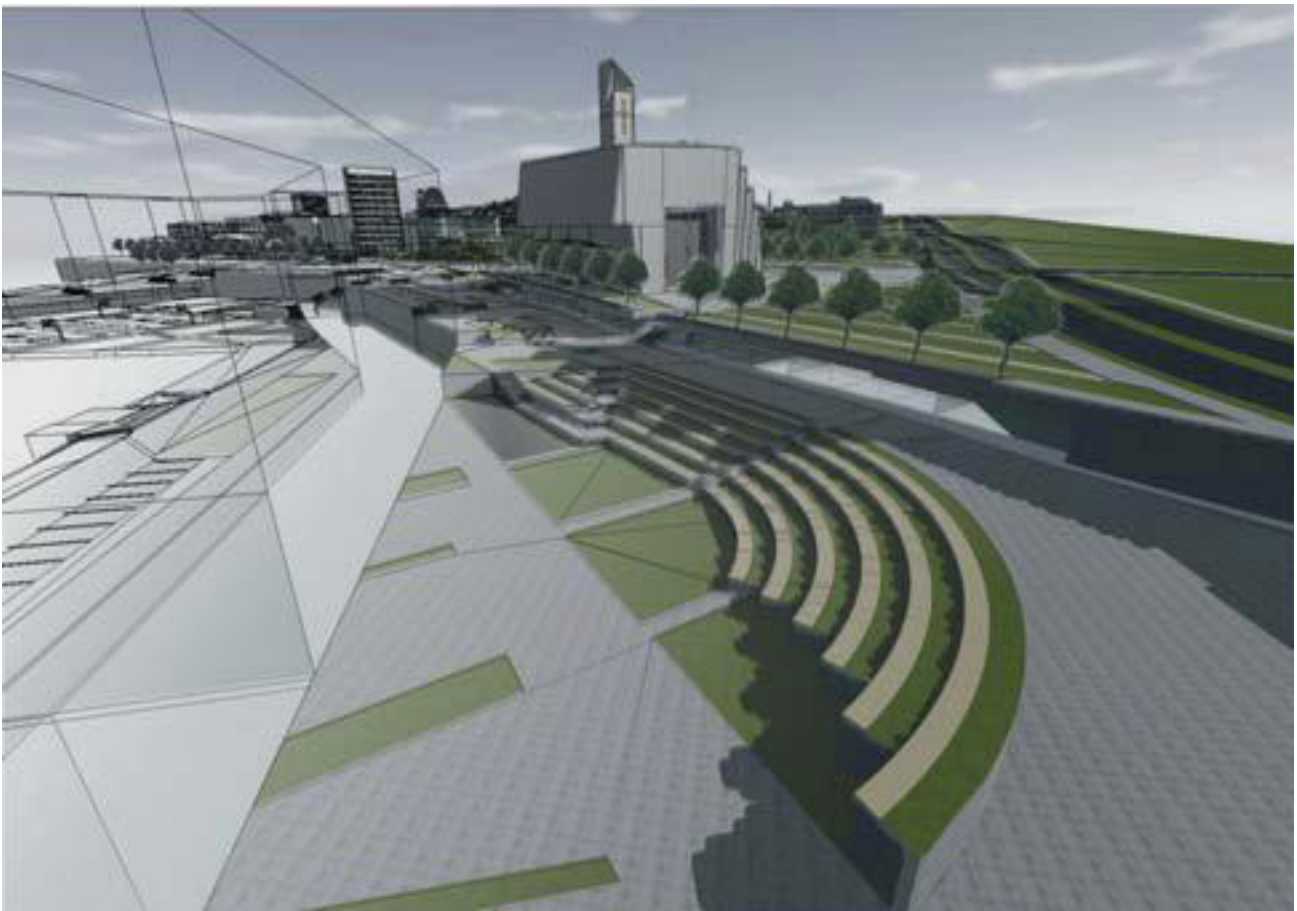
Figure 5: *Architecture of the Mother Theresa Cathedral in relation to the surrounding space, according to the Urban Regulatory Plan of Center 2 Zone in Pristina (Urban Plus, October 2005, p.18)*

5.1. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS OF THE SURVEY FOR CASE STUDY 2

Based on the analysis of the planning process and construction of the Mother Theresa Cathedral, there are two substantial issues to be addressed:

1. According to the Regulatory Plan "Center 2", approved by the Pristina Municipal Assembly in 2005, the designer and builder of the Mother Theresa Cathedral is obliged to implement regulations regarding use of the space in the land allocated to the Cathedral, as presented graphically and with accompanying statistics in the presentation of facts above in the beginning of the explanation of the case study 2.

The implementation project for Mother Theresa Cathedral in Pristina (L. Sterlicchio and Colaborator: G. Cigalino) did not conform of the specified regulations. The Regulatory Plan determines that the object of the Cathedral should take only around 15 % of the space of the lot, and its height should only be 12 meters, but in the Implementation Project object of the Cathedral takes place of 22.6 % of the lot and its height is 32 meters, while the two towers exceed the height of 60 meters.

According to the Regulatory Plan, the free space, respectively the greenery, squares and walking paths take 85 % of the space of the lot, but in the Implementation Project of the Cathedral they take only 40 % of the space of the lot. As a result of building the Cathedral according to the Implementation Project, that breaches the set parameters of the Regulatory Plan of Center 2 of Prishtina, the situation in the terrain does not conform to regulations defined in the Regulatory Plan.

Based on the ongoing construction of building the Cathedral "Mother Theresa", it shows that the built area of the Cathedral takes 33 % of the lot; meanwhile the free space takes 60 % of the space.

The Implementation Project is not completely implemented. As a result of this current situation, there is a higher percentage of free space. Taking in consideration this condition, the competent authorities have another opportunity to halt the breaching of the set rules of Urban Regulatory Plan, and not allow the continuation of damaging public space.

2. As it is shown in the presentation of facts of Case Study 2, the Regulatory Plan determines that the architecture of the Cathedral be contemporary.

Meanwhile, the Implementation Design foresees an entirely different architecture, copied from cathedrals from centuries past, and does not address the situation in regard to respecting regulations of the URP Center 2.

Figure 6: *Three dimensional presentation of the Mother Theresa project in Pristina (L. Sterlicchio and Colaborator: G. Cigalino)*

Figure 7: *Current situation and project of the Cathedral building, proving the damage to free public space*

It is also important to emphasize that the Prishtina Municipality and the Diocese of Kosova didn't offer any information, if there was a design contest, either domestic or international, for the building of the Cathedral. Based on this approach, the Diocese of Kosovo decided to implement a cathedral project built in Italy centuries ago, eliminating the competition of creative ideas of architects.

6. CONCLUSION

Projects like Independence Square, Zahir Pajaziti Square, Mother Theresa Boulevard and Adem Jashari Square, which are functionally linked, should be part of an integrated and single treatment. This would enable the application of a sustainable approach to urban and architectural solutions and improve the quality of these public spaces. For the spaces of the aforementioned squares, a specific and genuine Design Brief should be prepared, which would precede an International Design Contest.
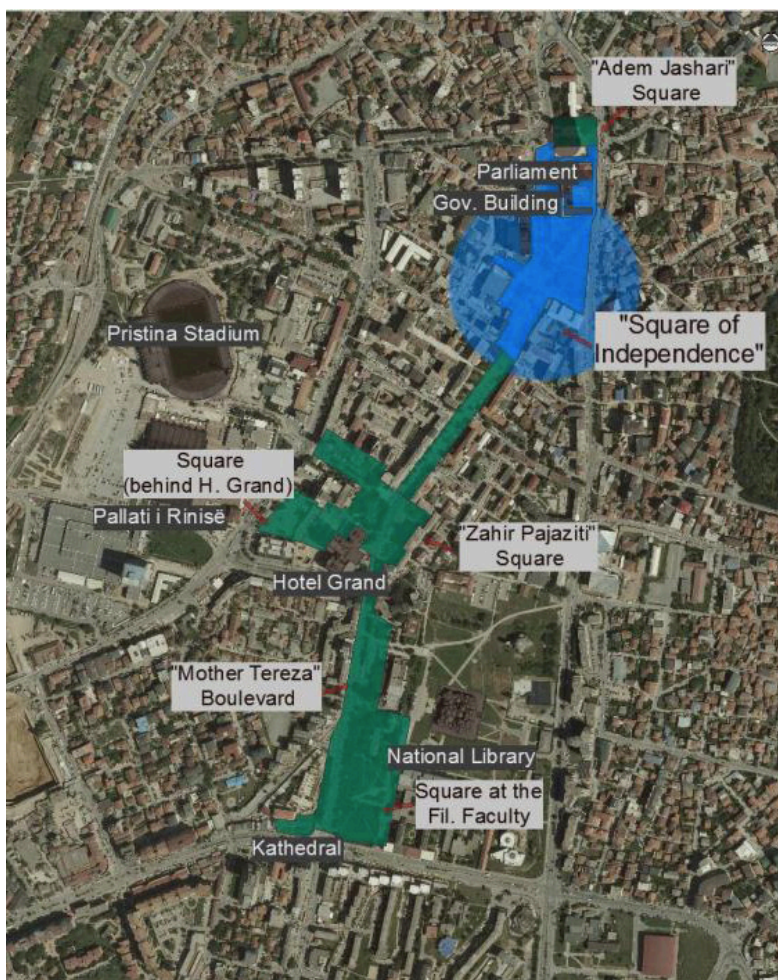
Map 8: *Functional relations between Independence Square, Mother Theresa Boulevard, Adem Jashari Square and Zahir Pajaziti Square (Arianit Bytyçi, 2012)*

This spirit must be applied to Kosovo's capital with regard to the planning of public spaces in the center of town, to avoid the possibility of an ad-hoc urban design which is poorly analyzed.

An example which could be followed to achieve projects of high quality is that of the drafting of the design for Scanderbeg Square in Tirana, a process led by a professional jury, comprising the Mayor and a number of architects, artists and engineers of world renown and in which 19 international architecture and urban design studios competed (Publishing House Toena, Tirana, 2008, p.14) This working logic would bring to Pristina well-known world studios of urban planning and architecture; it would stimulate the improving

quality of domestic studios and above all, would produce sustainable projects for public spaces in the capital, especially in the "Pristina e re" zone, which is in the process of urban planning.

Whereas, based on the case of the Mother Theresa Cathedral in Pristina, the following recommendations are made:

1. To end the continuing violation of the regulations of the Regulatory Plan for Center 2 in Pristina, with regard to the conclusion of the Cathedral design;

2. To examine the possibility of creating squares, paths and greenery at the Cathedral location, bearing in mind that Mother Theresa Boulevard, which starts at the Cathedral, according to the URP Center 2, will be closed to traffic;

3. Violations made in the process of planning and constructing the cathedral should not be repeated in the planning and construction of the new Mosque in the center of Pristina, at a site allocated by the Municipal Assembly of Pristina. On this occasion, the approach should be based on preparing a serious international design contest. This approach would affect the selection of a sustainable project.

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SARAJEVO – IN BETWEEN OF THE SPONTANEOUS AND PLANNED CITY

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to explore the formal and temporal ways Sarajevo has developed after the war as a consequence of post-war constructions and territorial division of the city imposed by the Dayton Peace Agreement of 1995. Contemporary Sarajevo is a collection of real and imagined cities: Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, Olympic, Socialist, Post-war, Balkan, multicultural, physically fragmented, contested, build-it-yourself city. How complex is spontaneous Sarajevo, and is it a subject of temporary urban inventions? The spontaneous city is often discussed in opposition to the planned city, but they rely on the city's form— criticizing and contesting the planned city. Citizens' inventions, fantasies, and creativity partly contribute to the processes of imaging a city through the creation of spontaneous urban elements. Where to search for these elements: in popular culture and media or in everyday spatial practices of the citizens in their living and working areas. Spontaneity in the urban environment is generated by permanent and temporary citizens. An examination of the relationship between spontaneous and planned Sarajevo could contribute to the general discussion about the way of the city space is reappropriated and used for mul-

tiple functions.
KEYWORDS: spontaneous city, Sarajevo, illegal, spontaneous urban elements

Introduction - Being Spontaneous in the City

Which city? Small, medium, big, or endless city; situated in the valley, the desert, on the mountains or close to the river, sea, volcano. Post-disaster city, rich city, poor city, divided city. An ancient city, industrial, post-industrial, or touristic city. To describe our cities today has become an interesting process for understanding not only its topography, urban form, and image, but also its social relations and economical possibilities. Sometimes it is difficult to determine where certain cities begin and end. Ordinarily, to analyze a city, architects and planners rely only on its urban history and morphology. I argue that those factors are not sufficient for understanding and creating a better space to live. Being a tourist in a certain city and blindly following tourist guidebooks is never enough to get to know it. However, also, being citizens detached from your living urban environment because of the lack of time or interest for the creation of urban space is quite common for many citizens. Independent of their geographical position, the political or economic status of cities are often and almost always "planned for people rather than with them" (Gaffikin, Morrissey, 2011, p. 274). A spontaneous city by its nature should be the result of the spontaneous actions of its citizens. Especially if we consider that "the city and the territory inevitably belong to the everyday experience for all" (Secchi, 2000, p. 8). But who are the citizens who really know the spontaneous sides of their cities? People that are searching for food, temporary jobs, shelters, or drugs, often located in the spheres of marginalized groups of people. Sleepwalkers, tourists, street artists, photographers, and other flaneurs that are simply playing different roles than usually they do for a certain period of time. In urban terms, the spontaneous city is often juxtaposed to the planned city, but in practice it relies on the city's existing urban form. A common for both is topography and social relations made by citizens. Spontaneous elements are unexpected, but often repeat in the same urban contexts:

> ...using the word spontaneous, means that many of the material signs left on the territory are the result, not always desired, of intentions and decisions, not always coordinated among them, of an entire society, assumed on the basis that are usually dictated by beliefs and imagination embedded in tradition; while the other signs are result of decisions and intentions of the one, of one caste, or the group, maybe of experts that may have moved images and arguments that aspired to be shared and incontestable (Secchi, 2000, p. 5).

The above quote affirms that our cities have several parallel worlds—planned

and spontaneous, planned and imagined, or planned and unplanned—that are obviously in contrast within themselves.

Taking Sarajevo as case study, this article searches for and examines the spontaneous forms within the already existing urban fabric. It will further discuss the space-time relation of these spontaneous forms and what they represent: urban inventions, survival strategies, or illegal activities. Some spontaneous urban forms serve basic urban functions and needs such as trade of foodstuff and other items. On the other hand, these activities represent the city's illegal economy, a part of its black market. On the existing buildings in several neighborhoods, dwellers have made many idiosyncratic changes to their apartments. These changes lend the neighborhood an image of spontaneous alteration, but also confirm the fact that there are no administrative restrictions for neighborhoods' maintenance or construction changes issued by municipality or a similar entity. Or even when they do exist, no one is following or controlling these processes. These new neighborhood adjustments represent the "spontaneity in the planned city" (Vrolijk, 2010, p.122). "The human scale lies at the heart of the Spontaneous City" (Ernsten, 2010, p. 9). Being spontaneous citizens is actually to live reality of your city and to change your living environment, and contemporary urban conditions.

Sarajevo Urban Form and Elements

Sarajevo is a collection of cities: in some parts of it we can see a mosaic or puzzle city, in the other parts we can find a "build it yourself" city. The puzzle "is an object of intentionally unpredictable forms, infinitely various... The relationships between pieces in a puzzle are not concatenation, but the assembly." (Ampoux, 1997, p.73). The mosaic city for me is a metaphor that gives to Sarajevo a notion of the territory, where different religions have always coexisted, without ghettos, and with this pluralism defined the city's cultural identity. The city expands linearly on an east-west axis along the Valley of Miljacka River. Sarajevo is surrounded by hills and mountains, which are in the lowest part built up, mostly for residential purposes. Reading and representing contemporary Sarajevo as a puzzle city can explain the historical evolution of the city's urban form. "It is true that what begins from one part continues from a different side. The new piece that we put doesn't go simply in addition to the previous image, but it redefines the whole, reordering the shape and continuously modifying the vision that we have about it. The image of the puzzle is not composed, it is recomposed" (Ampoux, 1997, p.73).

To recompose the puzzle or mosaic of Sarajevo I have to mention some important facts from the past and present that create today's image of the city. Sarajevo was Ottoman city, Austro-Hungarian city, Socialist city, Olympic city and the War city. Sarajevo is multicultural city, post-war city, fragmented city and divided city. To discuss its future I have to note that besides being "special, transcendent place" (Bolens, 2001, p.170), Sarajevo's urban development is more oriented towards private investments that are building mostly commercial buildings detached from the actual urban conditions and citizens needs. Urbanization of Sarajevo started during the Ottoman period, which lasted from 1435-1878, when "the town was planned functionally" (Čengić 2003, xiv-xxix). The private-individual housing and public activities were organized separately within the town. "The 300 meter wide river valley contained Čaršija—the place for business and trade, while the foothills were filled with mahalas—residential quarters. The business part contained a mosque, administrative court (saray), Orthodox and Catholic Church, Jewish synagogue, caravanserais—places for travellers to stay,... public baths, public dining halls, workshops, besistans—shopping centers, clock towers, warehouses and military barracks" (Čengić 2003, xiv-xxix). Sarajevo's urban territory developed gradually, starting from a small Ottoman nucleus. Later administrative and political authorities continued development by adding new parts of the city according to the needs of that historical moment. Sarajevo was always presented as a place where east and west meet due to the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian influences, an intersection that is still visible within the urban layout and architecture of the city.

Besides explaining its initial urban form, for Sarajevo's urban development, it is important to mention the Winter Olympic Games in 1984[1] when many new areas in the city were developed and built. As a contrast, the war (1992-95) brought urban destruction and urbicide against the city and the people. In spatial terms, these two events radically transformed Sarajevo's urban form and image, fuelled and influenced today's citizens' imaginaries about the city. Sarajevo as a puzzle offers an example of the relation between built, destroyed, and rebuilt structures, and the city's spatial order as the consequence of the last war. Therefore "the puzzle is not constructed in a linear way, it is reconstructed" again and again. Today, as a result of the Dayton Peace Accords2[2] Sarajevo is divided be-

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1   *Many still existing sport facilities and new neigbhborhoods were built or upgraded, such as arenas ZETRA and Skenderija were reconstructed and expanded. Other building projects: new hotels, Olympic villages in Mojmilo and accommodation facilities for media representatives in Dobrinja. On the mountains of Trebević, Jahorina, Bjelašnica, and Igman a variety of sports facilities were built in order to satisfy the demands of the different winter sports.*

2   *Various sources (21/11/95-20/11/05), The History of Dayton Accord, December 12, 2005. http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/ setimes/xhtml/en_GB/dayton/setimes/special/dayton/history/feature-01. [15.03.2012]. The Dayton Peace Accords was an initiative launched by the United States in the autumn of 1995. Proximity negotiations between the warring parties, represented by Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, and Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, opened at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio on 1 November 1995. The three Balkan presidents formally signed the document on 14 December 1995 in Paris.*

tween two entities: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Srpska. Consequently, it is relying on dual planning systems and administrations. As many other cities, it has a very complex urban identity, and through history has been often partially destroyed and rebuilt. Finally, being a puzzle gives the opportunity to everyone to read and live the city through personal experiences, creating a space where the real and imagined, planned and spontaneous cities interact.

Observing and Representing the Spontaneous Sarajevo

Spontaneous Sarajevo is a result of different spatial, political, economical, and social processes. From 1996, when war ended, until today, urban development of the city could be defined as random development based on ad hoc urban planning driven by private economic investments mostly for new residential blocks and shopping centers. Besides that, the reconstruction and building anew of religious institutions such as mosques and churches were two of the focuses in the post-war construction as well. On the other hand. some pre-war buildings are still ruins and on many facades the scars from the war are still visible, such as holes from shells.

The city of Sarajevo belongs to Sarajevo Canton and the official spatial plans for it are: Spatial Plan for Canton Sarajevo for the period 2003-2023; Urban Plan of the City of Sarajevo for the period 1986-2015; and implementation plans for spatial planning, which include regulatory plans and urban projects for some specific locations. In the magazine Start in 2007 an article "Sarajevo Goes into the Sky" criticized how fast changes to the regulation plans were made, sometimes even over night for the construction of skyscrapers and shopping malls. This also confirms than in last decades, the focus for urban planning institutions was on new constructions financed by private companies. Finally, being a divided city complicates urban environment for planning and administrating purposes. My aim is not to analyze how well our planning system is organized, but I found it important to mention this in order to position better my research about spontaneous Sarajevo. Mazzucchelli observes that the urban form today in Sarajevo is unstable, it is a city in transition.[3]Being spontaneous in the city in transition gives endless possibilities to the citizens for spontaneous constructions for different purposes and with different time duration.

"The Spontaneous City is indeed shaped by its occupants, in a never ending process of transformation, growth and adaptation. Individuals and groups, comprising both residents and busi-

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3   By the citizens "the word transition is considered an alibi for maladministration and corruption" (Mazzucchelli, 2010, p.196) related to administration of the country territory, cities and many other fields where citizens need to meet public administration.

ness people, re-use or re-organize spaces in apartment, blocks, workplaces, parks and streets – or on the grounds of wind farms and companies."

Fragment from the "Manifesto for the Spontaneous City" by Urhahn Urban Design[4]

According to Urhahn Urban Design, the experience of the spontaneous city is: enterprising, open, flexible, inventive, multifaceted and dynamic. In their book Spontaneous City the authors propose, even impose, the Spontaneous City as a starting concept for urban planning in the XXI century. In analyzing spontaneous Sarajevo, perhaps in theory I could recognize some of their ideas of "spontaneity" that are mentioned above. In my reading of existing spontaneous forms within Sarajevo, I recognized other spatial relations between planned and spontaneous, more related to build-it-yourself city, resilience and survival in the city. Besides field research, by walking the city and photographing spontaneous urban forms, I also relied on research, analysis, and the juxtaposition of elements from the official planning documents, interviews with citizens, first-person narratives about the city, local media archives, and more. I identify several categories of spontaneous urban forms. In the space-time relation I split them in two categories: long-term and repetitive short-term spontaneous urban forms. They usually rely on existing urban forms—balconies, facades, basements and roofs—thus changing the image of the streets and existing buildings. They can be produced by citizens or naturally as a self-growing green on the remains of destroyed buildings. Materials used for the man-made spontaneous urban forms are either recycled or new construction materials. In the text below I will present it through the photo narratives within the five thematic groups.

Spontaneous Street Trading represents the category of repetitive man-made short-term spontaneous urban forms. In different parts of the city of Sarajevo there are improvised street shops selling food, handmade wool clothes produced by local farmers, mostly women. The other typologies are the street shops that sell second-hand clothes and other items organized by the people who live in the city and are unemployed. Their location and build materials are different and are an individual expression of each vendor. The working time and days vary for all of them. There are spontaneous vendors that sell their products by using their car as a shop and they are moving through the neighborhood from door to door (Figure 1). Sometimes street shops are incorporated in the structure of the dwelling block, under the terrace or in the basement (Figure 2). While the street shops placed on the pedestrian zone are made from plastic, cartoon and wooden boxes that originally were containers for vegetables and fruit. In some cases the boxes are re-used until they keep their strength and stability.

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4   *Urhahn Urban Design, an innovative and creative office for urban planning and strategy, was established in 1991 and is headed by Tess Broekmans, Sjoerd Feenstra and Gert Urhahn.*

Figure 1. *Moving Spontaneous Shop*

Figure 2. *Spontaneous shop for bicycle repairing parts incorporated in the existing dwelling block. Photographs by Zoran Kanlić, June 2012.*

In Figure 3 you can see a street in the neighborhood Alipašino Polje – with spontaneous shops and without them. When street vendors in this specific example finish they work, usually they keep their boxes and store them along the façade of the new building that has been recently constructed and not in currently use. They are also located next to regular neighborhood market. The atmosphere in the street with vendors is full of life. Even if their position is illegal, their use of urban space is rational and resilient. These are examples where "the boundaries among the things are loosing and modifying" (Vigano, 1999, p.97), between legal and illegal trading, between planned permanent buildings and spontaneous temporary structures, between common and private space, "between art work and objects of everyday use: everything becomes materialized form, to perceive, to experience, to compose" (Vigano, 1999, p.97). Door to door sail of the food items can improve the quality of life of the

Figure 3. *The street in the neighborhood Alipašino Polje with the spontaneous shops (left), and without them (right). The new empty building is used both as a street shop and for the storage for the spontaneous constructions made by plastic and cartoon boxes. Photographs by Zoran Kanlić, June 2012.*

citizens especially in the small neighborhoods that don't have small shops or super markets. On the other hand vendors with their temporary structures and way of using them are creating spaces in between common and private space. I note that these examples of informal economy can impact communities of the city in different ways and contribute to the creation of imagined Sarajevo as well.

Individual or Collective Gardening represents the category of long-term spontaneous urban forms. In the neighborhood Dobrinja built during the 1970s, attached to dwelling blocks there are many examples of urban gardening. Usually the gardens are made by the dwellers from the first floors, under their terraces. Sometimes they also open their terrace door to have a direct connection with their garden. Besides the cultivated flowers and vegetables, they are decorated with the romantic statues or with Disney characters. What is interesting in this case is that citizens are using the common green areas to make their own gardens, they also put fence on it, to protect it and the final result of this spontaneous activity is a private garden. In Figure 4 you see small individual gardens from the neighborhood Dobrinja. Sometimes it is easy to recognize the processes of "ruralisation" of urban areas. The neighborhood appears friendlier and more family oriented, but for some citizens this can produce negative effects, or invoke bad memories. Urban gardening in Sarajevo started during the war in 1992 where people were forced to grow their own vegetables in order to survive. Reviewing all different circumstances and reasons that citizens have for making their urban gardens, perhaps this spontaneous urban element should be a subject considered by official urban plans as well. Maybe that would help the processes of common use of these green zones instead of individual appropriation of the piece of land.

Figure 4. *Individual urban gardens. Photographs by Zoran Kanlić, June 2012.*

Spontaneous Interventions on Existing Buildings and Streets represents long-term spontaneous urban forms. There are many examples of these interventions. The terraces of the dwelling blocks in the neighborhood Ali Pašino Polje are the subjects of constant change. Most of the dwellers keep the original form of the terrace and upgrade it in many different ways: closing them with masonry bricks, aluminum-glass windows, wooden panels, pieces of canvas, and so on (Figure 5).
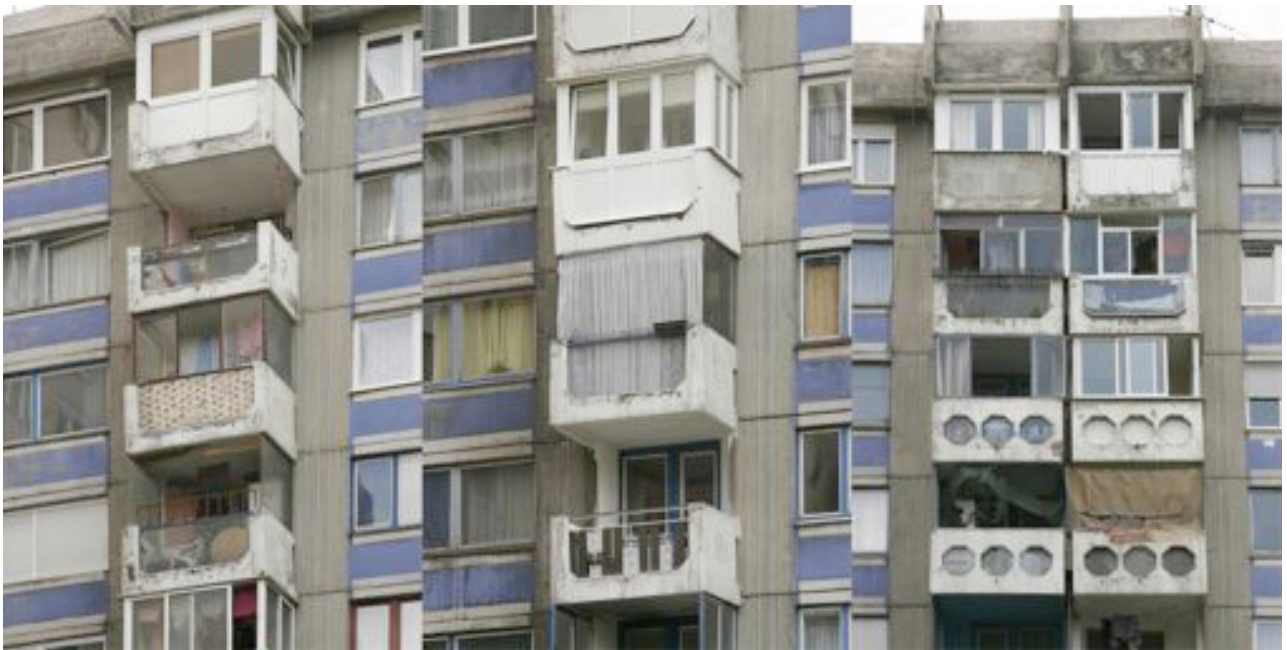
Figure 5: *Spontaneous changes on the terraces in the neighborhood Ali Pašino Polje. Photographs by Zoran Kanlić, June 2012.*

In the neighborhood Dobrinja on the existing apartments residents have executed illegal upgrades by adding new spaces in the attic of the buildings or converting the common basements into apartments (Figure 6). These changes are often implemented in a style totally different from the buildings they rely on. Another very common spontaneous intervention: the pavements filled in the street often uses recycled material from other roads (Figure 7).

Figure 6. *Upgrading in the neighborhood Dobrinja.*

Figure 7. *Recycling of the road pavements in the neighborhood Hrid. Photographs by: Armina Pilav (left), September 2011, and Zoran Kanlić (right), June 2012.*

Furniture that has been usually used for interior spaces can be seen very often outside in front of the private houses or as a sitting area in front of dwelling blocks (Figure 8). In the legalized Roma neighborhood Gorica next to the new ordinary houses built by international NGO's, the Roma population built up barracks for different purposes. In interviews with some of the dwellers, they state that there is no luck in new houses, they prefer old houses. Well the image of Roma neighborhoods is very similar everywhere, but Gorica has always been a mix of the planned and spontaneous city and inhabited by same population. Their temporary houses are always moving and changing position within this planned neighborhood (Figure 9).

Figure 8. *Interior furniture used for outdoors life. Photographs by Zoran Kanlić, June 2012.*

Figure 9. *Rom neighborhood Gorica. Mix of planed and spontaneous city. Photos of interior where the cartoon box for chips sail is used as a peace of furniture. Photographs by: Zoran Kanlić (above), June 2012, and Armina Pilav (bottom), Februray 2007.*

Urban spontaneous greening represents the category of natural long-term spontaneous urban forms. Today, as a consequence of the last war, many public buildings, industrial and military zones are partly destroyed and not in use. During such long period of abandonment, these buildings have become wild green parks in the middle of urban areas. It is an interesting landscape of planned, built objects and self-growing trees, bushes and grass. In Figure 10 you see the spontaneous greening of the ex-military complex "Maršalka."[5] The complex itself in its original form doesn't exist any more. Today main three main functional zones in one urban area are visible: the abandoned military barracks with an amazing wild nature; the University Campus; the American Embassy which consists of a new building complex divided by a double fence from the rest of the former military complex made of metal bars and the high concrete wall. Inside this ex-military complex there are also some private facilities such as a tennis club and a swimming pool next to the abandon area, and repair workshop for racing cars. The above-mentioned different functions highlight this spontaneous green that is growing from destroyed buildings. It represents "the organically developed situations (that) are the ones which simultaneously surprise us and give us a feeling of familiarity" (Breen, 2010, p.141). In this case the contrast between old and new is very strong as well.

Conclusion

Figure 10. *Spontaneous urban greening on the abandoned and partially destroyed buildings inside the former military complex "Maršalka". On the right bottom photo is visible the contrast between old and new functions. Photographs by: Zoran Kanlić, June 2012.*

The spontaneous urban forms present in Sarajevo are numerous and created for different reasons—for economic subsistence; for entertainment, by changing your living environment; for the maintenance of your flat, street and neighborhood; and so on. Perhaps, these urban forms could testimony that the "spontaneous city is attractive" (Breen, 2010, p.141). Actually the image is attractiv But, if we consider the reasons for the existence of these spontaneous urban forms, the analysis of spontaneous Sarajevo can give different conclusions. The people that are making them certainly don't think that these creations are attractive. But their construction almost always has to do with recycling and re-use of the materials and physical space in the city. Spontaneous citizens are actually contributing to the urban resilience strategy, giving to us everyday a new example of it. They are able to

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5 *The name was Kasarna /Military base Maršal Tito, the founder of former Yugoslavia.*

create spontaneous urban patterns, to transform them several times, to move them to other location, to combine them within the existing urban fabric. Being spontaneous is actually a good exercise to learn and to live in our cities in a real time. "But, above all, the Spontaneous city is a changing city; one which is capable of shaping itself according to the needs of that moment" (Breen, 2010, p.141). Other ways to describe the spontaneous city could be diverse, transformed, creative, recycled, surviving. These are the positive sides of Spontaneous City. While the negative sides of it, such as illegality or appropriation of a common land in dwelling blocks in Sarajevo perhaps could be a subject of planning processes. Considering Sarajevo's examples, the Spontaneous City remains a bipolar concept. It is difficult to observe it in a way that gives some definitive solutions for planning or to take it as model for future plans, but it will remain an interesting image of different and real city.

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'SPATIAL' EXCLUSION THROUHG SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

ABSTRACT

This paper discuss to punishment of the other can never have as like space terror use through gated community by Bourdieuen viewpoint. Perception of Wall which is structured by the other phobia surround the current global urban areas can be different according to socio-economic level. Stress which effect on othernon of them with a spatial strategy is related with the issue of transformed paradigm of capital which is conceptualized as symbolic capital by Bourdieu (2006). It is questioned that excluded inhabitant' perception about wall which is meant with symbolic violence concept and what kind of tactics would be develop to wall in this paper.

The other which is devoid of public right and accessibility in the urban areas is punished therefore can never have status. The wall means not only wall evaluating with space trilogy of Lefebvre which are lived, perceived and imagined spatial practices (Lefebvre, 2007).

It is getting important that an architectural element define the boundary of territory how transform to kind of violence tool. How the economic, policy, cultural and social estimation transform of housing supply as a strategy vehicle to con-

trol over the others issue can be explain in the context of Foucault's panoptican concept. It's thought that spatial hierarchy as a strategy contains different tactics considering the reality is of spatial organization and spatial relations as a part of power and its hegemonies.

In this paper, firstly to evaluate of the process was effected to spatial organizations in Istanbul start with modernization project process and current urban pomo view. Then, there will be a discussion on dimension of exclusion which made of transformation of symbolic capital to status in latest global version in the special of Istanbul.

KEY WORDS: SOCIAL CAPITAL, OTHERNESS, EXCLUSION

1 INTRODUCTION

Spatial inequalities which is emerged with the globalization effects on space is seen that spread on geography in parallel with the social inequalities as an increasing acceleration. Social and spatial inequalities bread of social-spatial exclusion by the transformation of the statue issue to symbolic capital. There would be a tension between whose have power and have not it according to the status of otherness of citizens with the deprivation of the right of the city. In this paper there will be reading of urban space in the context of the economy policy of space. The main purpose of this paper is to understanding how the product of spatial segregation through capitalist economic system and how it is manipulated by the power as a strategy. The main argument of based on the research is the concept of Bourdieu's symbolic capital. Within the framework of this case, spatial segregation is planned to be addressed especially in the context of gated community. Focusing specifically on gated communities, this study is revealed how the spatial segregation of social exclusion and othering can turn into violence, constitute a perception on people living outside of the space is questioned that is Created by human hands, and is basically a space the practice of separation mentality.

2 ON SOCIAL AND SPATIAL EXCLUSION

The context of the emergence of the social exclusion concept is discussed related with the decrease in social relation rather than the economic causality (Lenoir, 1974). Social stratification concept expresses differentiation of a certain population hierarchical overlapping classes. The essence and the basics of stratification lies on the unequal distribution of the rights and the privileges, the duties and responsibilities, social values and deprivation, social power and influences of members of the society(Sorokin, 1964). Sorokin, hierarchical sequence of socially individuals reduces the three shapes; economic, political,

and occupational stratification. However economic stratification depends on the rise in income, it also depends the distribution of this increase in society While the express in question is the political stratification, title and privileges of each organization to govern and to be governed on the basis of a hierarchy of authority and prestige, occupational stratification, professional groups, not on the same social level, i.e. on top of a horizontal line is seen to be sorted. According to Sorokin, the source of the stratification collected in three groups; the fact of living together (the hierarchical formation of nature of organization), innate individual differences (physical and mental differences), environmental differences(convenient-inconvenient environmental conditions-Weber's words 'life changes'). Forms of social stratification, economic, professional, and political foundations of modern societies, social classes are determined according to the four criteria: income, life style, occupation, and class consciousness. While urban spatial segregation is described with social exclusion, social exclusion is described with focus on race and ethnicity. Ethnic structure and identity and sometimes a reaction to the modernization process, sometimes a measure of individual self-identify it as different, sometimes come to the fore as a means of solidarity. Ethnic differences in this case must be protected and respected factors. However, this discourse has changed with the ethnic identities angle which was differentiated with 21th century.

Spatial exclusion may be sourced with ethnic, religious, cultural assimilation; it is observed that is based on economic-based class distinctions. If we give example from Turkey, the displacement of Roman citizens in Sulukule urban transformation example of ethnic-based exclusion, gated communities emerge in the urban area are examples of based on class distinctions exclusion. Middle and upper class wants to show their socio-economical differences which are determined with education and business ownership with lifestyle. They want to live together with people of their class; therefore they separate themselves from lower class (Ayata2005, İnsel1999, Öncü1997, Geniş2007). For this, they choose to isolate themselves by living in guarded luxury sites which show the status and sterile life style. This situation is a production form of consumer-oriented space gated communities which is offered by the capitalist system as a new lifestyle that have made capital has its own cycle of the system. Spatial segregation is a part of the capital flows cycle on the global geography. In this spatial fragmentation Massey called as power geometry, power control the space and manipulate it for own hierarchy, it wants to continue its power through which is not joined to globalization, being othernised and do not want to participate to urban community. Spatial hierarchy is an ongoing phenomenon wherever social hierarchy exists.

Global flows of capital investment, labor migration, information, and technologi-

cal innovation are reshaping city space and local capital-labor relations, creating new industrial spaces, a reshuffling of class identities, different urban divisions of labor, and a re-polarized and re-fragmented pattern of social and spatial stratification (Soja, 2000). As emphasized in the 'effects of space' article of Bourdieu,it is very important to understand the relationship between the structuring of social space and physical space for understanding the full dimension of segregation in a society, because segregation in those two dimension is parallel While spatial exclusion and social exclusion feed each other synchronously, they cause social polarization. For the sustainability of the community life, to prevent the process leading to hazardous situation, basic argument must be sustainability of space.

2.1 SPATIAL SEGREGATION-EXCLUSION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF CAPİTAL

Social classes and relationships play an important role in spatial divergence. If we consider the diversity of the power relations in the social structure, even spatial hierarchy is getting more complex Harvey (1992) explain the complex link between spatial segregation and social relations with the presence of some of the factors: 1. The basic factor is based on the relationship of capital and labor, 2. Secondary factor that is created by the contradictory and evolutionary nature of capitalism(division of labor, specialization in functions, consumption patterns and lifestyles, driven ideological and political consciousness) 3. Factors that reflect the social relations of production have been historical forms. Besides these factors in terms of the being the determining of the spatial segregation, space production formats is gaining importance. In the process of capitalist urbanization, the emergence of the built environment and sub-urban linked with speculator investors and landlords, land-estate brokers and their supported by financial and public institutions. On the basis of the theoretical debate of space consumption paradigm, the concept of capitalist economic system and globalization are facts. Gated community phenomenon, the practice of spatial production which is created by the effect of neo-liberal policies of globalized urban space. In the essence of this spatial practice include the fact of class differences based on the othering-exclusion. It is thought to be understood that spatial segregation's environmental effect by considering the interaction of spatial practice and social phenomena. In this context, to try to explaining what the spatial practice is the dynamics of the gated community practice have been considered in a matrix (Table 1).

Because of the spatial practices are closely related with processes of social relation's reproduction and transformation Harvey(2006) mentions the need to conceptualize of these practice, and he uses Lefevbre's space trilogy(experienced,

perceived, imagined) in this conceptualize. Material spatial practice-experienced; to provide the production and reproduction in the through space includes physical, material flow and interactions. Space representations-perceived; contains all indicator and meaning, code and information which are facilitating the understanding material practices. Impression space-imagined; mental inventions which invents new meaning and possibilities for spatial practices. In space trilogy, productions is not dependent of each other but is discussed as a process of holistic and dialectical. Table 1.A grid of relation with social and spatial practices

	experienced	perceived	imagined
flexible accumulation	spatial division	otherness	diversification
global city	accessibility	regardless place	debasement space
consumption culture	rant/property	social statue	desirability
symbolic capital	social class	statue	new life style
fear ecology	security	defence	fear
otherness	spatial exclusion	social exclusion	foreignness
spatial flows	spatial segregation	hierarchy	power
post-metropol	security	paranoia	tension
panoptican space	typology	control	insecurity
power geometry	location	inequality	exclusion

At this point, the research was inspired by conceptualizing of Harvey. It's aimed to create a discussion background of the effects of segregation and demonstrate the relationship between spatial economy-policy and space practices. Table 1 shows the reading of space practice in the context of spatial segregation through concepts-conditions. On the chart, the cases listed in the left hand side, taken in the context of increased social production of spatial difference is shown in three columns that shows the spatial practices that might result from interactions of productions. Concepts that are written in the schema are the result of their relationship with the related space practice. For example, correspondence of the flexible accumulation process in the material spatial practice is the segregation. While its correspondence is the otherness in the perceived spatial practice, in symbolic practice it is the differentiation. While the physical spatialism of the concept of global city emerges in the form of cross-border transport relations, its conceptual practice is independence of geography and symbolic practice is the unworthiness of space. Globalizing space and non-globalizing space wins or loses value. Correspondence of the consumer culture phenomenon in the material

spatial practice is understood as property and rant, in perceived spatial practice is social status and in the symbolic practice is attraction and desire. Dwelling, beyond the function of shelter, become transformed into an attractive lifestyle marketed as a consumption object. Consumer-dweller wants to be having this attractive space for own indicator status Symbolic capital concept in the material spatial practice is seen as class differences, in the perceived spatial practice it is seen as status, in the imagined spatial practice it is seen as desirable lifestyle. Today in global cities, symbol of the capital is seen as status and showing the wealthiness.

Spatial segregation is a strategic production issue comes from relationship of

the economy policy of space with related concepts and spatial practices. As a spatial practice, gated community exists together with social practices. Spatial relations of segregation concept are discussed in matrix which is shown in the relation of the practice of social and spatial. In this context, the concepts in the matrix are directly related with gated community phenomenon. Gated communities emerge as a result of spatial fragmentation of global cities, and it is an object of consumption in global economy. The reason of the emergence of the gated community in the world is security issue, and its feed up with fear ecology. Display of the spatial hierarchy is related with the othering of the space of flows and power. Gated community is a symbol of the life style which is desired as a symbolic capital, and it leads to increase the class differentiation. It makes the community homogenized with gemeinshaft instinct. It makes excluded with walls and barriers. As a built environment it creates stress around.

3 SPATIAL ORGANIZATIONS AS A SYMBOLİS CAPİTAL

According to Bourdieu, the fundamental dynamic of social life is conflict and the power struggle lies in the center of social arrangements. This struggle is conducted through both material and symbolic resources. Bourdieu(2006) explains the relationship between classes by identifying the conflict areas. These areas are shaped by the hierarchy and power. The distribution of power varies according to the distribution of capital. Capitals are social, economic, cultural and symbolic and class differences are determined by different combination degrees of them. Capital is the sum of the material and symbolic commodities which is attributed a value and run after by the community (Bourdieu ve Wacquant,1992). Symbolic capital, which can be seen in every capital, it composed of the social networks of agent have and in certain conditions it is capital turned to economy. Symbolic capital not as a power, but it's perceived as a power form of the legitimate demands to recognition, respect, obedience or service of others (Swartz, 2011). Symbolic capital is a capital concept that a value attributed by the different groups in the city, participating in a social space and determines the hierarchy of social structure. In this hierarchical structure, as a result of the dictation work of the superior's own capital to bottom or similar class symbolic violence more dominant than physical violence and that permeates daily life.
Qualter(1991) express the extent of the current consumer culture in the name of 'advertising and democracy in the consumption age' book; individuals in the consumer society are classified and positioned at first, according to what they consumed, so a status is determined. Used cars, clothes, selected foods respond the needs of belonging to a group as well as individual material needs. Spaces like gated communities, malls etc comes out as a tool of consumer-oriented

global culture cities that are focused a consumption metastasis; Consumption of space seem to be related with class issue rather than needs. Communities with the effect of globalization and consumption culture are shaped by desire to have status instead of being features educated or career. Bourdieu describes this situation with the concept of symbolic capital. Power, by creating an object of desire develops various tactics to manipulate it. According to Bourdieu(2006), the media plays a crucial role at this point.. While power applies the strategies, it shows a symbolic violence legitimizing the actions and at first uses language for it. For example with the announced a variety of crimes through the media there would be creating perception of uncanny public life so that a group of society came to others and would be applied symbolic violence. According to Gramsci(1986) the media tools are the tools for use of maintaining the richness, powers and positions of ruling elites and this way dominant class produce their hegemony over and over again. In the 'Manufacturing Constent' book, Chomsky(2006), emphasizing the importance of media in the era of globalization. He mentions about the media which have a propaganda model functionality to respond the needs of state power and elites. 'Symbolic violence' emerges while cultural imposition of life vision or class vision as an ideology realized through manipulation of the media.

Power conflict on the basis of social stratification and hence spatial segregation is shaped by having an economic and symbolic capital, protection of status and self-differentiation and applications of symbolic violence strategies in this strategic context. Desire of have a gated community life which is representing both economic and symbolic capital that we faced a strategy that feeds spatial conflicts. Marketing strategies are getting importance in the production organization relationships which is formed as the ability of power ownership supply space production make approve others as.

In the 21th century, the most important phenomenon is the concept of the strengthening of internationalized capital and globalized consumer culture in all areas of life. Today's symbolic capital is evaluated to status not knowledge, culture, education, ability etc. It seems that spaces consumed in the understanding of post modern consumer culture. In the transformation of spatial organization, the role of the financial and politic actors is getting importance. It seems that for being able to space it of the capital, to make segregated urban space being a desire object related with evolution to status of symbolic capital of space.

4. EMERGING OF SPATIAL EXCLUSION IN ISTANBUL

In Turkey, especially in Istanbul, we can see two thresholds in the chronology of the spatial segregation; between 1950 and 1980, after 1980. In the transaction

to industrial society process, big cities like Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir began to take migration from rural area. In the beginning of 1950's are the intensive migration times. In that time, there was an unbalanced urban growth in big cities where housing and population not enough with each other. Immigrants provided its own housing and working needs informal ways Squatter settlements were seen in the urban fringe in this period. Lack of employment gave rise of labor in the informal aspect. Economically, socially and cultural unarticulated population tried to hold on to the city by this informal way. After 1980 with liberal policies, new life style exported from the West has been started to be seen new rich and upper middle class who is created by understanding of free market economy's in the country. Gated communities that their numbers increased quickly in the World's Metropolis emerge in the beginning of the 1990's in Istanbul The reason for this increase, as if being claimed that fear caused by rising crime and violence in metropolis, in fact, the logic of these compounds are the status representing spaces In Istanbul, until recently, housing types diverge two; slums as an indicator of the peasant, backwardness and lower class status, and the apartment in
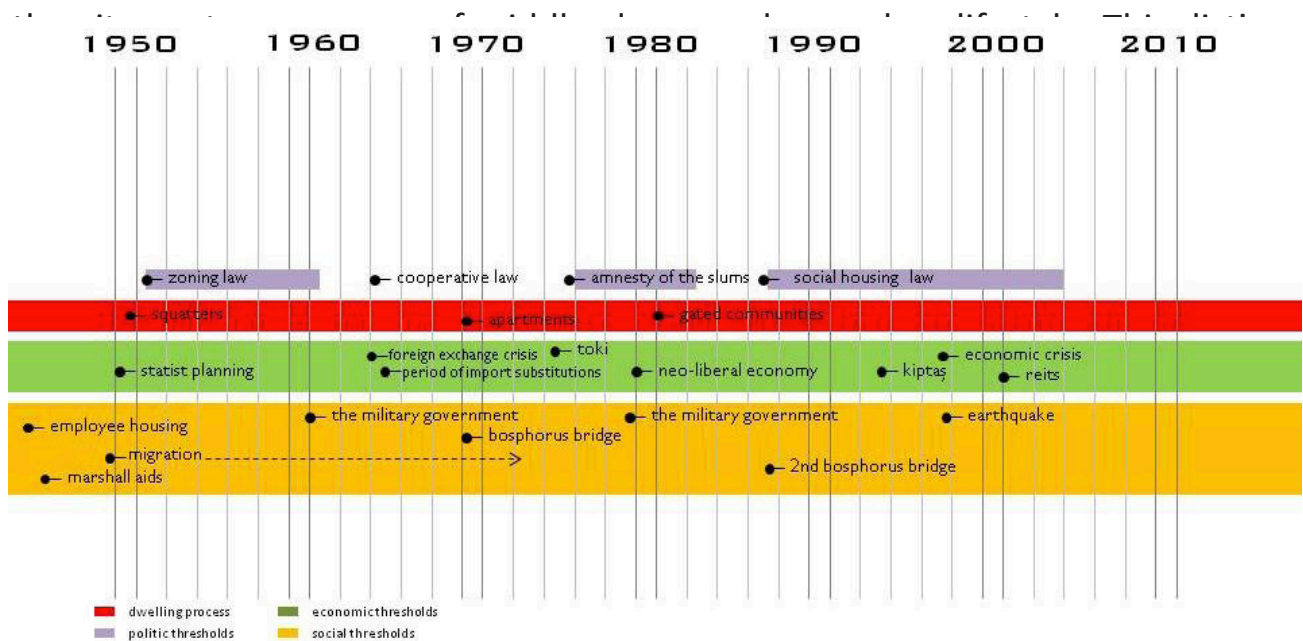
Figure 1. The chronology on effects to spatial segregation in Turkey.

economic crisis, increasing housing demand, increasing housing price and the pressure of those who want a share of urban rant have shaped the state policies. At the end of this process, TOKI emerged. Public lands were sold to big investors, arrangements were made in development plans, and infrastructure facilities had been provided for urban fringe, road, and infrastructure development attracted the attention of big capital through slum areas. With the thresholds of social transformation, the process of planning decision of urban area and occurrence of different actors that is evolution of housing area in Istanbul are shown in Figure1. Although the actors such as municipality, central government and

investment partnership manipulate the space with strategies, what tactics can be developed by NGOs, professional associations and individuals are an issue to be addressed.

5. CONCLUSION

Social segregation-exclusion and spatial segregation-exclusion interacted each other. Whenever social hierarchy is a matter of fact, spatial hierarchy would be there. The problem is the possibility of transformation to conflict of the hierarchy within itself. Communities have assimilated into each other in various ways throughout history. Today we see it is done through status. The architect's role and professional ethics in spatial exclusion issue must be questioned. A design concept which is legalized the exclusion with legal policies must be rejected. In addition, against the power's manipulations of space, there is a need for improvement of tactics. About this issue, it is necessary to bring discussion of this issue by NGO and professional associations, bring resistance and solutions and to propose legislations on this issue.

Spatial segregation formations, especially gated clustering, do not comply with a traditional Turkish neighborhood, social, religious and moral structure of society. Exclusion issue in the urban context is seen as a neighborhood stigmatization. For example; living in Sulukule was perceived being a Roman. Today, urban transformation abolished this ethnic groups from there, there is another problem is; dispossession. Boundaries are created for reasons of protection and privacy often without acknowledging that they also causes tensions, conflicts and further manifest mental boundaries among people from each side. Specially, Gated communities trigger of in spatial and social exclusion in the communities is the subject of sociological research. Urban and spatial design makers are observed to fail to be an actor in the political economy of space, far away from the professional ethics in the spatial practice process. Feature of being a functional place in urban and architectural design has left to serve in profitability of monetary policy. Design approach is to bring all kinds of social conflict, seems to be disabled in terms of social sustainability. It is known that, all kinds of organization interact in space-society relationship. First of all, owners of the power formed with the direction of space, instant and the capital-oriented planning approach should be eliminated. With local authorities, city councils should be consisting of experts that will be established as a civilian, and these decisions should be conducted, the decisions of the planning application must have priority.

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RE-APPROPRIATION OF PUBLIC SPACE AS QUEER A CASE OF NORTHERN PART OF CYPRUS

ABSTRACT

Northern part of Cyprus has been in the shadow of "Cyprus dispute" and economic problems related to embargoes since Cyprus Civil War. Political arena in northern part of Cyprus has been shaped mostly in relation to these issues. This has created an atmosphere in which many social and environmental problems have been turned into secondary by politicians, media and the society. Many issues related to social equity which have been discussed for quite a while in many other countries are relatively new in northern part of Cyprus. It is not very long ago that claiming LGBTQ rights has moved into the public sphere on this geography.

Like any other movement, it is vital for queer movement to acquire visibility in public space and spatiality in demanding social rights. However, visibility of many LGBTQ people and activists is much restricted. Firstly, the government abolishes same-sex sexual acts between men through some articles in the criminal code putting individuals into risk of being arrested when they are out. In addition to this, Cyprus is a small island where most people are related somehow. The fear of exclusion and discrimination at home, workplace, school and many

other governmental bodies makes it harder for LGBTQ individuals to come out. Although it is very hard for many LGBTQ individuals to act openly queer in public while demanding human rights, there is some kind of spatiality in their actions. LGBTQ individuals and activists have been claiming public space where they can form and represent their identities. This is made possible through some tactics. These tactics include but are not limited to individuality, collectivity and anonymity. Through these tactics, the issues and demands are brought into public sphere through cyberspace and media, and into public space through urban graffiti, street protests and demonstrations, NGO offices for meetings, gay bars, queer friendly cafes, etc. as a reaction to hetero-normative strategies. It is possible to observe that hetero-normative space is being re-appropriated as either queer space or homo-normative. However, the space itself affects the process of re-appropriation.

With this research, I aim to categorize the tactics used by queer individuals and activists to re-appropriate hetero-normative public space. I also aim to look at the ways the city space itself can restrict or ease the formation of queer space. Thus, I will make a proposal for a space model.

Key WORDS: re-appropriation, hetero-normative, public, space, queer

INTRODUCTION

Bahar Aktuna was born in Nicosia, Cyprus in 1985. She had her Bachelor's degree from the Department of Architecture in Eastern Mediterranean University in Spring 2006. Upon the completion of her undergraduate studies, she attended Boston University summer school through Cyprus-America Scholarship Program where she took courses on painting, drawing and art history. She worked at Ziya Necati Özkan Architectural and Engineering Office as an architect from September 2006 until May 2008. After her two-year professional experience, she attended the School of Architecture at University of Florida on a Fulbright scholarship for her graduate studies. She received her Masters of Architecture degree in Summer 2010. Her Masters Research Project focused on peace-building in Cyprus through architecture. Right after her graduation, she volunteered for Turkish Cypriots Human Rights Foundation for three months. She has been volunteering for Queer Cyprus Association since November 2010. Since September 2011, she has worked as a full-time lecturer in the Department of Architecture at Girne American University. She has been working towards a PhD degree since September 2011. Her interest areas include gender, space, architecture, memory and spatial representation.

GENERAL SPECIFICATIONS

This presentation is about an issue which has gained a lot of public attention around the world. However, it is brand new in the public sphere of northern part of Cyprus. I would like to talk about Queer movement and its connection to public space.

In 2008, I went abroad for my graduate studies. Living in a heterotopia, I became aware of the fluid nature of sexuality through my own experience. This has opened the way to question the social constructs I was imposed as a member of the society. Heterosexuality is taken for granted by societies and hetero-normative ideologies are not really questioned by many of us. My involvement in LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) community of Gainesville and Orlando in Florida has made me aware of another phenomenon at that time: homo-normativity. After having graduated, I returned to my country with the will to do something about the issue. While I was volunteering for Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Association for a short period, an activist from a non-governmental organization called "Initiative Against Homophobia" approached me in order to join them. I have been involved in the organization for almost two years by now. I had been looking for ways to relate my two major interest areas, LGBTQ rights and architecture, since my return to Cyprus. Having gained more awareness on the issues, my main interest area has evolved into queer and space.

I would like to start with the source of the problem which is hetero-normativity. Hetero-normativity is a system in which heterosexuality is accepted as the norm. Oppression created by hetero-normativity has led to the emergence of LGBTQ categories as a reaction. Queer acknowledges the existence of a sexual spectrum where performance can be fluid, thus, it does not represent any categories. Although fixed identities of sexual orientation and gender identity such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transwoman, transman etc. are normative in themselves, it has been necessary to define these categories for the possibility of affirmative action. LGBTQ as a category has been a challenge to heterosexist patriarchal "strategies" (De Certeau, 2011, pp.xix) of states, societies and traditions. This challenge holds the potential to liberate everybody no matter what their gender identity or/and sexual orientation is/are.

Hetero-normative strategies have been embedded in the built environment as signs and symbols. Thus, they are spatial. Everybody is involved in imprinting them into space including both planners and designers. These actors act as agents of hegemonic power. Through imprinting, the perception and realities of people are constructed and re-constructed socially. Hetero-normative hegemony oppresses not only LGBTQ people but also anybody related to them, and

even people who assume themselves as heterosexual since they can't imagine otherwise. Thus, liberation of all people will not really be achieved until public space is re-appropriated as queer.

For various reasons, it is not very long ago that claiming LGBTQ rights has moved into the public sphere in this geography. Northern part of Cyprus has a small population as a portion of a small island and people are related somehow. Information spreads out quickly and it is not possible to control how much public it will become. Thus, LGBTQ individuals are scared of information reaching someone undesirable. In addition to this, northern part of Cyprus has been in the shadow of "Cyprus dispute," land ownership issues and economic problems related to embargoes since Cyprus Civil War. Political arena in northern part of Cyprus has been shaped mostly in relation to these issues. Consequently, many social and environmental problems have been turned into secondary by politicians and media, and eventually the society. On top of this, there is a common mindset and discourse among both heterosexual and homosexual individuals that "anybody's bed/bedroom is not others' business." Through existence of this discourse, Cypriots may seem liberal enough not to interfere in lives of LGBTQ individuals as long as LGBTQ people are in the closet and are not disturbing heterosexual majority by acting openly around them. However, this discourse is a reflection of homophobia and reduction of sexual orientations other than heterosexual into sexual acts. What is more problematic is that this discourse is also owned by LGBTQ individuals as a result of lack of social and political awareness on the issue. The use of the term "closet" or the discourse of "anybody's bed/bedroom is not others' business," is very expressive of the spatiality of sexual orientation and its belonging to private space.

It has not been very long that space is being treated as a phenomenon other than physical. Henri Lefebvre mentions the social dimension of space for the first time in "The Production of Space" which was published in 1974. "Not so many years ago, the word 'space' had a strictly geometrical meaning: the idea evoked was simply that of an empty area. In scholarly use it was generally accompanied by some such epithet as 'Euclidean', 'isotropic', or 'infinite', and the general feeling was that the concept of space was ultimately a mathematical one. To speak of 'social space', therefore, would have sounded strange." (Lefebvre, 1974, pp.1) In his book, Lefebvre is interested in the production of space by capitalism. However, it is possible to look at other ways of production which might include but is not limited to religious, patriarchal and hetero-normative systems.

All these systems work together to create an environment where feminine is always subordinate to masculine. People who identify as women, non-heterosexual and/or people of color are associated with femininity. Space of nature is divided into pieces and assigned owners by masculine power. What we call

private space is ruled by masculine and used by feminine whereas public space is both ruled and used by masculine.

Although the division between private and public space has existed for a long time, Hannah Arendt brought up the theory of public space for the first time. Arendt (2011, pp.92) states that the term of "public" expresses two distinct but interrelated phenomena. In the first phenomenon, anything appearing in public space can be seen or heard by everybody, and it has the widest space possible. It is an appearance which makes reality; what is seen and heard by us can be seen and heard by others as well. Arendt (2011, pp.93) also tells that existence of others who can see and hear what we can see and hear makes us certain about reality of ourselves and the world. Our perception of reality depends on appearance totally, thus, even the darkness of our private and intimate lives takes its power from the brightness of public space. (Arendt, 2011, pp.94) The second phenomenon expresses a common world which is separate from private world. However, this common world is not a limited space that people move around or it is not earth or nature that makes up the general condition of organic life. Living in that world together essentially means that this world is similar to a table owned by people sitting around it; it either connects or separates them. (Arendt, 2011, pp.95)

Jurgen Habermas develops a model of liberal bourgeois public sphere which is criticized by Nancy Fraser since Habermas completes his work without developing a post-bourgeois model of public sphere. (ed. Meral Özbek, 2004, pp.105) Fraser also criticizes Habermas on the basis that he does not problematize some assumptions of bourgeois model of public sphere which are as follow:

"The possibility of participation of participants in public sphere as if they are equal in the society by taking the status differences of participants into parenthesis, thus, making an assumption that equality within the society is not a necessary condition for political democracy;

Increase in diverse contradictory publics will not be a step towards democracy but the opposite; one inclusive public sphere being more preferable against multiple publics;

Discourses of public sphere should be limited to negotiation on common good; emergence of private interests and private issues being inconvenient;

There should be a sharp dividing line between civil society and state for effectively functioning public sphere" (ed. Meral Özbek, 2004, pp.112)

What Fraser criticizes about Habermas' model of public space can be validated by observing northern part of Cyprus since we experience this model of public sphere as a result of our political system. Northern part of Cyprus is governed

by liberal democracy. The representation of minorities is either weak or non-existent in the parliament where decisions are taken on behalf of and for the society. Thus, prevalent culture is produced and reproduced through this system. It is already obvious that population having awareness on LGBTQ issues is very small. Thus, a group of people without fair enough vision or knowledge to make decisions about that specific issue actually make decisions on the issue. In this case, multiple publics and division of decision making mechanisms into smaller scale would give the opportunities to minorities to be heard. Secondly, the prevalent approach of many homosexual as well as heterosexual people that LGBTQ issues should stay in the private sphere and space is very problematic. There is a discourse by feminists on "personal is political" or "private is political." LGBTQ individuals are subjected to discrimination and hate crimes and as long as this is not recognized as public enough, they will be deprived of their very basic rights. Finally, rights for LGBTQ individuals will be acquired sooner and properly if the movement is represented in every platform including the parliament. Parliament is where the rights will be protected legally so it is crucial that parliament members have more insight on the issue. Thus, there should be more interaction between civil society and state bodies.

Although Nancy Fraser attempts to contribute to the development of model of public sphere, Fraser's model of public sphere accepts the existence of a "society" -people bounded together with some imagined and assumed common characteristics- thus, some kind of normativity although it is not as normative as Habermas' model because of spreading of decision-making mechanisms. As the public sphere is normative, space of public or public space also reflects this normativity. In fact, all contents of public need to be adequately normalized until they can be communicated and represented in public sphere and public space. Although it is hard to challenge old traditions and cultural structure, hetero-normative public space has been challenged by LGBTQ people, and counter public spaces have emerged. Hetero-normative public space has been somehow re-appropriated as either homo-normative or queer despite of many adversities. The most important adversity might be the fact that sexual orientation doesn't have characteristics visible to the eye as much as characteristics of minorities related sexes, ethnicities or races do. Even transgendered or transsexual individuals which would be the most visible categories are mostly hidden in Cypriot society. Also the fact that the government abolishes same-sex sexual acts between men through 171st, 172nd and 173rd articles of Chapter 154 in the Criminal Code exposes individuals to the risk of being arrested when they are out in the public. This is a strategy imposed by the state to oppress people who have the potential to challenge hetero-normative ideology.

However, there are some "tactics" (De Certeau, 2011, pp.xix) performed by LG-

BTQ individuals which challenge hetero-normative strategies of the state and society. These tactics can be identified as individual, collective and anonymous tactics. Individual tactics take place when a person acts alone in claiming the public space. Collective tactics represent a group of people acting together in claiming the public space. Anonymous tactics happen through not giving information on identity/identities of actor/actors in claiming the public space. It is possible to observe these tactics in our everyday lives.

An example of conscious individual tactic is coming out of an activist from Queer Cyprus Association –previously Initiative Against Homophobia- to the whole society by giving an interview to a local newspaper with open identity and photos on the northern part of Cyprus. The whole society had to face the fact that there were gay people in Turkish Cypriot community. In addition to this, there are examples of people such as journalists, artists, academics, therapists, etc. applying individual tactics through their professions to make the issue more common and familiar.

Collective tactics are observed in the works of NGOs such as Queer Cyprus Association, FEMA and YKP-fem. Queer Cyprus is an LGBTQ rights centered association unlike others which are feminism centered associations. Queer Cyprus Association marches with other NGOs from northern part of Cyprus on 8th March, 1st May and on other occasions such as protests where activists carry banners and rainbow flag as a symbol of queer. There has not been a Pride March yet which shows that shifting focus somehow is useful and collectivity is an efficient aspect of activism in Cyprus. Also, queer and feminist organizations have supported each on occasions that gay men were arrested based on the criminal code. There have been a few occasions that ILGA-Europe and LGBTQ NGOs from other countries visited Cyprus for solidarity networking using their anonymity in Cyprus. Non-activist LGBTQ people claim the public space through visiting queer and queer-friendly places or gay bars, or throwing out LGBTQ parties in someone's house or joining LGBTQ sailing tours or meeting in the office of a queer formation. Thus, accumulation in same space creates a collective existence and acknowledges the existence of other LGBTQ individuals.

Anonymous tactics can be observed in activism carried on cyberspace, media, performances of urban graffiti and rainbow stickers. LGBTQ issues have been brought up through websites, blogs, journals and newspaper by using nicknames or names of organizations. On a low-speed route in the walled city of Nicosia, some phrases appeared which included "Love is love" and "Right is right" as a part of queer activist movement. Non-activist tactics might include LGBTQ people using cyberspace in order to meet other LGBTQ individuals or a transgendered people performing desired gender on cyberspace.

Consciously or unconsciously, LGBTQ people perform three mentioned tactics of

individual, collective and anonymous in combinations with each other through both/either actual and/or virtual environment leading to re-appropriation of public space as queer.

In order to understand better the issues of living in a hetero-normative environment, it is important to learn from the experiences of people who are subjected to that. Thus, I prepared a questionnaire to spread among LGBTQ individuals who lived in the northern part of Cyprus. One of the most important goals was to measure the reaction towards public sphere and public space among the potential respondents. Another important goal was to find out about their opinion on visibility issues in public space and publicity of LGBTQ movement.

The qualitative research I conducted consisted of a questionnaire divided into 6 parts:

- The first part focused on the general identification of the person.
- The second part focused on the degree of being out to the environment.
- The third part focused on the importance of spending time with LGBTQ people.
- The fourth part focused on the level of comfort in relation to the built environment.
- The fifth part focused on their ideas on visibility in the public.
- The sixth part inquired if they were activists.

The questionnaire was spread among LGBTQ people through e-mail. It reached to approximately 30-40 people, but only 20 people responded.

In the first part, the respondents identified their sex as male, female; their gender as woman, man, fluid, non-gendered and "gay"; their sexual orientation as lesbian, gay, pansexual, queer, homosexual and "heterosexual with no borders in mind." Their ages ranged between 21 and 51. No transsexual or transgendered person responded to the questionnaire reducing the coverage of the outcome of this research.

In the second part, it was found out that almost all of the interviewees were selectively out to their nuclear family, extended family, friends and colleagues. When they were asked why they were only partially out, the answers included "the criminal law against sex between two men, homophobic structure of media and society, not being protected through laws, fear of exclusion from social environment, norms of the society, perception of gayness as something perverted, personal choice and having no economic independence yet."

In the third part, when they were asked how important it was for them to spend time with other LGBTQ individuals, they responded that it was either very important or important or they didn't mind if they spent or didn't spend time with

other LGBTQ individuals. No one opted for the option of "they preferred not to spend time with other LGBTQ individuals." People who stated that it was either very important or important to spend time with other LGBTQ individuals mentioned the existence of a common language, same experiences and high level of empathy, higher comfort level in emotional, sexual and intellectual conversations and more meaningful conversations. One of the respondents told that "It is good to spend time with people who are like me. This doesn't mean that it is meaningful to spend time with people only because they are queer." On the other hand, some respondents claimed that they didn't feel the need, or they had unpleasant experiences before. Thus, they didn't mind if they spent or didn't spend time with other LGBTQ individuals. One of the respondents stated that they didn't have much in common with LGBTQ individuals due to the low awareness amongst LGBTQ people in Cyprus.

In the fourth part, when they were asked about their comfort level in private and public spaces, most people stated that they felt more comfortable in private spaces rather than public spaces.

When they were asked in which public spaces they felt the most comfortable, the answers included some openly queer or queer-friendly cafes, bars, and restaurants owned or visited by LGBTQ and LGBTQ-friendly individuals, gender-sensitive formations such as feminist and queer organizations, and places far from "home". The respondents tried to describe architectural and urban characteristics of spaces. According to their definitions, these were small sized spaces of human scale with unique themes of their own. There were two contradictory types of spaces, one being extroverted and transparent in a very crowded area and the other being introverted and hidden in a quiet part of the city. People who felt comfortable in one of them felt comfortable in the other one as well. Thus, according to the respondents I encountered, transparency was not an issue to feel comfortable or uncomfortable. The extroverted space has the colors of pink and purple in decoration as gay and feminist symbols.

When the respondents were asked in which public spaces they felt the least comfortable, the answers included Dereboyu Avenue in Nicosia, Kyrenia Gate in Nicosia, Kyrenia Harbour in Kyrenia, government buildings, clubs, supermarkets, beauty salons, houses in small towns, sports clubs, clubs of political parties, wedding ceremonies, military spaces, bet offices, village squares, some parks and small settlements. Many respondents felt uncomfortable in government buildings because of the criminal law. The mentioned places were mostly perceived as spaces of hierarchy, patriarchy, masculinity, femininity, mainstream and popular culture. Some people felt that they could have been beaten in these places if they gave any clue about their sexual orientation. One of the respondents also told that "In these mainstream hetero-normative spaces, there is an assumption

that verbal and physical abuse is acceptable and even desirable. When I react, they are like 'what is your problem?' Because the assumption is that my body is in the market. Music played is very effective in describing the social order and rules of the space. A place having a playlist filled with music insulting women also gives the opportunity for this insult become physical indirectly." The architectural characteristics of these spaces included big scale, formal, cold colored architectural elements reflecting control, popular culture and power of money. They were also perceived as artificial and superficial having no character.

When they were asked how they acted in queer public spaces, they mostly answered that they neither presented nor hid their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. Only a few people said that they presented their sexual orientation and/or gender. When they were asked how they acted in non-queer public spaces, they again mostly answered that they neither presented nor hid their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. Only a few people said that they hid their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. However, one respondent told that she presented her sexual orientation.

In the fifth part, the respondents were asked if it was important and/or necessary to be visible as queer in public spaces. Half of the respondents agreed that it was both important and necessary to be visible in public space, whereas the other half disagreed. People who responded positively said that through becoming visible in public space, freedom could be gained with normative minds being liberated, society could gain more awareness, LGBTQ presence could be accepted by the system, queerness could be normalized, human rights could be acquired, life quality could be increased, and LGBTQ people could be happy and peaceful by expressing themselves freely. People who responded negatively mostly said that "Everybody's intimate life should be private." One respondent also said that "We have to adjust to everybody's lifestyle if we live in a society, and everything is good if it is not at the extremes." When the respondents were asked what limited visibility of LGBTQs in northern part of Cyprus, they had the responses of losing family and jobs, fear of being exposed to violence, fear of being made fun of, internalized homophobia, insufficiency of queer spaces, fear of being exposed to family and friends because of small population, criminal law, media performing hate speech, totalitarian society pressure, uneducated society, post-war family structure and society values. One of the respondents told that "I don't think that I am limited anywhere. Queers living in TRNC expose themselves in a disgusting way, and that is why they are subjected to exclusion. As someone gay, even I exclude those who act so freely. I approve that those extreme people are excluded from society. I will exclude them first."

Finally, in the sixth part, when the respondents were asked if they were LGBTQ activists, only a few strongly identified as activists. However, whether activists

or not, all LGBTQ people re-appropriate hetero-normative public space through their existence consciously and unconsciously.

The responses coming from LGBTQ individuals show that they feel oppressed in hetero-normative public spaces and they are in search of more queer public spaces. What make those spaces either queer or hetero-normative are mostly the owners and users, the type of activities and the symbols and meanings they communicate.

Although there are many issues to be solved at the level of politics, culture and education, some approaches to design might enable formation of queer public space. However, these approaches can be applied to any vulnerable and marginalized groups since their problems are all linked to each other socially:

• Design and planning processes have to be inclusive of LGBTQ individuals: Inclusive design process will prevent the feeling of placelessness. Thus, LGBTQ individuals and organizations should be able to participate in the formation of city space not only in the occupation of it.

• Design and planning should not aim at a finished product but a medium for others to express themselves. The city space should be touchable and transformable by people including LGBTQ individuals.

• Design and planning should lead to diversification and not to segregation in city space. Ghettoization creates new types of normativity. However some spaces of exclusion should be designed to hide themselves in the city in order to provide a comfortable environment for closeted LGBTQ individuals.

• Design and planning should be representative. LGBTQ individuals should be represented in public spaces. Most landmarks, monuments, decorations, directories, maps in the northern part of Cyprus are representations of nationalism, militarism and popular culture.

• Movement of people and idea of heterotopy are strong elements of social transformation and cultural progression. These elements should be incorporated into design and planning of city space. They might be combined with LGBTQ tourism ideas to create zones of queerness as a result of tourists abolishing self-control in public space.

Most architects and interior designers have been concerned about the aesthetic, climatic and economic qualities of space, but they need to become aware that spatial design is beyond the physical aspects of the space. Designing for children, aged people or challenged people have a lot of physical and ergonomics concerns although it is not limited to those concerns. However, the physical aspects of the space are only at the level of how buildings and public spaces communicate inclusive or exclusive messages and meanings for LGBTQ individuals. Thus, designing for LGBTQ individuals is more of a social dimension which is mostly omitted in current architectural design and architectural education

practices. Architects and architecture students need to get out of the abstract/ mental space they work in and move to lived spaces of people. This is only possible through working in 1/1 scale rather than 1/500, 1/200, 1/100, etc. scales. There is also a need to gain awareness on social problems of design and become socially responsible. When the designers start to work on real places, they will become part of a social transformation which has already started.

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THE EVALUATION OF SOME EMBLEMATIC PROJECTS ACCORDING TO ARCHITECTURE OF REVOLUTION: THE CASE OF ANKARA (1923-1940), TURKEY

ABSTRACT

After the departure of the Ottoman Sultan Vaahdettin Mehmet (1918-1922), the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, a series of Westernizing Institutional reforms was launched under the personal directive of Mustafa Kemal, the national hero and founder of the republic. The Kemalist reforms distinguish the republican period from everything, lending it its revolutionary area. The one of the radical of these reforms were in architecture.

Architecture, by its very nature, constituted a central element of visual culture of modernity, republican architects sought to dissociate this culture from any connection with the forms and stylistic features of Ottoman precedents. The new model buildings reflecting visual culture of modernity built near Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir were placed affected by Kemalist ideology.

The formal and aesthetic canons of the Modern Movement reflect the most appropriate expression of the rationalist and positivist ideals of Kemalism. The popular parlance as "cubic architecture",is itself indicate of the formal biases of the republican culture of modernity.

In the present work it will be presented the case study of the Ankara. In order

to exemplify the importance of buildings belonging to Modern Movement for its form, facade, material and proportion, this paper analyses some emblematic projects that marked the principal structure which systemizes the Modern Movement through and "creating its skeleton" in their construction period-public buildings.

The methodology was developed for the Ankara, located in the center of the Turkey. In this study, the point location of the building constructed with Kemalist ideology was presented as visual interpretations. It was studied the origin of buildings reflecting architecture of revolution. The evaluation of public buildings-by analyzing significant buildings which marked the period when they were constructed analyzed information about the different component of Modern Movement.

KEY WORDS: Modern Movement, architecture of revolution, Kemalist ideology, cubic architecture.

1. INTRODUCTION

In Turkey, the radicalism of the Modern Movement opened up the possibility of an architecture that refused to legitimize the imperial past. By the early 1930s, this New Architecture (as the Modern Movement came to be called) had assumed a dominant position in an architecture of revolution. This study investigates Museum Buildings which were one of the most significant examples of the architectural reflection of the Modernity project realized within the context of a nation-state ideology in 1930's Turkey. By this way, exposing the contribution of architecture to Turkish modernization is mostly targeted. The 30's were identified as the transition period for Turkish architecture and the Turkish Republic; as the main aim in this stage was to construct the nation-state in accord with the new regime. For the Turkish Republic, these years were the times in which modernization reforms were being reinforced and Kemalist ideology was trying to build up.

The 1930's also denote a period of transition from Ottoman styles to the Western Modernist Architecture of the new Republic. In parallel with this scheme, this research aims to explore Some Emblematic Buildings such as Ministry Buildings used as a Museum today as representational cases of Modern Architecture. These buildings have been a leading institution in formation of new Turkish society in social and cultural ways.

From this perspective, these building expresses the spatial language of modernization and westernization. Similar functionality installed on with the ideology of the ruling party has been observed other countries. However, it is known that

this ideology varies from country to country. For example, the Kemalist ideology in Turkey, Proleteryen Fascio in Italy, Nazism in Germany. With Atatürk's words "buildings that support the idea of the contemporary civilization," created contemporary, modern and secular environment

2.THE PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AND ANKARA

Ankara is a city formed by the accumulation of thousands of years. Considered together with the Ankara, two most important symbolic element are"Castle" and "Cankaya" . Someone symbolizes the historical part, the other symbolizes the Republican Turkey. There is a rich cultural accumulation in Ankara. In the period of Turkey Republic, Ankara modern "capital" city realized the ideal of creation. Following its proclamation as the capital of Turkey on 13th of October, 1923, Ankara has entered a stage of planned growth and development. The "Sihhiye Plan" (New Town/Yenisehir) prepared by Heussler in 1927, and the Urban Plan realised by German Prof. Hermann Jansen in 1928 as a result of an international competition represent two important steps in the planned development process of Ankara.

Figure 1. Hermann Jansens' Plan of Ankara (1932) (Tunçer, Mızuuchi, 1998)

Jansen has placed a special emphasis on the conservation of the "traditional structure" by designating the historical urban site as the "Protocol Area". He has also made certain plan decisions as regards the historical site (Figure 1)(Tunçer, Mızuuchi, 1998). During this period, the monumental and classical formalism that were imported from Central Europe and Viennese has been dominated by in Turkey.

3.MUSEUM BUILDINGS

There are some fundamental reasons of Museum buildings worthy of study. Museum buildings is the one art institution led to the spread of science in society. Museum buildings are the structures that compile various folk arts of the past, research about Turkish culture, reveal and update cultural richness and shape contemporary developments. Thus, the culture of the people who lived in the public sphere has emerged as an institution to create again(Aslanoğlu, 2005).

In process that began with the Republican regime, the modernization project been realized especially the development activities and urban development in many areas(Aliçavuşoğlu, 2010, pp.79-90). Museum buildings are located next

to the production of new housing areas as other schools, post offices, hospitals, and the station buildings, factories and related complexes, government buildings. It was targeted to the establishment of each city and town Museum Building.

Museum structures are important for the functional richness and settlement scale. For this reason, It will be usefull to examine of museum structures in terms of program, location and space organization. The results that can be accessed of this study are listed below.

3.1 Location and symbolic value

Building symbolism is alive and well in emerging nations looking to make their mark. One might make the argument that older cultures relate more to building symbolism than do recent cultures (Alsaç, 1941).One of the most important structure policy of the 30s, is to plan of each city in accordance with modern understanding. This approach make it necessary to the opening of a new "Gazi Boulevard" or "Atatürk Street. This axis is associated with "Republic Square" as the city's main road, certainly(Şahabettin, 1934)). Gazi Primary School, City Hall, Government House, Museum and Community Center containing construction activities of Revolution Period is located on the main street or square. The perception by society of museum buildings as a public building located near the community center is widespread. The"public meaning" of these buildings is that are close together and is close to other public structures. The majority of museums in Ankara province remains within the boundaries of the city center of Ankara.

3.2 İdeological position of the museum structures in establishment of planned capital city

Those museums represent different ideological agendas. By representing the cultures and values of different parts through museums, the empire would prove its power to the masses.

On the other hand, museums were used as effective instruments for the declaration of nationalistic idealism and progress through modernization for the Republican regime in the early 20th century. Indeed, the nations which had revolutions would utilize the museum idea which was for praising historical national entities. In that sense, the museums in the early Republican era were appropriate tools to suggest a collective identity for the nation based on the idea of a common culture rooted in common history(Arık, 1953, p.5)). The Ankara Museum of Ethnography displayed Turkish society through its past and folkloric culture. Ethnographical Museum that is the first archaeological museum of the new Re-

public, the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations displays the archaeological heritage of the new nation. , which was claimed to have been built mainly upon the Hittites -a culture which established its empire in Anatolia- instead of the Greco-Roman culture. In the process of nation building, the goal of the government was to create a new Turkish identity and Turkish past, which depended upon new symbols(Giebelhausen, 2003, p.3).

On the other hand, Ankara Museum of Ethnography was designed by a Turkish architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu in an historical Turkish style, and had a rich collection of Anatolian folk art, which was appropriate to the nationalist ideology of the new Republican regime. As Aslanoğlu pointed out, "the contesting projects for the competition of the Ethnographic Museum in Ankara in 1927, is a strong evidence to show the intimacy of the ideology of Turkish nationalism and the architecture of those years"(Aslanoğlu, 1986, p.16). The style of the museum is called as the first national movement that was corresponding to the nationalist sentiments, which were understood as the cladding of facades with Seljuk and Ottoman elements such as pointed arches, domes, ornate mouldings, cornices and pediments. "The Museum of Ethnography was organized and commissioned by Atatürk himself who saw it as the repository of folk art and culture, the base for his new cultural policy"(Yavuz, Özkan, 1984,pp.34-50). Beyond its architectural features, the site of the museum was the result of a decision that conveyed "a prominent hill halfway between old and new Ankara, as if the repository were meant to be the mediator between tradition and revolution" (Yavuz, Özkan, 1984, p.63). Besides the Ethnographical Museum, the contemporary choice of an Ottoman building to display Hittite artifacts in the case of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (an old Ottoman market complex including a bedesten and a han from the 15th century, which was restored as a museum in 1938) also reflects the importance given to the museum building as an integral element of the formation of a cultural identity provided with the collection of antiquities brought from every corner of Anatolia.

3.3 The structure of the museum buildings in establishment of modern and planned capital city

First National Assembly, then the capital city moved to the heart of Anatolia, institutions and social revolutions after the change of identity, has led to the restoration of the city. Ankara has created a model in every area. Modernity and nationhood has been structured in their body, and it "sample has been".to the other cities of Turkey (Cengizkan, 2010).

Ankara in 1928, is a city that the nation state has found to all the elements of the physical space reform and modernization initiatives necessitated the diversity of building structure. It was established the museum buildings for the classification

of research and information resources aimed science of the past with the social history. Urban places are equipped by squares and sculptures to gain qualifications public space statues.

Lorcher predicted the new city in boundaries of the old city, without disturbing it and changing. semantics of the old and new city's has created an axes.

For example, the sequence of Station-Castle -Parliament-linear (linear) in the axial direction established a modern transport between old and new settlement as well as gave opportunities for today urban space's power as mirror of history. The castle reflects the richness of culture in the past as urban metaphor. Today's Sanitary Train Station is Lörcher's initial source of City of Directors. The new axis between Station Square and the main street of the City of New Castle gives opportunities to design new Parliament building as 'wedge' format. This axis called by Lorcher as Strasse der Nation (National Street). thus the foundation of today's Ataturk Boulevard, will be discarded.

Some Museum buildings was used as parliament building before. Constructed as an alternative to places of religious assembly, museum buildings is close to many places, mosques and churches as a gathering organization.

Especially, it is designed the public space in front of the museum. Symbolic elements of Republican government is noteworthy in Museum Buildings as a collection of signs and symbols, such as Flag of Turkey, Ataturk statues, Proverbs. The flag in front of The State Art and Sculpture Museum and Ethnographical Museum is remarkable as an expression of the formal state structure. "Statue of Ataturk," is the other element of the Republican period. The vertical elements were used frequently on mass and facade of modern architecture to create order and balance. Therefore, it is not correct to see architectural elements only as new regime's ideological view. For example, it is known that the same tower element was constructed in Exhibition House designed by Sevki Balmumcu between1933-1934 years. Bozdoğan also expresses that was used this type of elements (towers) in public buildings in Europe public buildings (towers) and might have been affected by European architects (Bozdoğan,2001). Hilversum City Hall, Holland (1928-1930) and the Revolution Square and City Hall, Italy (1934) take place among these buildings. Bozdoğan thinks that the buildings are common reference source because of the published in the journal Arkitekt.

Other elements seen frequently in Community Center is "balcony". It was used as National Assembly building in its period and the "balcony of appeal" is named. In addition to the ideolojical meaning of the balkony, the balcony that take place in the corner of the building is harmony with the building facade. (Ankara Devlet Resim ve Heykel Müzesi, The State Art and Sculpture Museum).

3.4 Program, and the function-space relationships

In 1920s' increase in number and spread of museums throughout the country is the result of the importance given to this issue of Ataturk. Most of the existing structures according to the capacity of social needs and the program began to be used as a museum.

In accordance with the directives of Atatürk in Ankara, the establishment of a National Museum and Ethnography Museum, the opening of the school museum for educational purposes in schools take place.

On August 14, 1923, the opening of new museums shown between the Government program. In 1923, at Atatürk's request, Hittite Museum and Lead Khan and Mahmut Paşa Bazaar were restored by the Ministry of Education in Ankara. In 1967, Archaeological Museum was opened and re-issued considering the variety of works in the museum name was changed to the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations(Kaya, 2009).

On November 30, 1925, lodge lodges the closure of the shrine and then it was decided that transplanting it to museums around the museum to present the works. Part of these works has been sent to Ankara for the formation of Ankara Ethnography Museum. Constructed in 1925, Ankara Etnography Museum is the first museum building in the Republican era.

In 1931, Ataturk, visited the tomb of Mevlana Dervish Konya, and identified museums buildings used as a warehouse.

On the same day, telegraph of the Prime Minister Ismet İnönü, this is "hurry up and important" record in need of repairs and restoration of monuments, museums and monuments in the removal of inventories, including issues of sending students abroad for training of archaeologists has attracted a long telegram After this telegram, students were sent to Europe for the training of archeology. It was provided training for staff for museums with Ankara, Faculty of History and Geography opened in 1936. Mass understanding based on function of modern architecture, is basic criterion of Community Center BuildingsCircular forms describing modern architecture is an advanced plan of 30's years museum building. Terraces, consoles and metal railings are common features of these buildings as well as rounded corners. Another noteworthy point is the "symmetrical" plan concept.

Bozdoğan said that public buildings were designed traditional way in the 30's years as static, axially, symmetric, and these buildings are unadorned plain facades, and cubic and rectangular volumes(Bozdoğan, 2001).

Bozdoğan considers that spatial flows, the free plan and free facades haven't been seen in many modern building of the '30s years. Including current public buildings, characteristic feature of modern movement is felt in a significant way

in Halkevi Buildings in particular constructed by means of competition.
"Inputs", "garden and courtyards," and "interior architectural space extensions " in Community Center Buildings establishes the relations with public space. In addition, the different entries accessed in many units of building show that these buildings are open to everyone and easily accessible, with a democratic and spatial order.

Republic in the early years, many provinces of Anatolia, built and restorated museums have become widespread.

Exhibition House (Opera House)

The building built as the first exhibition palace between 1933 -1934 years by the architect Şevki Balmumcu, then converted into the opera house. Project is presented to the competition. Sevki Balmumcu's project was chosen. At a time when the projects undertaken by foreign architects, Turks' win the competition in an international project competition aroused great enthusiasm(Figure 2).

The building extending parallel to the street structure, consists from two mass intersecting perpendicular to each other. With long axis of building is terminated with a semi-circular ends. The short mass cut by the long mass, consists of three vertical installation and a square tower(Ankara, 2011). The mass with a long narrow window in the sequence strengthens the sense of horizontality, whereas the whole of the building creates a very strong opposition to the horizontal-vertical. In front facade of the structure of reinforced concrete structured is used Ankara stone-colored artificial stone, and ivory-colored plaster is used in other fronts(Aslanoğlu, 2001).

Figure 2. *Exhibition House (Opera House) (Aslanoğlu, 2001)*

Anatolian Civilizations Museum

Located on the south side of Ankara Castle in the Atpazari area, the Museum consists of the old Ottoman Mahmut Pasa bazaar storage building, and the Kursunlu Han. Because of Ataturk's desire to establish a Hittite museum, the buildings were bought upon the suggestion of Hamit Zubeyir Kosay, who was then Culture Minister, to the National Education Minister, Saffet Arikan. After the remodelling and repairs were completed (1938-1968), the building was opened to the public as the Ankara Archaeological Museum. Today Kursunlu Han, used as an administrative building, houses the work rooms, library, conference hall, laboratory and workshop. The coin collections, with examples ranging from the first minted money to modern times, represent the museum's rare cultural treasures.

Ethnographical Museum

This museum was founded in the Namazgâh area of Ankara, on a hill with a Muslim graveyard, and was opened to the public on July 18, 1930.

The courtyard was closed in November 1938 when it served as the temporary burial site for Ataturk, and reopened when his body was moved to Anitkabir. This section is still preserved as a tomb in symbolic respect of the memory of Atatürk, as the Museum served as his tomb for 15 years.

At the junction of Talat Pasha Boulevard and Ataturk Boulevard, Museum of Ethnography located next to Community Center building, is one of the first museum of Republican period of Turkey. In the museum opened in 1927 by architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, art works are exhibited collected between 1924 and 1925. The building is rectangular planned and single domed. The stone walls are covered with coarse sandstone. The marble pediment has carved decoration(Figure 3).

Figure 3. *Ethnographical Museum(Bozdoğan; 2002).*

The construction of the Museum of Ethnography was been started with the idea of establishing the national museum in 1925, the construction was completed in two years. It is reached to inner courtyard by entrance door. There was a pool in the middle of this place made of marble, the roof was left open. Later,the inner court was reserved as a temporary grave for Atatürk, swimming pool relocated into the garden enclosed with a roof. There are large and small halls located symmetrically around the inner courtyard. Administration section has two storeys adjacent to the museum. Front of the museum, bronze sculpture of Atatürk standing on a horse was constructed by the Italian artist Pietro Canonica in 1927 (Bozdoğan; 2002).

The building sits on a hill with a fabulous view of Ankara, including Anitkabir, the specially built mausoleum where Ataturk's body now rests. the Museum of Art and Sculpture is right next door.

The Ethnographical Museum has examples of Turkish art from the Selcuk period until the present day. There is a library for specialists in Anatolian ethnography, folklore and art history located in the museum. The building is rectangular with a single dome, and the stone walls covered with travertine. The pediment is marble with ornate carvings, and a staircase of 28 steps lead to main entrance. There are three entrances to the building which has 4 columns. The column-lined inner court is reached by passing through a domed hall. A marble pool in

the middle of the open courtyard is surrounded by a number of large and small rooms. The two-story administrative building is adjacent to the museum.

State Museum of Painting and Sculpture

Built in 1927 as the Turk Ocagi by architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoglu from the orders of Ataturk, it has paintings and plastic art of Turkish artists. Temporary exhibits of both foreign and Turkish artists are sponsored. After the closure of Turkish Quarry in 1931, Turkish Nationalist Club Building used as Community Center is now used as the State Painting and Sculpture Museum.

Building reflects an eclectic style of Ottoman architecture. There is a theater hall in the center of two-storied building. The surface decoration take place in front facade of building. Ceiling ornamentation pattern of the, including ceiling paint, and all the details of Turkish Room inspired by the old Ankara houses, upon Ataturks' request were designed by architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu(Figure 4). It is masonry structure. The concrete material is used in arch structure the first time (Metin Sözen; 1996).

Figure 4.The State Art and Sculpture Museum (Metin Sözen; 1996)

Figure 4.The State Art and Sculpture Museum (Metin Sözen; 1996)

The Republic Museum (2nd Parliament Building)

Originally planned to house the People's Republic Party, it was actually the second building for the Turkish National Parliament, as its first was too small to meet the needs of the developing Turkish Republic.

The building's interior sections are arranged around the three sides of the two-story Parliament Hall, located in the centre of the building. Exhibited here are the Parliament Hall with its original furnishings decorated with Seljuk and Ottoman ornaments and patterns, the rooms where Ataturk's principles and reforms were discussed. Photographs and various personal belongings reflect the era of the first three Prime Ministers: Ataturk, Ismet Inonu and Celal Bayar. In the meeting hall, there is a wax reincarnation of section of the Great Speech delivered by Ataturk, between the 15-20 October 1927.

Museum of the War of Independence (1st Parliament Building)

The building situated in Ulus Square housed the first Turkish National Parliament, from April 23 1920 to October 15 1924. It was later the headquarters of the People's Republic Party, and then the Law School. In 1952 it was turned over to the Ministry of Education and on April 23 1961 it was opened to the public as the Museum of the Turkish National Parliament.

The building consists of the hall, the corridor, the Chambers of the Ruling Council, the Committee Room, the Break Room, the Administrative Rooms, the Parliamentary Meeting Hall, Office of Parliament Head, the storage for photographs and other items, and the basement which is used as an exhibition hall.

The Railway Museum (Atatürk's House during National Defence)

Built in 1924, this historic stone-cut building consists of two floors, each 340 square metres. Exhibited here are items demonstrating the technological developments of the state railroad. The railway history museum occupies five rooms of the ground floor. The first room contains souvenirs from opening ceremonies of various lines and station: commemorative medals, ceremonial scissors, … It has also an interesting display of old glass photograph and a set of original restaurant car silverware.

The second room contains a display of railway pass, ticket, diplomas and other

Figure 6. The Railway Museum(Bozdoğan; 2002)

papers from the Ottomans days and the former railway companies.

The third room has a model railway wagon that was presented to Sultan Abdülaziz by the British Commissioner, together with a desk, wall clocks and other furniture used by the sultan on his personal train. It has also some souvenirs from the Hedjaz Railways (paintings, train circulation graph, …)

The fourth room has models, drawing and pictures of some of the major stations (Izmir, Ankara, Sirkeci, Haydar Paşa, …). It has also a set of plates from most of the manufacturers that supplied rolling stock to TCDD and the Ottoman railways. Finally, there are models of some of TCDD modern rolling stock and display of tools.

The fifth and the last room includes examples of the telephone and telegraph machines used in the Ottoman period. This reminds us that Ankara has always

been an important telegraph center since the Ottomans. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk made large use of the telegraph and that was one of the reasons he found convenient to stay in Ankara.

Education Museum

It was the Museum's aim to collect valuable object and documents that demonstrated the history of Turkish education. These included such things as samples of students and teachers work, photographs showing the conditions in scholls and the materials used in the classroom. The museum carried out this function until 1938, giving courses, preparing exhibitions and opening public libraries.

At the beginning of the World War II the display rooms became too small for all the collected material. In the museum there are displays of documents, supplies and books; a library and archives relating to Turkish educational history and to Atatürk as the founder of modern Turkish educational system.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper I am expressed the relationship between narrative and space focusing on the first national museum buildings as the concrete symbols of social, cultural, economic, technological transformation.

Museum buildings are tool for political and ideological meanings created through the discourse of visual representation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of Turkish history.

Architecture has always been a powerful symbol as well as an effective instrument of reform and change in the modern world. National museums were designed differently with the changes in the political system – empire or nation-state. Archaeology and archaeological museums were utilized in order to support those political systems and ideologies, such as modernization or nationalism. Particularly representation of the past, cultures, history and antiquities were designated in national museums as appropriate to existing approaches. In this process; these cultures, histories and objects were subject to be excluded or included deliberately as part of political agenda. Not only style of the museum building but also the collection, and how it was classified and displayed are issues closely related to spatial planning of the building which contributes to the formation of collective memory and national identity.

Admiration for modernism and to prepare a better future for nation with self-confidence led to the creation of an independent architecture in Ankara, which, is essential element of modern architectural history of the remarkable.

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ABSTRACT

Temporary constructions reside in a grey area within architecture. By their nature, they dispute the dominant role of the discipline as lasting and providing permanent solutions. Temporary constructions call for a belief in alternative possibilities; they have the potential to act upon the configuration of durable architecture and upon our apprehension of public space. In the current context, in which social, economic, ecological, or broadly, ethical impacts of large scale developments are frequently under question, small scale temporary architecture has the liberty to explore and test these larger themes through direct engagement with their site and their audience. As a design method in which provocative and generative ideas take the place of problem solving and completed solutions, temporary architecture expands the search for responsible answers to urban interventions and actively participates in unveiling the indeterminacy of public space. This essay proposes to explore how an enthusiastic point of view over the becoming of Beirut can produce a direct engagement with the urban fabric and its uses. It also aims to envision how the meeting of temporary

architecture and public life can alter the seemingly inevitable privatization of the city. Stemming from the assumption that Beirut can still be a city where all can live, share, inhabit and use, the work of the Welcoming City Design Studio taught at the American University of Beirut, demonstrates how finding clever negotiations between current urban growth and possible public spaces opens opportunities to engage the city as a found fabric with which to envision other and possible ways of creating a Public Beirut. The work reflects on how the city can be a place of investigation, of imagination and the site for full scale interventions, which can address architectural and urban problematic from new angles as the first seeds of sustaining, transformative public appropriations. Temporary architecture, public space, Beirut city, education

Figure 1 *the city as a found fabric Beirut. Photo by Rana Haddad*

Lebanon has had a long history of successive conquests, destruction, violence, intense construction and reinvention of its landscape (Labaki, 1999). The affirmation of one's power through the destruction of cities, reconstruction of a new fabric and major landmarks is a familiar pattern (Zetter, 2005).. In its more recent history, political struggles have widely been manifested and fought in the capital, bringing, as a direct result, a major transformation of contemporary Beirut. Beirut's last transformations were not courtesy of an occupying force, but rather following the precepts of neo-liberal development, along with its related massive capital investment and real-estate speculation. Tabet (2001) suggests that Solidere, a private development company, reconstruction process could be understood as an extension to the devastation of the civil war While the processes and outcomes of the most recent renewal strategies are regularly discussed and questioned within the general population and urban-related circles, the reconstruction strategies have at least had the merit of opening the door onto a discourse over the potentials embedded in the very idea of an overall transformation of the city (Harb,2003) Amidst the recurring topics of discussions

stands the domination of private property. Indeed, while the coastline is, for example, protected by law from private ownership and construction, very few public accesses to the sea remain; despite the claim by some enterprises such as Solidere, of providing public spaces in the city center .Instead every square, garden or pedestrian street is heavily guarded and controlled by protection officers. In other parts of the city the large boom in land value has resulted in a hefty destruction of the urban fabric and replaced by new high-rise buildings that are often gated from the haphazards of street life. Of the two large public places that remain in Beirut, the Horsh Al-Sanawbar is gated to protect its pine forest (Shayya, 2010), thereby leaving only the waterfront promenade.

This reality attests to how the large scale post-war reconstruction efforts have widely standardized and neglected the need for open public spaces in Beirut, The Welcoming City Design Studio was first set up in 2010 under the premise that despite the gentrification and privatization of the city, an enthusiastic point of view over the becoming of Beirut was still possible (Haddad, 2010) . The studio supposes that a direct engagement with the urban fabric and its uses, along with the meeting of temporary architecture, forgotten places, buildings and public life, can participate in altering the seemingly undefeatable privatization of the city. Welcoming City Design Studio demonstrates that finding clever negotiations between current urban growth and possible public spaces opens opportunities to engage the city as a found fabric with which to envision other possible ways of creating a welcoming Beirut. The work reflects on the city as a place of investigation, of imagination and as the site for full-scale interventions addressing architectural and urban problematic as the first seeds of sustaining transformative public appropriations. Though each individual studio addresses a particular area of the city, differing scales and locally resonant issues, all studios are directed by an underlying explorative impertinence and ask the following question: how does the installation of architectural devices within the space of the city transgress the dominant practices to appropriate places and create public spaces? With each studio, we explore how these devices can transform both the perceptions and the uses of permanent structures already in place, planned or abandoned. The Welcoming Studio conducted in the spring of 2012 and presented below, undertook the study of the seafront promenade, the corniche, as the only true remaining public space in Beirut. Learning from itsuses and users, the work of the studio presents opportunities to build a new transversal envisioning of the shoreline, hoping to move beyond the picturesqueness of the sea and imagine how its public-ness can seep into the inner layers of the urban fabric: what if it was the corniche, as a free and open public space that wanted

to make room for the city? Culminating in five interventions sprouting from the corniche towards the city, the studio explored the potential of temporary devices as means to dispute the current dominant practices as lasting and providing permanent and unquestionable solutions. Temporary constructions call for a belief in alternative possibilities: they have the potential to act upon the configuration of permanent architecture and upon our apprehension of public space (Blazquez, 2012). In the current context, in which social, economic, ecological, or broadly ethical impacts of large scale developments are frequently under que tion, small scale temporary architecture has the liberty to explore and test these larger themes through direct engagement with their site and their audience (Levesque, 2011). As a design method in which provocative and generative ideas take the place of problem solving and completed solutions, temporary architecture expands the search for responsible answers to urban interventions and actively participates in unveiling the indeterminacy of public space (Atelier de Rechereche , 1997) . The scale of such interventions is helpful in showing the pertinence and urgency to engage and re-work the city, to reveal and transform the existing as well as projected conditions, so that it can be introduced, one intervention at a time, one Welcoming City Design Studio at a time, the pleasures and desires of imagining and building other possible futures for the city.

METHODOLOGY:

Based on the fact that space is not an independent entity but rather one that is reliant on instincts, emotions, and actions, prominently the subtle and the mundane, we encouraged lateral thinking; whereby, each idea develops its own logic and conclusion. A methodology for reaching an answer to a question that was never really asked. Throughout a set of 3 exercises, we pushed the students to think outside the box, making sure that drifting is vital and getting lost is even more important in the attempt of answering the big question; how can one begin to imagine creative public opportunities by observing found occurrences? Their journey started with 24 hours spent on the corniche in five teams each consisting of five students.

THE MAIN POINTS REQUIRED WERE THE FOLLOWING:

- Prior to heading to the corniche, each group had to set specific rules that would govern their conduct in the public space and direct their investigation into specific notions. Rules and decisions were left utterly to the students.

- The teams had to keep a log of their observations.
- Thinking of the best way to communicate these observations, the teams had to accordingly organize their notations.
- Translating the observations spatially, the teams compiled the information identifying the most surprising, the most absurd, and the most repetitive observations. A series of adjectives were then used to describe these events that were later transformed into models built out of reclaimed/found/recycled materials only. These models became the trigger for the following stages. Since they were not mere representations, but rather thinking-in-progress kind of models, the dissection of each one allowed the students to extract new notions, thus looking at the issue of "public-ness" from different perspectives. These descriptions taken out of their context, (the model itself, and what it used to represent) constituted a set of new lines of thoughts, unexpected if it wasn't for the lateral thinking process imposed on the students in the first place.

With all the new materials at hand, to which a set of questions were also added, the students now working individually in the next stage were facing a new challenge.

- How can one make use of an existing building without having a direct access to it?
- How can abandoned buildings and empty lots become our opportunities?
- How can urban civic life invade the city when institutions and development oppose it?

The students were this time asked to devise a proposal for public architecture to take place in, on and along the Nsouli Building. An invasion of an abandoned structure, a devise to enter the building and trigger public appropriation and thus, pursue public behavior was required.
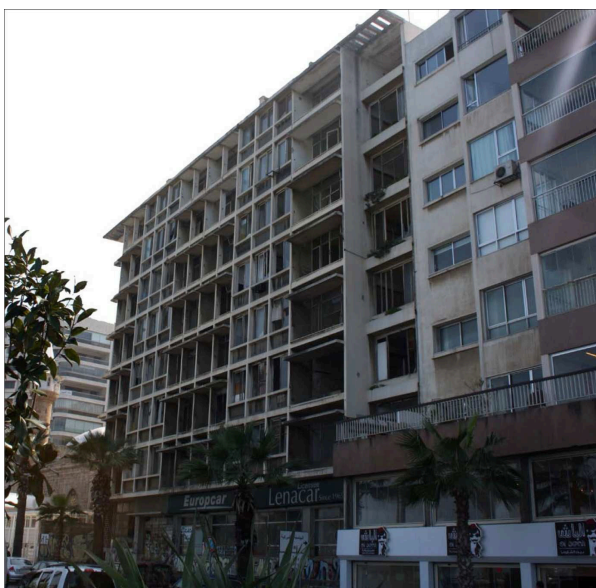
Once again, encouraging and advising them not to visit the site before ensuring that the model dissection was completed and the verbs and actions were fully exploited, (their source being part of their observations during their 24h on the corniche) the students were to go to site with a program to be forced onto the abandoned building or/and injected into it, thus testing the outcome of such a clash. Parts one and two were a preparation for the third and most important

part of the semester: Back to group work, five teams of five students, The third and last part was central and essential to the studio; took the longest time, and was the most challenging. After having imagined public sides of the corniche and developed a public architecture proposal, the last part of the studio focused on the act of building, at full scale, an architectural intervention. Moving away from representation, this exercise allowed them to engage in real construction using real materials. As an approximate body sized architecture – bigger but not a building, smaller but not an object, these architectural interventions, aimed to seek, to host, to challenge, to improve and engage the use of public space. This third stage yielded five different, yet equally effective answers to the three main questions out of which tens

of questions branch. These are listed below.

1 - WHAT IS AN ARCHITECTURAL INSTALLATION?

- A small urban architecture, which calls for actions such as to build, to experiment, to perceive, to critique and to transform our relations, be them social and/or physical.
- An architecture limited in time, i.e. an architecture in discontinuity with the traditional expectation of permanence.
- A punctuation in the city's fabric, a means to reinforce, to mark precise places with an action, an exclamation.
- An occasion to build an ethical relation towards the city and towards the appropriation of public space
- An agent provocateur, an emulator of senses and perceptions.

2 - HOW DO YOU START WORKING ON AN ARCHITECTURAL INSTALLATION?

How can one condense all the thoughts and intentions from previous findings and proposals down to a single space?
What context would one's intervention need to be in to be effective?
How can one's intervention be in a direct relation to its context, so that both mutually influence each other?
How can one transform the potential of the site?

3 – HOW TO LINK CITY, COMMUNITY AND ARCHITECTURE

- How can one create a gathering space with a single intervention?

- How does one link to the urban fabric?
- And how does one's intervention engage its surrounding?

Having all questions asked, hypothesis formulated and scenarios invented, it was time to face the city with all its daunting realities, inevitable laws and strict and sometimes unreasonable rules. At that point, things take a completely different dimension where even corruption becomes a trigger, a tool, and some kind of a devise rather than a constraint. Realities imposed, ideas amended, and scenarios mutated, the proposal is then tailored and custom-designed to fit in the city, sometimes blending, at other times juxtaposing, yet yielding five memorable
works.

INTERVENTIONS

Each intervention dealt in its own ways with several of the questions of how to generate a gathering space, how to link to the existing site conditions, and how to engage the public within their intervention. The most challenging of these tasks and form of acting within the city is dealing with the realities of your lines on a paper in terms of construction, material, budget, management, and the realities of the city. Suddenly laws rules and socio-political affiliations within the city took the forefront. Students had to deal with obtaining permissions from various ministries, municipalities, security enclaves and

Figure 3 *City event poster*

local officials in addition to constantly addressing the law and the socio-political relationships and sensitivities within their direct conflictual local context. In addition, intervening on the city required addressing the various forms of ownerships and their complexity. Some had to deal with multiple private owners while

others addressed multiple ministry jurisdictions. Funding was also managed by each student group. Groups managed their budgets and carried out fundraising activities such as cake sales, different forms and demands of sponsorships and returning and recycling the materials used post intervention. Dealing with various private funders proved to be a great challenge for students as suddenly they had to present the idea, intentions and a form of bill of quantities and cost estimates to banks, private investors and private companies that had never dealt, seen or addressed student architecture interventions. In addition students had to follow up on actually receiving the payments and presenting the various company logos and press releases. These various realities produced five very different architectural interventions that dealt with a very wide range of angles regarding public gathering space, the coast, and the city.

THE MANARA: UP TO THE LIGHTHOUSE
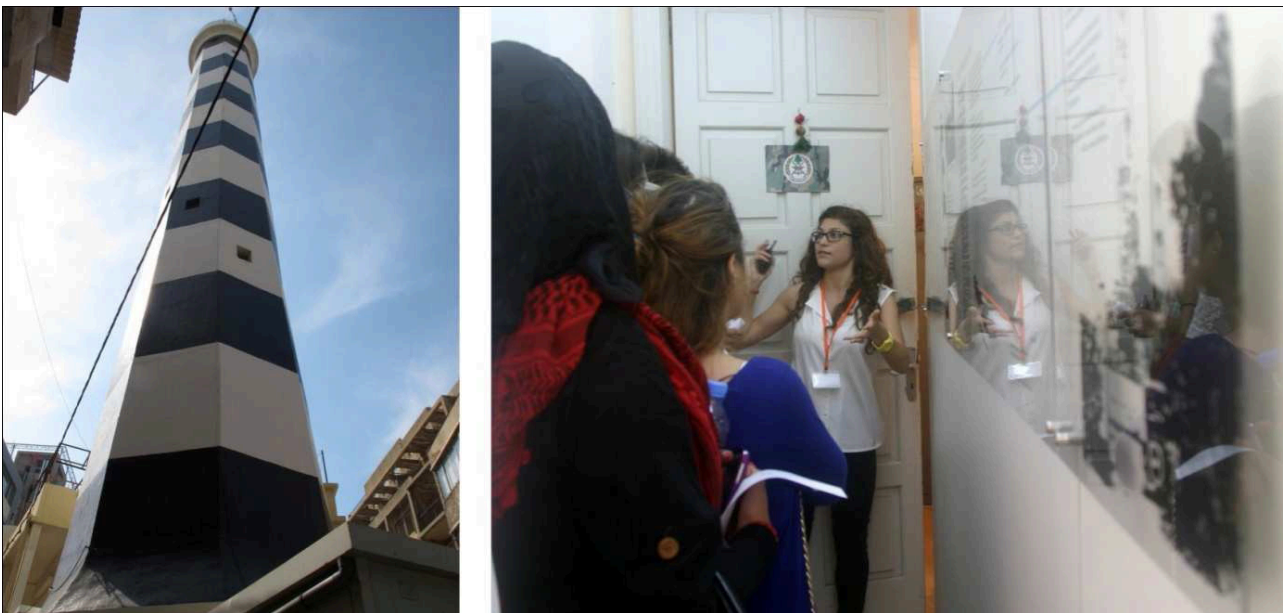
Figure 4 THE LIGHTHOUSE – THE ENTRANCE TO THE MUSEUM- photos by Sandra Rishani

The site was chosen as it is one of the landmarks that demonstrate the weakness of the public domain against private real estate developments. This group developed a proposal to intervene on the lighthouse that stopped functioning in 2003 because of a private development that constructed an 18 floor residential building blocking its light access to the Sea. Students created a museum-like promenade within the structure that invited you to climb up the 'inaccessible' lighthouse. Visitors included the media, neighbors and others passing-by who waited patiently to finally access this infrastructure. The museum pathway took you in onto the first level of the lighthouse and back out into the keeper's house

without taking you up. Visitors as the students suddenly discovered themselves in a household kitchen with the existing kitchen furniture on display. The lighthouse within the city is no longer a transportation infrastructure instead it is domesticated and serves merely as the entrance to the keeper's residence.

CORNICHE EXTENDED

Figure 5 *Crossing the restricted public space Photos by Pascal Hachem*

Another group of students challenged the "publicness" of the Corniche itself. "Corniche Extended" explores the idea that while the coastal path is technically publically owned, as it was funded by government money, much of it is restricted to the public. The group's intention focused on inviting the public into this space through an intervention that would render it a fragment of the public coast.
The site the new fishermen's port is limited to fisherman from only one religious group thereby limiting its 'publicness'. A visual access to a fragment of the corniche rebuilt on it invites the passerby to cross through a barbwire onto the pier. Students recreated the fragment of the corniche by using the same materials and furniture creating a manually movable platform that encourages you to take a part of the 'public 'corniche with you and occupy the public-restricted space. This group faced many challenges that primarily included permits and permissions to access the site and invite others on it. Safety of the site was highlighted as one of the main restrictions of the site and students managed through the reproduction of a fragment of the corniche that moves on a rail to tackle this issue as a core design initiative. As a result the intervention encouraged visitors to look back at the city and wonder about the several cases of inaccessible or privatized public space.

AIR RIGHTS

Figure 6 *THE CHAIR - THE POLE- THE TRIP Photo by Michelin Nahra*

A third group of students erected "Air Rights," a vertically mobile chair which ascends up an electricity pole. The pole exists on the edge of a security zone towards the city which dictates several conditions that include no visual access towards it. Due to these security issues a chair is allowed to enjoy the full visual air rights of the city but you are not permitted to do so. Through a system developed by the students the chair would ascent to the top of the pole. The person on the ground is invited on to the chair and sits on it thinking he or she will ride up to the top and enjoy a panoramic view. Instead through a system of sensors the chair only travels a short distance when the chair is occupied. The ride deliberately frustrates the user and encourages him to question his air rights within the conflicted city of Beirut. Why does the chair enjoy the panoramic view and open air while you are forbidden by the system? This group's biggest challenge once the site was picked was to deal with the various jurisdictions the site and electric pole fell under. Clearly the systems of the city that challenged their initial intentions were raised within the intervention.

NATURES CALLING

"Nature's Calling: A play on senses," involved a clear attitude to 'occupy' empty plots of land within a dense city where public green space is rare and inaccessible. Students rooted a public telephone into a huge private, but unkempt overgrown plot within the city. The phone booth, a

clear public street fixture that rings continuously until one leaves the street to pick up the phone managed to break the 'private' imaginary boundary edge. Instead of a person's voice on the phone one hears a recording of nature sounds to reorient you into an abandoned overgrown plot. Behind the phone is a sunken seating area dug into the ground that allows you to sit with your eye level at the ground level of the plants distilling the horizon of the city.

OUT OF PLACE
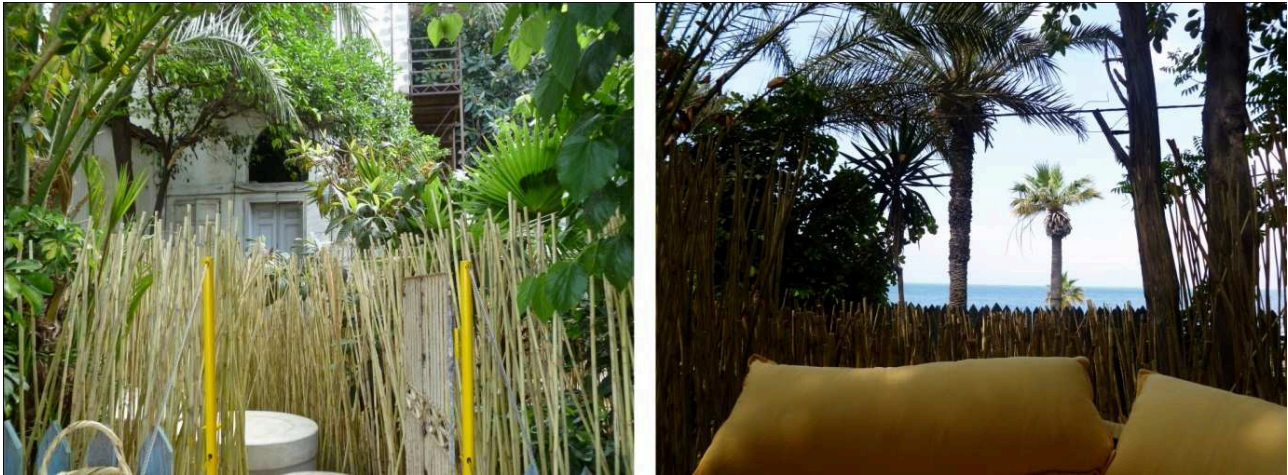
Figure 8 *OUT OF PLACE GARDEN – VIEW Photo by Sandra Rishani*

The final group, "Out of Place: A public escape that is suspended in time" is based on a subtle intervention within the garden of an elevated abandoned historic house, set back from the road with a view towards the Mediterranean. The installation of a brightly colored steel staircase on the sidewalk encouraged the curious passers-by to climb up towards the soon to be demolished house. The staircase connected visitors to a path consisting of water tanks found on the site, leading to the garden and a seating area made from a recycled satellite dish surrounded by a continuous surface of bamboo. Visitors to Out of Place were invited to sink into the seat. From that exact point and angle the road, the city and its urban furniture disappear behind the existing trees and fence creating an uninterrupted surreal and magical horizon from the city seat towards the sea. Suddenly the observer notices that spaces deep within the city can interact visually with the sea creating picturesque breathing spaces.

CONCLUSION

Overall the design studio encouraged the students to continuously explore the potential and challenges of temporary devices as alternative possibilities and to

invite the general public through their interventions to question the existing city systems and spaces. Since temporary architecture has a short life-span its resonance in publications, news reports, people's experiences and the media are critical to its success. The studio was covered by several local media platforms that included newspapers, television stations and several blogs. We hope that the studio and the students work was a successful tool to invite the city residents to imagine and challenge possible futures for the city of Beirut.

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Architecture Competition as a tool for the development of social housing.

Study of winning cases from the Architecture Competition "Renova SP" (area: "Morro do S4"), promoted by Sao Paulo's Municipal Housing Agency (SEHAB), in 2011 and from Vallecas 20 Competition promoted by Madrid's Municipal Housing Agency (EMVS), in 2003.

ABSTRACT

The present paper dedicates to investigate the exercises of architecture competition as a tool for the development of social housing. Within this theme, it is aimed to study the initiatives promoted by the government of the cities of Sao Paulo and Madrid, who motivated by distinct contexts, make use of this practice looking-for the reflection and proposition of housing of social interest that respond to the current demands of metropolitan cities.
Key words: architecture competition, social housing, urbanization, public policies.

INTRODUCTION

The globalization of economy brought decisive impacts on the organization of cities. The development of information technologies generated the emergence of so-called "global cities": - or advanced capitalism cities -, that redesign the urban space, now virtually as well, and not only physical (Virilio, 1993; Harvey 1992). The urban modifications from this process, which would head to the

ideal of a democratic city, produced, however, the contrary: the rise in inequality and social marginalization, the abandonment of central areas, among others (Harvey, 2005). The deterritorialization social relations and the new segregation forms are the most visible signs of the city geography (Sennet, 2003).

Due to the circumstances, it is urgent to search for answers to these questions: what are the solutions for the social housing spaces facing the profound transformations in the time-space relation of current metropolis? How to intervene and design in the city whose urban fabric is compounded by so-disconnected layers? Because of these and other questionings that many governments have made use of Architecture Competition practice, conferring authority to whom has technical conditions to answer these questions, and setting this matter free, at least partly, from the hands of the parallel interests that go along with the growth of cities.

BRAZIL'S RECENT URBANIZATION

Although Brazil presents an economic growth movement currently, the signs of an excluding and predatory development remain present in various dimensions of the country's urbanization process. (Rolnik, Klinik, 2011)

This fact can be verified when the management system and the Brazilian city urban policies are observed, since they frequently give us responses to our known injustices. (Rolnik, 2002)

In Brazil, particularly, due to historical roots and consequently the emergence of a patrimonial society, (Maricato, 2002) the urban policies were intensively utilized as an instrument to perpetuate privileges and inequalities.

Therefore, a very common characteristic of Brazilian cities, regardless its region, history, economy, or size, it is the fact that each one of them presents a very clear contrast between one part of the city which owns an urbanity condition, and the other part, twice or three times bigger than the first one, whose urbanism is inexistent. (Rolnik; Klink 2011)

The cities hardly ever have their nuclear center dense, due to the high prices with installed infrastructure, leaving for low-income population the occupation of peripheral lands, cheaper, without infrastructure, though. This is one of the factors that result in extending the city in an undefi ned way, even occupying environmentally-fragile areas, and potentially hazardous for the residents.

The scarceness of better urban quality areas generates parallel interests, such as real estate speculation, that skyrockets the house prices, mainly in the urbanized areas; and also the political interest, since these parts which are not possible to be urbanized, in its great majority, are developed in an illegal manner, becoming vulnerable to electoral and patronage negotiations. That means that

the exclusion strategy also takes place at the managing level and at the city deci-sion processes as well. (Rolnik, 2002).

In an attempt to revert the situation of insufficiency in urban and housing in-frastructure, the Brazilian government launched in January 2007, the Growth Acceleration Plan (PAC). In March 2010, the federal government announced the second phase of the program, reaffirming the objectives of its first phase, struc-turing it in six axes with distinct targets, such as: energy supply (PAC Energia), guarantee of quality housing (PAC Minha Casa, Minha Vida), urban infrastructure actions (PAC Cidade Melhor), Social Care (PAC Cominidade Cidadã), water and energy supply universalization (PAC Água e Luz para todos), and the increase of transport network in Brazil (PAC Transportes).

 'My home, my life' PAC will focus on the urbanization of precarious settlements, and also on a wider openness of housing finance, reducing, this way, the hous-ing deficit, and also enhancing the civil construction sector, generating work and income. This axis has three areas: 'My home, my life' PAC (providing new hous-ings of social interest); Finance by the Brazilian System of Saving and Loan (SBPE) providing the ease of purchase and propriety construction, the fall in prices of insurances and notary office processes as welland Precarious Settlements Ur-banization (UAP).

SPAIN'S RECENT URBANIZATION

Spain, like Brazil, has seen the proliferation of disperse urbanization model, en-couraged though, by other forces. While in Brazil this movement happens in an uncontrolled way, because the low-income population is not able to encounter another solution, but to occupy the city peripheral areas, devoid of urbanity, be-cause they are affordable; in Spain, this movement happened as part of a urban development plan supported by the change of the country's current legislation, having received great support from the real estate sector and investors as well. In July 2007, Law 6/1998 from The Land Valuation Regime was enacted, in order to facilitate the increase of land offer in Spain, enabling this way each soil which had not been incorporated to the urban process, and did not have environmen-tal reasons to be preserved, could be considered susceptible to be urbanized. With the approval of Law 8/2007, there was an increase of soil offer, and the constructions increased along with their prices, (Rodríguez A., 2010), motivated mainly by two main demands, the demographic factor and the finance factor. It is true that the demographic boom in the 1997 to 2007 period is not even close to the one happened in the 1960s and 1970s decades in the twentieth century, but there was a population increase due to immigration, and the increase of housing demands for smaller family profiles and even one-person housing as well. The

finance factor (interest rate reduction, without restrictions and supervision of the credit sector, providing more accessible financing for all social strata) was a facilitator means for the purchase of housing units, and the emergence of a new concept, widely spread in Spain, which is the concept of a second housing.

Garcia-Moltalvo's (2006) research verified that the greatest part of people who bought their second housing, they did it aiming to have a later valuation, in order to be a profitable business, while others, bought them worried about the price those housings would have in the forthcoming years. It is worth to highlight that great part of the absorption of these second housings was performed by the 'climatic immigrants' from developed European countries, and have these housings used for tourism.

However, in order to maintain the tradition created at Franco's time, it is present the initiative of Madrid's Municipal Housing Agency (EMVS) to save one percentage of these housings under the public domain, thus setting them free from the valuation and higher prices offered by the market. (Cohn, 2006)

A socially-known behavior, favored by the economic circumstances and certain fiscal policies, generated an authentic 'gold fever', (Olmo, 2011) and this is the main motive for the Spain's real estate bubble, that left an oversized housing patrimony, infra-utilized, and in many cases, with a questionable urban quality.

ARCHITECTURE COMPETITIONS

The issue is that the architecture competition is a design tool capable of producing city. But what have we been able to do through architecture competitions? Which city or which part of the city has been built using this mechanism?

The historical persistence of architecture competitions, for many centuries, should allow us to reflect on its professional and disciplinary significance. (Pérez, 2007) Some historians find tracks of this practice in previous periods before the first Renaissance (a moment known as the initial milestone of such a practice, exemplified in Maria dei Fiori Dome Competition), but didn't necessarily have its current format. (Kostof, 1984)

The practice of architecture competition was traditionally implemented when the promotor attempted to obtain an extraordinary building. However, nowadays it has been converted through law into a mandatory system of contracting for public administrations, (Hernandez-Ros, 2003), in Brazil and in Spain, through laws 8666/1993 and 3/2011 respectively, prevailing, not rarely, the most economically feasible tender.

Nevertheless, at the present time, what it is expected by the architects and promoters is the engagement of professionals with civil society, and the architecture competition can be a good opportunity to respond positively to social problems,

as in the case of competitions aimed at social housing.

To an architect, the chance to work on this program is a challenge where innovation and architectural quality must not conflict with provided budgets, and also not to conflict with the people that will occupy these spaces. It is a task that requires sensitivity from the professionals so as not to exceed the user's well-being, allowing its occupants to perceive the respect dedicated to each detail of their daily lives, habits and customs. A social housing project has to be committed not only to itself as a constructed object, but as the surrounding articulating axis, favoring quality public spaces, conditions to the mix of uses, and a commitment to the urban quality in general.

In Madrid, when a competition for social housing is called up, one of the supplied materials is normally the land where the project will be implemented. This part, in its turn, may be already considered as a city fragment composed by certain urbanity, since all the necessary infrastructure for its operation has already been installed, just awaiting new buildings, which must comply rigorously with the innovation sphere, materiality and sustainability. In Sao Paulo, however, many times competitions are convened to propose an urbanity that does not exist, so that architects have to find a plot in the chaos that it can be extracted, giving an opportunity for a "breath" on that context. Such intervention provides a spatiality previously unknown by the locals, which creates a new relationship between them and the city, affording an opportunity to generate a sense of inclusion in society.

In both cases, the competition for social housing is presented as a challenge to be overcome finding solutions in city sphere, the collectivity and the housing unit.

SAO PAULO: PUBLIC POLICIES AND COMPETITIONS

With more than 11 million inhabitants, Sao Paulo is country's most populated and economically vigorous city, and presents the biggest challenges for the municipal public policies. How to ensure the right for the city and the right for decent housing as fundamental rights, as defined in article 6 of Brazilian Federal Constitution? (Such a concept, aligned with the Statute of the City, City of Sao Paulo Strategic Director Plan, and the Millennium Goals). The responses to this question go beyond the housing policy sphere, which makes indispensable the articulation between sectorial public policies.

The housing plans that have been developed by the Federal, States, and Municipal Governments, as well the provisions of Federal law nr. 11.445/05, which establish the national guidelines for basic sanitation facilities have permitted the alignment of actions that allow comprehending more broadly the problems and

the program elaborations that permit solving them.

Aiming to organize the interventions in order to produce a more comprehensive effect on the city context, it is been opted to work not only with the administrative units (City of Sao Paulo sub-city halls), but also with the planning units from the hydrographic sub-basins. To this purpose, the sub-basins prioritization index has been created: a relation between the occupied area percentage by inhabited spaces in the sub-basin and prioritization index from these spaces.

The first step for the Municipal Housing Plan was to create a website that organizes and characterizes the informal settlement information. From these data the classification and choice of priority areas are available, according to their urban and social precariousness (Prioritization system).

The data cross-checking refers to the prioritization system and the risk of such a settlement according to the sub-basin it is located, and it allowed to outline the perimeters of integrated actions (PAI'S in Portuguese).

In this context, in August 2011, Sao Paulo Housing Secretary launches the National Public Competition of Architecture and Urbanism "Renova Sao Paulo" which foresees the hiring of architecture and urbanism projects to 22 perimeters of integrated actions (PAI's) in the city of Sao Paulo. The competition should thus present projects focused on the elimination of risky areas, the implementation of urban infrastructure, drainage, the construction of public spaces, and new housing units, so that these locations turn into new neighborhoods in the city.

MADRID: PUBLIC POLICIES AND COMPETITIONS

As previously exposed, the approval of the new Spanish soil law permitted a great urban growth within a short time. But what kind of city was built in this period? It can be noted through analyzed and widespread data by the Observatorio de la Sostenibilidad en España (OSE,2006) that dispersed urban zones, between the periods of 1997-2000, accounted for 85% of the urban spaces created. A more recent study, using data between 2000 and 2005, indicated that the dispersed city grew three times more than the concentrated city in this period (Prieto; Campillo y Dias, 2011), showing the success of the dispersed urbanization model, clearly noticeable in the new neighborhoods developed by Madrid PAUs (Urban Action Program – in Spanish). These neighborhoods have an urban layout that prioritizes the low-density housings, favoring the segregation of the activities, forcing the user to be mandatorily dependent on private vehicle. (Almonte, 2010)

In order to establish a dialogue between the society and architects and to transform the act of projecting into an intense movement of experimentation, Madrid's Municipal Housing Agency (EMVS) along with College's Architects of Ma-

drid (COAM) convened architecture competitions to promote social housing, turning these neighborhoods into a real "Domestic Laboratory" (Cohn, 2006). These contests were focused on diversified audiences (with little experience, professionals from the region and from the country) and had specific objectives (energy economy methods, internal typology of the housing units). A program that invited internationally-renowned architects to project, occupies a prominent position among these initiatives (following the recommendations of local architects), transforming some buildings into true icons of this initiative.

CASE STUDIES: MADRID AND SAO PAULO

The present article evaluates 2 case studies; the first is the winner of "Renova Sao Paulo" competition for "Morro do S4" perimeter of integrated actions (PAI), and the second case study, the winner of Vallecas 20 competition in Madrid. The choice for the respective cases was due to the recognizable urban response presented.

MORRO DO S4, AUTHOR: HERNESTO HECTOR VIGLIECCA

For the winning team social housing is not a matter of quantity, cost, or technology. For them, the main objective of a project that implies housings of social nature is the construction of the city. This way, the presented proposal does not deny the pre-existing condition, but provides an urban restitution process, where the reason for action is expressed through the weighted intersection of a new urban structure.

Considering the stream as a visual and physical limit for the neighborhood, the new buildings were proposed in the transversal direction to the stream longitudinal axis, thus breaking the old existing border, by suggesting new transpositions, in varied points as structuring elements of the urban landscape.

As the environmental concern was also considered, the removal of all iligal housings that occupied the risky areas, replacing them for linear parks, thus reconstituting the riparian vegetation and generating a new spatiality for the neighborhood. The population removed from these areas will be housed in the new foreseen housing units.

By observing the location, a proper acting model was generated, which proposed small interventions in the existing urban structure, in order to create various strategic urban voids, marked by new buildings, which facilitate the sense of direction in the internal alleys to the neighborhood and give the neighborhood a new identity.

The proposal for the new housings attempted to avoid the H-shaped typology, highly reproduced by the housing programs of poor quality in Brazil. The ty-

pologies in "strips" were chosen, which establishes new identity points with the scale and urban legibility.

VALLECAS 20, AUTOR: ENTRESITIO

The competition philosophy for Vallecas 20, promoted by Madrid's Municipal Housing Agency (EMVS), was that each participating team presented the best architectonical solution possible, respecting the economic question, the plot, the area to be built, and the number of required units, always taking into account that this project aimed to provide collective housing of social nature.

The choice for a way that covered the requested program, met the previously-established urban conditions, thus generating a 22-floor tower, being the tallest building destined to the housing program of social interest in Spain.

This height, however, had not been proposed for free. The intension to grow in height was to cease the use of "manzana cerrada" implementation as an urban solution, (widely utilized in the new neighborhoods), as well as the removal of the lateral chamfers, making ground floor area available for public space, and generating pure form. This action created a dialogue with the surroundings and the city, besides being directly related to the commercial units proposed for the building ground floor. In this way, the innovation, announced and defended by the promoting entity, is materialized, generating uniqueness in a so-homogeneous urban landscape and becoming a municipality's commitment symbol to the development of quality housings of social interest.

The choice to transform this social housing into a landmark in the urban sphere does not fail to address the programmatic issue what is at stake. As the housing units proposed are all for rent, they have to accomplish the normative, being the most compact as possible. Therefore, one- to two-bedroom typologies have been designed, (requested by the contest), with 40m2 and 60m2 respectively.

These two typologies are concentrated in both towers, 22 and 8 floors, and they are connected by a lower central block, with 3 plans, where the duplex typology is found, in dwellings of one or two bedrooms too.

It is worth to highlight the esthetical and formal issue of this project. Since the competition period, the team was worried to play with openings that were developed within an execution module, and they were located following the zinc panel modulation applied on the facade. This issue of materiality was a potential strength for the winning team, because the monotony of earthy tones, provided by the bricks (widely used as revetment on the Spanish buildings) was broken with the arisen of a black element, which punctuates and marks the urban landscape.

DISCUSSIONS

From the competitors perspective, a competition is an exercise of equality of opportunities (Vásquez, 2007), because it is believed that the anonymity (which is a pre-requirement in any competition), creates a professional relationship which merit prevails over privilege, where talent is fully presented, which can promote young architects, for example. In the city and housing plan, the advantages of a competition can also be questioned, because a winning project is not always the one which remains as reference in the professional's collective imagination (Montealegre, 2007). It is known that an architecture competition may have other faces beyond the architectonical quality in question (Pérez Oyarzun, 2007). Nowadays, when is questioned who in fact "makes the cities", the answer is, at least since 1990, the biggest companies (Arantes, 2000), and like all good company, the publicity factor is of fundamental importance. Even when there are interests that are parallel to the central ones, an architecture competition (considering the open ones), it means openness and commitment by the promoting entity. It is the use of a democratic mechanism that amplifies the dialogue between the professionals and the civil society, giving the opportunity to question and propose new models of city and society. It's within this questions that both proposals happens. In the case of São Paulo, the architecture competition is presented as an opportunity for that neighborhood so forgotten and neglected by the authorities. It was remembered and considered not only by getting the signature of one of the best architects from São Paulo but because of the project quality. Even being deployed in the chaos of the informal city, the architect founded a way to recognize and respect the pre-existence, acting as a dressmaker, sewing patches. In the Spanish case, the architecture competition presents almost as a manifesto for the winning team. Concerned about the random repetition of the "manzana cerrada" model, which has been reproduced in the new neighborhoods dominated by the real state, and that has impoverished the relationships and the quality of the public space, this architecture breaks with that familiar configuration by proposing something new, which differs from the other surroundings buildings, not only by the urban situation, but also because of the building high and the façade's finishing. On that way, it's seems that the architecture competition may also help by being a way to express a reaction against an outdated system, and propose new directions and perspectives toward the development of the city's, and in this case, of social housing projects. Therefore, it is unquestionable the strength that this project tool has in encouraging the propositions of creative, and innovative alternatives with a high

quality and perception degree of the city and the building, having the chance to transform the simple act of living into an experience, into a domestic laboratory of ideas. (Cohn, 2006)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The Thick Topography of Athens.

An Analysis of Post-Capitalistic Cities in Southern Europe.

ABSTRACT

The urban landscape of Athens is characterized by a horizontal multi-layered structure, resulting from a practice of accumulation of architectural interventions. This organization had been determined by the ground and its topography as unavoidable local features of the site, regulating its development and influencing social and political traits. The informal sector and the absence of political intervention have driven an unlimited sprawl and the dominance of private spaces (institutional, commercial and residential) against the creation of collective spaces. The image of Modern Athens has been always dominated by the transitions market and the high cost of land, driving the construction sector as one of the most important in the country. The counterpart is the absence of a political and democratic intervention to create a city for a community instead then a city of individuals. The actual consequences of this proto-capitalist governance of the territory, is a geographical, social and economical imbalance between the city center and the dispersed marginal areas.

In this situation the urban setting become progressively blurred and camou-

flaged. The current difficulty of description and comprehension of each specific location leads to the use of topography as a design tool. Topographical approach provides a description of the complexity of reality in a phenomelogical way, and can be used as an operative model for urban design. The ground floor can express geographical and social characteristics, as well as horizontal relations. Through topographical practice the ground floor of a city can be intended as a unity of objects, functions and forces in action. This "thick topography" can become a model of renovated horizontal and democratic environment bringing a natural use of soil and resources, while stimulating the development of local identities and communities.

Today Athens can be considered a wide scale geographical artifact with regional relevance. The ground floor is the level of social relations, urban administration, economical management and collective occupation and is strictly related with the regional skyline and geographical matters. This new hybrid landscape can drive new methods of intervention, requalification and revaluation of actual contested regions.

Key Words: Topography, Landscape, Ground, Field, Skyline, Common.

INTRODUCTION

In the current economical and environmental crisis that affect both urban and natural environment, there is urgency for the revaluation of collective goods. Modern cities are collective compositions with a narrative power and it is necessary revisiting their image starting from the city itself. The aim of this investigation is to discover urban possibilities and potentials in concert with works of past, present and future designers. Large contexts are taken into account because they are the product of a historical process and consequence of an action-by-action evolution. In this regard a huge significance is directed to the engaging activity of small projects as the constitutive process to define the city as a whole, although conflicting (Child, 2012). From this point of view, Athens is a paradigmatic case study because its stunning physical appearance is the result of the assemblage of a myriad of small elements working together to produce a megaform. Athens has also a contradictory identity that constantly reproduce itself (Kalandides, 2012) and its actual shrinking condition reclaims to re-think the city anew.

In what follows, Athens is investigated as a geographical artifact. The built-up environment and landscape features are interwoven in a unique field in consideration of the strict correspondence between the social and economic in-

stances. All these elements together compose the background of urban growths and the motive of cities' actual configuration. The concept of thick topography will be introduced as the tool to analyze this specific field.. The thick topography thus considers the ground as the surface where humans act and includes all the objects and activity that go through over the earth's surface. This approach to the city aims to stimulate the re-definition and the re-appropriation by the city dwellers of the common resources of the city, referred to the ground and to the distribution of goods produces (Patel, 2010).

Athens and the consequence of the Uneven Development

In the Balkan panorama, Greece represents a unique case because of its long process of westernization. There exists a conflicting duality between its ancient splendor as one of the main center of elaboration of the western culture and modern times when the cult of modernization has been introduced. In the last two centuries forces of modernization have considerably changed the aspect of both Greek cities and landscapes. Athens, the capital city, was subjected to the most radical transformation and today almost the half of the population is settled there. Traditional courtyard houses whose typology comes from ancient times, 19th century neoclassical edifices and apartment buildings from the 1920s and 1930s have been continually substituted and replaced by apparently more modern and functional constructions following the trends of a worldview modernization (Salingaros, 2007).

Athens today is the result of an intense and relentless process of growth. The first major transformation had been in the 1834 when a settlement of 1.000 inhabitants perched on the Acropolis hill turned into the capital city of the new born Greek state. Athens was chosen for its symbolic appeal for two reasons: to share a sense of Greek identity that could embrace all the Greeks settled in the Balkans and along the Mediterranean shoreline and to enhance the Classical Age roots of western civilization.[1]During the following two centuries the intensification of the building activity, supported by huge local and international flows of capital, prompted the perpetual expansion of the built-up areas and supported the construction of the main public buildings.[2]The major period of territorial expansion covers the years from the Greek exodus from Turkey in the 1922, when circa 1.500.000 immigrants moved there from the Ponto region, to the end of

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1   Nafplio was the main cultural and political center and an established financially-thriving administrative center when it was elected provisional capital in 1931. In the treaty of May 1932 Greece was placed under guarantee of the Protective Powers (Britain, France, Russia and Bavaria) under the throne of King Otto with the assignment to create the basic infrastructure of the state. Athens was chosen as capital because of its "indelible aspect [that] deserves to be glorified". Anyway, the new regency found unhappy and raging citizens in Athens and a lot of oppositions among many Greeks that considered Athens physically inadequate for the new role (Bastéa, 2000).
2   Foreign capitals came from wealthy entrepreneurs and industrialists from the Greek diaspora as well as from individuals of foreign countries aiming to support their private interests in Athens. They usually chose the building type and the architect while the state was responsible for providing the side and the supervision of the building process. Notwithstanding the vast planning process at national level, the financing model essentially was individual.

the Military Junta in the 1974. Athens had covered up all the available space of the valley between the Ymittos, Aegaleo and Pentelic mountains and the Saronic Gulf but without never truly conquer the shoreline.[3] Its actual shape, a large coated mantle of concrete buildings without significant public spaces, is the result of the absence of inefficient urban politics and of the dominance of huge private interests in land transactions and housing market (Fig.1). Basically, there are three main reasons why urban planning didn't develop in a consistent and ordered way: an ideological gap between modern state and traditional Greek society; a weakness of formal local government; the disregard for governmental institutions (Wynn, 1984). On the other hand, the popular control of urban mechanisms was structurally connected with the evolution of an underdeveloped capitalist economy and it represented a collective response to new exigencies of survival (Leontidou, 1990).

Figure 1. *View of Athens from the Areopagus. Source: John Sullivan / Creative Commons*

The fortunes of a city fully depend on a country's economic system. In point of fact Athens is the result of specific national economic politics. Greece is distinguished by a peripheral capitalism that affects negatively entirely both the natural and constructed environment as well as social structure. Indeed, while central capitalism experiences a self-centered accumulation based on the production of "capital goods" and the spreading of mass consumption, in peripheral countries it produces unbalanced structure of development with the consequence of a production for export and a consumption of luxury goods (Smith, 1984). The main effect of capitalistic systems is the uneven development, or the unequal territorial emancipation caused by imported flows of foreign capital and technologies necessary to trigger a process of growth (Harvey, 1996). In order to attract multinational capitals to promote industrial modernization, the Greek Government, like other Southern European Countries, switched from policy of autarky to an opening of the national economy to a wider international market (Hudson, Lewis, 1985). These sorts of investments, in the way of punctual accumulation of capital, brought to the rapid development of strategic small areas and communities, like for instance the industrial areas of Eleusi and Agii

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3   *Pireo, the port of Athens, historically was an independent city. In the 19th century the two urban agglomerations were connected with the railway that soon became the axes for the industrial expansion. The shoreline of Athens had never been object of public interests and a design has been provided only for the 2004 Olympic Games with the establishment of some Olympic structures.*

Theodori, but they generated regional inequalities and environmental disasters (Nikolinakos, 1985).

Athens is the most visible product of this process. The concentration of economic and political interest in the capital city caused a national demographic and productive disproportion. This disparity is even more evident nowadays reading the actual consequences of the economic crisis that affect Greece since 2009. A geographical unbalance exists also at a local scale between the city center, where most of the cultural institutions and company headquarters are based, and the rest of the city (Burgel, 1997). The absence of zoning for industrial districts and social housing and, on the other hand, the tendency to small parcellization to trigger limited or illegal investments, drove the urban growth toward the spreading of the private property (Leontidou, 1990). The negative consequence is the continuous loss of the public domain, common spaces and environmental resources and, progressively, their deterioration.

The Thick Topography of Athens

Because of its unique status, Athens cannot be investigated using the typical parameters of western urban culture. Rather than a typological or formal approach focused on what architects have built in Greece, a new thinking about contemporary cities can be applied. Following a better awareness of complex processes of transformations that have taken place in the city, the cultural background and social aspects have to bring to the fore. Via use of this tactic, the Greek capital city becomes an exemplary urban congregation that could represent an unknown future city (Antonas, 2006). In view of this approach to urban issues, European standards of beauty won't allow any qualitative thinking about the physical environment of the city, simply because Athens is not a beautiful city from the traditional point of view. Harvard Professor Hakim Sarkis has stressed the significance to start from the intimate features of the city to detect its own history, culture and conditions. Therefore, any urban development should start from the city's own qualities and prevalent development methods, but not confusing environmental problems with the formal ones (Sarkis, 1997).

To take into account these considerations, the concept of field is introduced here. In Geography, a field includes the contemporary existence of objects, the surrounding landscape and the forces in action in the space in-between, in continuity with merged events but with the respect of the identity of each (Allen, 1985; Ewing, McGowan, Speed, Bernie, 2011). Topographical practice is the tool used here to analyze a field conceived in this way. According to Ignasi de Solà-Morales (1996), topography offers a theory based on the phenomelogical and scientific recognition of reality. It is a design practice that allows the all-including

description of the territory because it witnesses the historical joint venture that man has established with the places that decided to inhabit. The topographical approach to urban matter provides more accurate information that switch the imagery of the city from an ideal scenographic composition to a rational development of accurate maps.

Following these premises, the process of formation of Athens can be view as the result of superimposed layers. The whole thickness of the city has a physical consistency and a clearly measurable section that does not exceed 20 meters over the ground line and 10 meters underground. Over the ground multiple levels of concrete slabs outline the constructed urban mass while archaeological digs constantly construct and refill the ground (Kotionis, 2012). Urban strata are defined by the widespread maison domino system of the polykatoikia, an updated version of the typical Mediterranean multistorey apartment buildings (Fig.2).
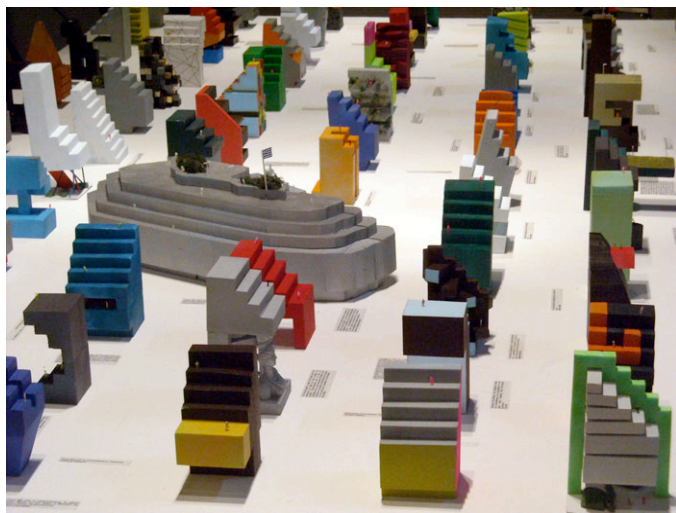
Figure 2, *Different models of polykatoikia by Point Supreme in Unbuilt-Legitimation 1. Source: © 2008 Point Supreme*

Like the Roman insulae, the polykatoikia hosts different uses and different social affiliation for each floor (Leontidou, 1990). Each strata is thus characterized by a great mobility of user and activities so that at the end they can complement one another. The matter had never been how to define the shape of a strata by an ordinated and controlled urban process or design idea, but how to continue the existing one (Rivkin, Melidaoui, 2007).

The study presented in this paper deals with the thick topography of the city thought as the unity of the events that take place between the ground and the skyline. It considers the city as a field and analyzes the objects in space together with

Figure 3. *Topographical map of the Ancient City and profiles of mountain configuration. Source: Ferro, L., 2004. In Grecia. Architettura, Archeologia, Paesaggio. Cuneo: Araba Fenice.*

the socio-economic conditions that contributed to the production of the actual form of the urban environment. The aim is to discover vacant forces to re-think the urban environment. The thick topography of Athens has a pure topographical nature and is evident in the close coincidence and continuity between the original orography of the region and the vast undulate surface made of concrete roofs. This strict correspondence between the ground and the skyline is the basis to theorize a new aesthetic for the city (Fig.3).

Athens as a megaform

In a dialogue about megaform and scale variations, Sarkis pointed out that the geographic paradigm crafts the relations between ecology and architecture and it bridges the very large scale with the very small or provides new forms with geographical references (Allen, 2011). Athens can thus be considered a geographical artifact or a megaform in consideration of the conflictual duality of its urban structure: the widespread diffusion of regular grids and their site specificity. About the first sphere, the diffuse and intensive use of the abstract Hippodameian grid, implemented high and low without changes and variations until today, has driven the city to an apparent monotony and it can thus be considered as the denial of individuality. The actual compact form of the city is the consequence of a wild parcellization and of the absence of planning. On the other side, since Ancient times, precisely after the constitutional reforms of Cleisthenes (565-492 B.C.), Athens was made by irregular grids that straightforwardly adapt to the peculiarities of the ground. This kind of attachment to the ground reveals a multitude of site specificities as the manifestation of the right implementation of democracy. Today, the consequence of the fragmented management of the ground is visible in the orientation and the nature of those grids. They change accordingly to the orography and the particularities of the land and reveal its original conformation (Koubis, 1990).
Grids were the suitable tool used for the parcellization of the land and their intense use represents a self-regulatory management of this common resource. In most cases rectangular plots in urban grids had been completely filled with buildings (the 15-25% of the area had been covered) with the consequent emergence of strong linear elements and the reduction of visual fields (Trova, Hadjinikolaou, Xenopoulos, Peponis, 1999). The modern city is thus composed of fragments without a clear orientation and a lack of infrastructures and efficient connection axes. So the city assumes a clear shape with its strong stand unity and it resembles the features of irregularity of the soil, haphazard and not managed. For this reason today Athens seems more related to its territory and orography than to ancient ruins that emerge like isolated landmarks (Koubis, 1990).

These considerations bring to conceive and identify Athens as a wide scale geographical manifestation pushing forward the concept of landscape as a global environmental entity (Doxiadis, 1961).[4]
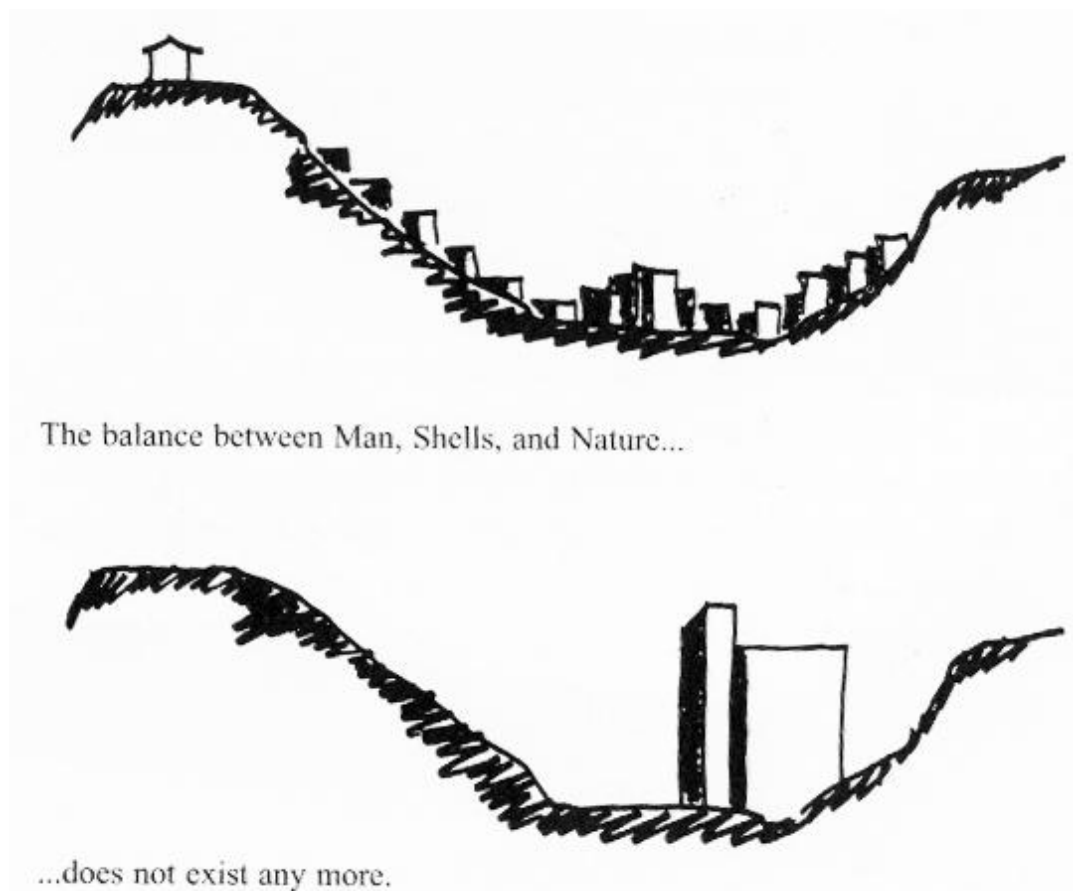
Figure 4. Costantinos Doxiadis, First crime-first: aspect. High-rise buildings spoil the landscape. Source: Doxiadis, C., 1971. Confessions of a Criminal. In: A.A., Kyrtsis, ed., Constantinos A. Doxiadis. Texts, design drawings, settlements. Athens: Ikaros Publications.

Therefore, the modern shape of the city displays the physical materialization of cultural and social dynamics. "Para-urbanism" is the illegal phenomenon describing a consistent part of the urban growth and sprawl that happened in parallel, but not necessarily totally distinctly or in opposition, to official urbanism. Illegal and official construction sector were used to work symbiotically, satisfying specific and complementary economic interests (Philippidis, 1990). This laisse-faire ideology is a collective manifestation and has the role of mediation between the state and the citizens to avoid social conflicts. Indeed both left and right parties have aimed to support this situation so that uncontrolled urban activities cannot be considered only as an illegal phenomenon but as an embedded structured system (Salingaros, 2004). Under this social pressure, the city has developed along two directions with substantial transformations of its appearance. On the one hand, the peripheral sprawl, fed by the practice of the

4   As what is reported in the European Landscape Convention, in Greece a contemporary landscape culture does not exist (Terkenli, 2001). After the Second World War, some new committees were founded for the protection of landscape against the unstoppable growth of the city (Landscape Committee, Commission for the National Landscape and City). They were found on an aesthetic approach towards Greek Landscape based on an anti-europeism and naturalism (Simeoforidis, 1999).

antiparochi (an exchange between the owner of a plot and the contractor), enlarged the urban occupancy of the soil and urbanized abruptly surrounding rural areas. On the other hand, the constant grow of the "coefficient of land usage" (a 30% growth of this coefficient only during the Military Junta during the 1968-1974) had determined the substitution of low rise historical buildings with more profitable higher ones for a uniform vertical growth and a steady densification of central areas (Fig. 4). Notwithstanding the presence of illegal buildings, pollution and underrated public transportation, this process has conferred to Athens its social and geographical legitimacy (Burgel, 2004).

Under the pressure of urban forces, the Greek landscape has been widely neglected. The dense urban tissue of the contemporary city and the sprawl that occupied large coastal areas has progressively saturated all the available space and annihilated most of the natural resources. In the Attica region the rivers Ilissos, Eridanos and Kifissos that gave life to the Ancient City disappeared or were blocked, forests and mountains have been burnt, hills have been defaced by quarries to implement building activities, surfaces for cultivation had been radically reduced. Anyway, the visual integration with the landscape still allows a clear reading of the typical small geographical format in the form of fractal objects of irregular shape recognizable at different scale (Deleuze, Guattari, 1980; Braudel, 1998). This format contains two different scalar dimensions: the macro dimension of the surrounding mountains and the sea and the micro dimension of random breaks, joints and juxtapositions composing the urban structure. The latter has an equivalent dual scalar condition embodied in the strong figural volumes of buildings and in the semi figural enclosures of outdoor spaces, like small squares, traditional patio houses or small hidden courtyards (akalyptos). From this point of view, Athens is a megaform due by the enormous and compact built-up area that spreads horizontally over the undulating plane of the irregular topography of the valley, adjusting and adapting the system of grids accordingly to the twists of the ground. This coated surface is composed by the multitude of polykatoikies organized along constantly changing linear frames generated by the transformations of the grids. Kenneth Frampton compared the polykatoikia reproduced at the urban level with the fragmented mosaic of the island settlements, transferring a pre-industrial model to a metropolitan environment (Frampton, 2009). The cubic shape of traditional settlements housing provided a genuine social and economic organization strictly related with business and prestige: village societies were centered on the institution of the family, the house, and on competition among families (Prévélakis, 2000). From an architectural perspective, this smoothed urban structure is in any case a way of adaptation to the irregular soil that represents a sort of endless sculpture that

diffuses a general harmony (Rudofsky, 1964; Smithson, 1973; Doxiadis, 1971; Deleuze, Guattari, 1980; Frampton, 2009). Accordingly to the French philosophers Deleuze and Guattari, a smooth space is a dynamic space where transformations are more important than essence (Deleuze, Guattari, 1980). In this regards, Doxiadis compared modern Athens to a sea basin, constantly distressed from which the highest tops of the hills and mountains emerge like islands out of time (Doxiadis, 1961).

The smooth system of polykatoikia easily adapts itself to the physical setting like a rough fractal surface. Like a landform building, Athens "blurs the boundaries between landscape and architecture, threatening the building itself as a fragment of constructed ground" (Allen, 2011). The smooth skyline is related to the ground that lies beyond with a tectonic significance in a sort of agreement between building typologies, social matters, economical procedures and geographical setting (Fig.5).

Figure 5. *Fabiano Micocci, Athens Spaltung. Source: © Fabiano Micocci*

The thick topography as method of intervention

The thick topography defines the field of architectural intervention into the section of the city, even if a more large conception can be applied to all the contexts over the earth's surface. Three different levels of surfaces can be identified in this vertical section according to their location and quality: the ground floor and its thickness, the various levels of dwellings and the skyline. The three levels have different political and social implications while suggesting different kind of interventions. The mutual aim is the re-appropriation of the common surfaces of the city by the construction of new surfaces out of materials that are not intrinsically continued.

The ground floor is the surface with more environmental and political implications. It exhibits a horizontal extension at the macro-scale but at the micro-scale it has articulated and differentiated sections that generate environmental performance (Allen, 1085). Therefore the land use tells us a lot about economical and social processes as well as the role of the common against the private

property (Smith, 1984; Leontidou, 1990; Harvey, 1996; Patel, 2010). To go back to the original meaning of the ground floor means to re-establish shared uses and interests. The architectural reconstruction of nature, as David Gissen (2011) theorized, is based on a novel return from the current urban environment to a partially pre-modern and pre-industrial state with the aim of establishing a visual and aesthetic relationship between the reconstructions of a pre-modern topography of nature and future forms of urbanization. The redefinition of strategies and common uses on the ground floor gives back a horizontally linked network of correspondences for the public benefit (Fig.6).
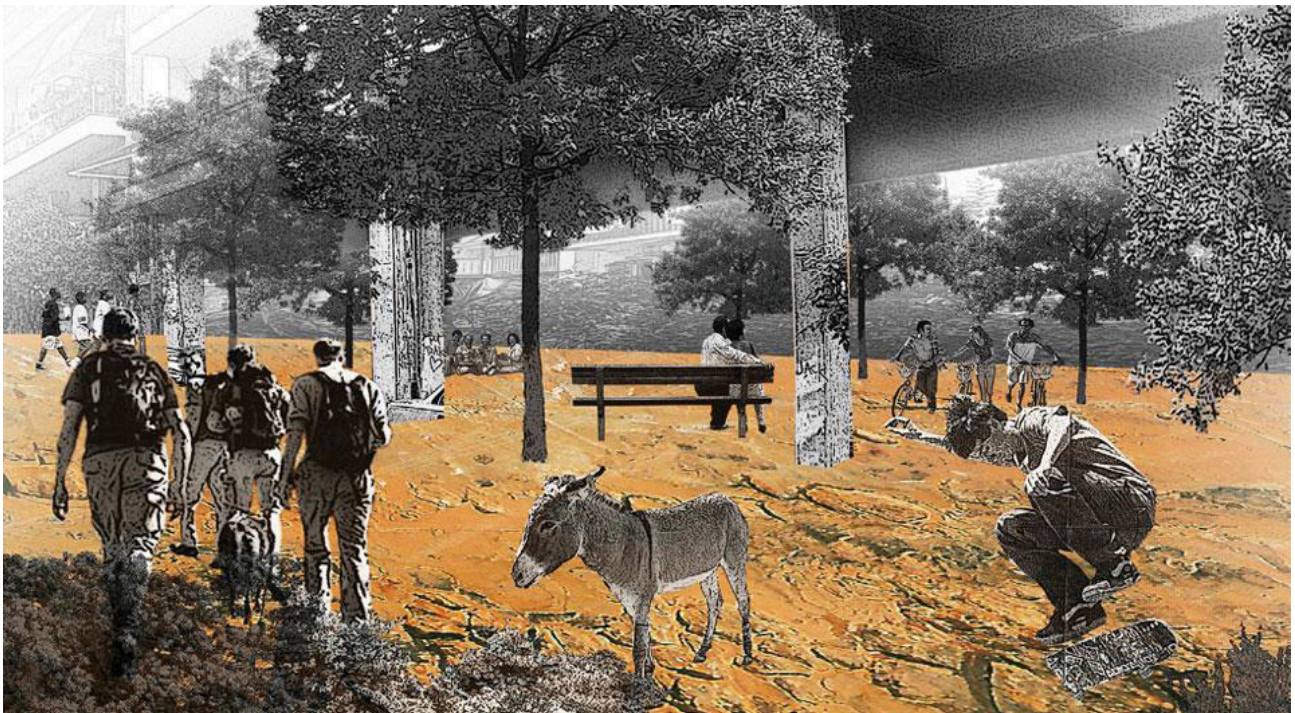
Figure 6. Fabiano Micocci, Athens Spaltung. Source: © Fabiano Micocci

Instead of considering a building only for its speculative pursuit, the multiplication of horizontal surfaces can be considered as a way to recreate the common embedded on the ground floor elsewhere inside the section of the city. Considering the typology of the polykatoikia, Professor Zissis Kotionis proposes the creation of common on intermediate levels through the modification of the outline of the house with slabs hung in mid-air among the living spaces of the building (Fig. 7). This operation would bring to the expansion of the urban ground to compose a multitude's space (Kotionis, 2012). If the horizontality is re-established, integrations among levels would drive to a new sociality that suggests the introduction of multiple uses (for instance cultivation).

The process of re-appropriation ends on the upper mantle of the city on the basis of two assumption: the conversion of the abandon surfaces into active ones and the significance of the skyline as a shared collective identity. The project of
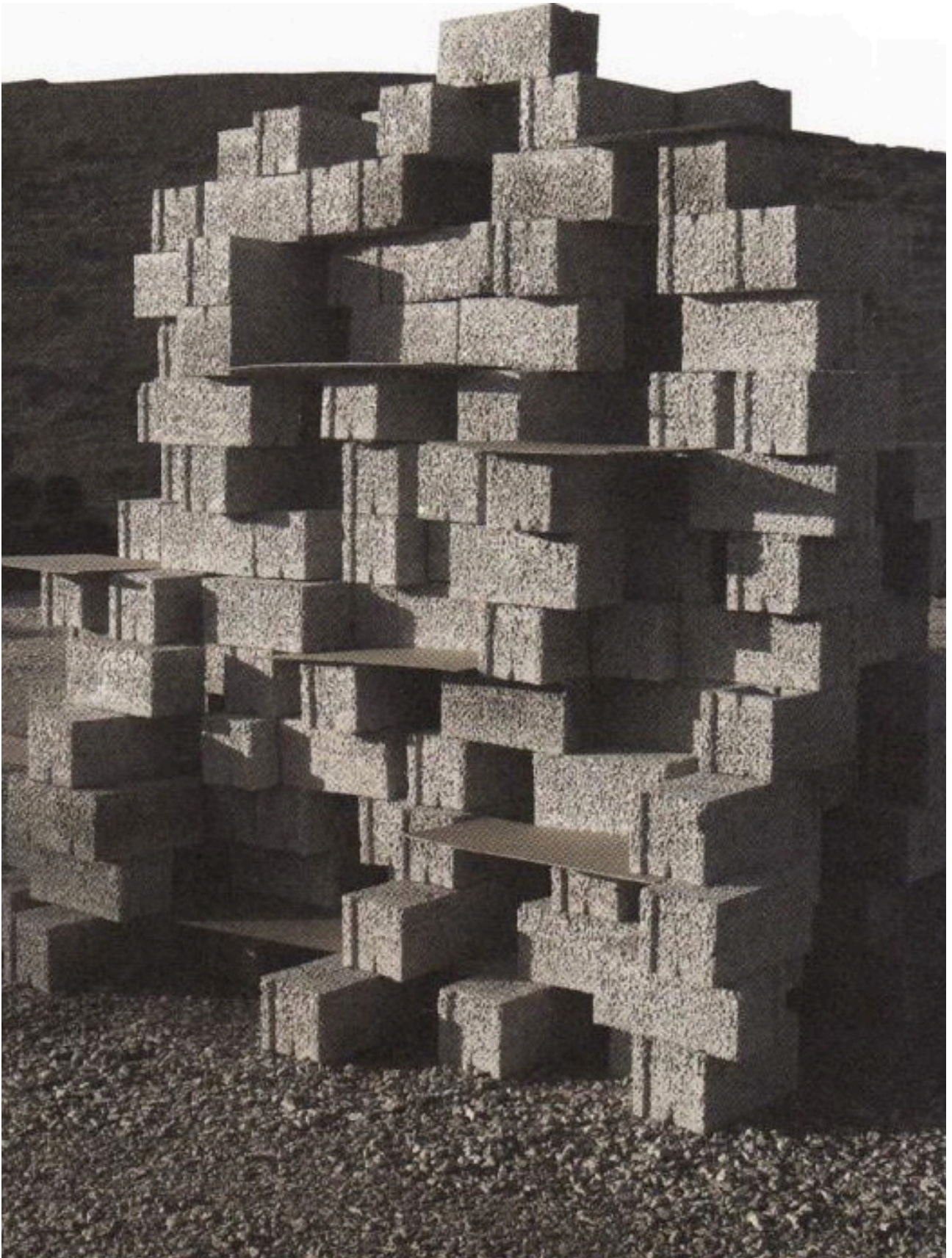
Figure 7. *Zissis Kotionis, Athens Piler. Source: Kotionis, Z., 2012. Multidomes. Volos : University of Thessaly Press.*

Figure 8. *Aristide Antonas, New skyline of Athens. Source: Antonas, A. 2006. Athens and some thoughts on urban mechanisms. [online] Available at: http://antonas.blogspot.gr/2010/09/athens-and-some-thoughts-on-urban.html [Accessed 15 July 2012].*

the Greek architect Dimitris Antonas redefines the skyline of Athens reinforcing its original character and offering more opportunities (Fig.8). The project undertakes the unification of some Athens blocks through the position of some particular grids. The proposed structure is constituted from recycled grids of the Athens metro, the sewerage system, the rain drains. The technology of green houses is used in order to obtain the maximum of green using the minimum of earth and water.

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Re-Appropriating the Architect?
Where do we stand and what is to be done

ABSTRACT

The paper analyses the position of architects within the current problematics of urban justice and urban struggles, using Croatia as a key example, and the usual dynamic within the triangle: architect – developer – community, in which in the most cases, architects are considered to be just a facilitators of the wishes of the developers, in order to outline what are the potential fields where different kind of architecture can be practiced and where the profession, can become the tool for more equal distribution of space and thus an important actor in the process of (re)appropriation of the city, and conception of space as a resource and not (solely) a commodity.

KEYWORDS: ARCHITECT, PROFESSION, COMMONS, PUBLIC

INTRODUCTION

This paper should be taken more as an investigation, a quest, rather than a definitive answer, that starts with the following thesis – if the city is to be

re-appropriated, that can not be achieved without re-appropriation of the profession that deals with the city, i.e. architect. In the paper, the differentiation between architects and urbanists is deliberately obfuscated,

In February 2009, "District 13: Ultimatum" the French action film came out. Written by Luc Besson, it was a sequel of a moderately successful film from 2004, District 13. Both films are set in the future, 2013 and 2016 respectively, and focus on the dystopic futuristic vision of one of the Paris' banlieues, numbered 13 in the films. Based on the extremization of the current trends of ghettoisation, films portray banlieue 13 as the completely ungovernable ghetto, fenced off from the rest of the city, with police checkpoints controlling the entrances and flow of people in and out, but not the situation within it. The sequel drew a lot of attention in Serbia, due to the fact that parts of the New Belgrade were cast to "play" defunct French banlieue. (Figure 1) While it would be interesting to analyse in details the opening sequence of the film, and how, in the case of New Belgrade, the functional modernist super-blocks were, for the purpose of the film transformed into Paris ghetto of the future, and what are the reasons why the similar architectural typology managed
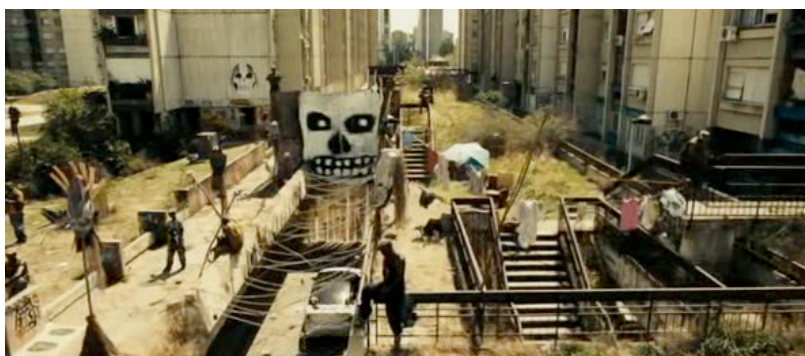
Figure 1. *Still from District 13: Ultimatum – New Belgrade playing Paris' Banlieue*

to function so well in one society and so bad in the other, for the purpose of this paper, the focus will be on the another segment, the one that starts in the 24th minute of the film.

The scene takes place in the high end, presumably architecture or developer's, office overlooking Paris, and we see a couple of security officers checking the space for bugging devices. After room proved to be bug-free, the meeting between developer and a politician can commence. The conversation takes place over a large scale model of a project for a new mix-use development complemented with two funky looking towers, modelled in clear plastics. (Figure 2) The site of the new development – district 13. After a brief exchange, how

Figure 2. *The stills from District 13, architectural model.*

much the new development could contribute to the city, the conversation moves to a more delicate topic, how much involvement of a high ranking politician can speed up the process of obtaining all the permits, and more importantly, the destruction of the banlieue and relocation of the couple of thousands of its inhabitants. Before developer and politician shake hands, a a carry-on size suitcase full of money is exchanged. The crooked politician leaves the office knowing that there will be another suitcase if he does what he had promised to do. As the film develops, the politician, actually a prime minister, has his hands in triggering the riots in the banlieue and convincing the president that the only solution is relocation of its population and total demolition of the whole housing estate.

In District 13, there is no part of an architect, neither as a heroic figure who helps people from the ghetto realise what is looming over their city, nor as a villain figure who is behind a corruption and drives the motivation. The architect comes to mind as a potential actor in the story only for few of those from the same profession, the avid filmgoers, who, when confronted by the model of the new development, realise that it was some architect who had do design it. Even for the film. Architect is a silent, nameless facilitator of the criminal dispossession of the city from its inhabitants, just because they are not in the social strata favourable to the developers and occupy much needed land for new construction, seen from developers as the only way city can develop. The film takes the relationships between government – developer – inhabitants and corruption to the extreme, necessary here for the dystopic character of the story set in the future, but how far this is from the situation of the reality, and more importantly, how different is the position of the imagined invisible architect in the film, from his practicing in the real life colleagues?

Where do we stand?

On July 15th 2010, 152 people were arrested while protesting in Zagreb, Croatia. (Figure 3) The focal point of their protest was the start of the construction of the entrance ramp into a garage of a private development in the very centre of the city. The events surrounding the beginning of the construction of the ramp, built by the city and for which the pedestrian street was sacrificed on the altar of the clientelism, were the culmination of the four year process that started with 54.000 citizens of Zagreb signing petition against the development in question, because its conception was against all existing plans and principles of construction of the city. In the

Figure 3. *Earlier protest organised by Right to the City in Varšavska street in Zagreb, in which activists we asking City officials to "Give up" (Odustanite, in Croatian) source: Right to the City, Zagreb*

centre of this scandal, silently, lied a project of an architect, who silently observed a process without any (publicly voiced) opinion, and who, after the project was completed with a four year long delay, started exhibiting and lecturing about the project. Mentioning just that there were minor obstacles that delayed the project and emphasising the importance of public space. The very space that got sacrificed for the project to come to life.

While activists got "involved" in the project at the beginning of 2007, voicing the (popular) opinion that the space within the block in question is not a void that can only be activated if filled with construction of the new square meters of the retail and gated housing space, but the urbanised space with its own specific culture and part of the network of spaces that exist in most of the 24 blocks of the "lower town of zagreb", important for the community, the architect's involvement started a year earlier, on a closed competition by invitation financed by the developers, where the only criteria for winning was how many square meters of new space will be created for developer to sell. The program of the competition was from the start in a complete collision with the parameters for the block set by the master plan, and provided no insight on the situation of the ground. Developer, with the strong ties with the major of Zagreb, went into the project knowingly that, due to this connections, there is no plan that can be overwritten. The architect was there just to facilitate the transformation of the "rat's nest" (how developer persistently dubbed the block's interior) into a "exclusive shopping and dwelling space".

What developer and his political backers miscalculated was the reaction of the people. Discovering early in the process, while project was still in the preparatory phase and without all the permits, what was the intention of

the developer, activists of the "Right to the City"[1]managed to inform and "translate" to the people what was going on is not a benign construction of a yet another shopping mall on the empty plot of land that would finally bring to Zagreb the long awaited H&M, but the occupation of the urban space, which had a potential to become a focal point of the public life and extension of the square if its development was managed properly. What "Right to the City" managed to spark, was the longest and most active civic "battle" in Croatia until now. "The emergence of urban activism is not a new phenomenon, yet it is one of the seldom moments in which the empowerment of citizens get materialized. Although citizens are not activists per se, advocating spatial representation through collective manifestations brings a sense of urban justice - anyhow a liberating effect, even if it fails to produce factual changes" (Basauri, 2010, p.63).

During the struggle for Varšavska street, the independent advisory board on urbanism was formed by the professionals, architects and urbanists, interested to help the activists, but beside that the architects kept silent from voicing any opinion, until 2010 and the massive arrests took place, when both Association of Zagreb Architects and Association of Croatian Architects made statements in support of the civil protest. By that time, both the space within the block and the pedestrian street fell as victims to the development. The battle was lost, but the public opinion changed. It can safely be said that the struggle for public space and who has a say in development of the cities, became an issue in Croatia and that the level of general knowledge about the issues concerning spatial justice, development of the cities and public space has raised. The spark of a urban activism appeared in other parts of the country (especially in the costal cities of Dubrovnik, Pula, Split...), and the network of exchange of know-how, solidarity, and support started to emerge. Within the network, also, another type of imagination of the future cities starts to appear, also with the strategies of how this other types of cities can become realities. Other types of cities based on more urban justice, after it became apparent, that, in the most of the cases, the only vision City officials have for their cities is suspiciously similar to the vision of developers. Most of the architects, somehow, seemed stranded or aligned with the developers in this process, still focused mostly on finding new opportunities to build, and "[w]hile the lack of public interference with the designing of buildings and spaces might be a relief to some architects, the lack of popular engagement, if left unchecked, will ultimately destroy the profession" (Vanstiphout, 2012).

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1   *The development of Right to the City ideas in Zagreb, and its relation with the independent cultural scene and ecology activists deserves a thorough analysis that, unfortunatly goes beyond the scope of this paper.*

What is at stake?

"And he realizes that architecture's task should reside in public space, can only reside in public space, the public space that is the space of being and not the space of having (private space); indeed, it is the space of not-having, and yet again the circle appears to close: architecture = necrophilic pleasure, public space, the space of being, if you like it, existential space." (Cuyvers, 2005)

On February 7th, 2011 one of the most visited architectural blogs, Dezeen, featured a new blog post simply titled "Concept villas for golf and spa resort, Dubrovnik, by Zaha Hadid Architects" (Figure 4). The editors of the post, added just three sentences, before featuring a PR text received from the architects, "Zaha Hadid Architects have designed two prototype villas for a site overlooking the historic town of Dubrovnik in Croatia. The concepts, named "Rock" (top) and "Shell" (above), have been developed to help define the architectural style of the resort, which will eventually consist of 400 villas plus hotels and a golf course. Here's some text from the architects: " (Dezeen, 2011). The text of the architects, gives little information about the context of the projects, before going into almost a generic description of the projects, with 3d renderings and drawings: "The brief called for the design of two prototype Villas for a new Golf and Spa Resort in Croatia overlooking the old town of Dubrovnik. The total development comprises 400 villas, two 5* hotels, luxury apartments, retail facilities, a spa and an 18 hole golf course including a golf resort club house. A recently developed master plan determines the perimeter and size of the parcels, which range from 12,000m2 to 20,000m2. The site of the prototype villas is located at the edge of the

Figure 4. *Concept villa "Rock" for Srdj, nearby Dubrovnik, designed by Zaha Hadid Architects. Source: dezeen*

plateau with picturesque views. The prototype villas shall define the over-all architectural design of the resort." (Dezeen, 2011). What both the PR and blog text fail to note is that couple of months earlier, in September 2010, the mentioned master plan was rejected by the County parliament, under the public pressure, with MPs explaining how the developer wanted to trick them into thinking that planned construction was much smaller, by colouring the gardens of the houses in the wrong colour. Text also fails to mention the citizen's initiative "Srdj je naš" [Srdj is ours] that started the protest against the project, with an argument that the hill Srdj, where this resort was to be positioned, is the only place for the city of Dubrovnik to develop and build much needed public facilities. It was obvious to the few that knew the story, that the big (architectural) guns were called in to try to smooth the public opinion in Dubrovnik, when it became obvious that investment was in danger. What general architectural public got was yet another generic visualisation from the high-end architectural office. The PR machinery was all set in place, and after the dezeen blog post, a national daily ran a story on the project entitled "The Architectural Masterpieces we will never witness", presuming that the only argumentation why the con-cept projects of Zaha Hadid Architects for Dubrovnik was the conservative society who was not ready for such a radical objects. The similar scenario of PR-washing was already employed in a neighbouring Serbia, where the of-fice of Daniel Liebeskind was commissioned to make a master plan (includ-ing a landmark tower, designed by the office) for a site of the Belgrade Port. The hype over Belgrade finally getting an object designed by star-architect it deserved, completely overshadowed the suspicious context under which the land of the port was privatised.

In the age of proliferation of architecture blogs, and magazines, where im-age is the dominant mode of dissemination, there was a strong belief in the cult of sexy form, that has never been seen before. But as much as these im-ages aspire to the stars, what most of them lack is magic. Magic that make these projects connect with something other than a fictitious capital they were aiming to reproduce. In the chase for chimera of the unseen, archi-tects seemed to forget that what the spaces they create are those shaping the everyday lives of people. Additionally, this chase went well hand in had with the economic system that "has traditionally reduced the architect (the planner as environmental designer) to the role providing culturally accept-able rationalizations for projects whose form and use have already been determined by real-estate speculation" (Goodman, 1972, p.133).

One of the things that became obvious with the 2008 crash was that the architecture has increasingly became the tool for dispossession of the society in favour of the privileged few. The construction boom, so cherished by the architects, was the motor for a financial market. However, when the bubble burst, architects were those left high and dry, as the banks were bailed out with the public money, bankers continued to receive their bonuses, and criminal actions were not planned against those who gambled and lost, but against those who were lured into credits they could not afford in the first place, and than dispossessed through foreclosure.[2]In that context, the conjuncture between Modernism and the rise of socialist and welfare states, mostly in European context, was a rare one, in which the state on one hand, forced capitalism to internalise the costs of social reproduction, thus enabling that the notion of the space as the common good, and not solely a commodity to become dominant. It was than that architects showed they are capable of playing for "the other team" and advocate through their work for commons and public. Historically, architecture was more often the tool to keep the wheel of urbanization of the surplus and speculation going than a tool for more equal distribution of spatial justice. The heart of the current crisis, New York City is a telling example, especially if the graph on tall-building construction in New York City economists Goetzmann and
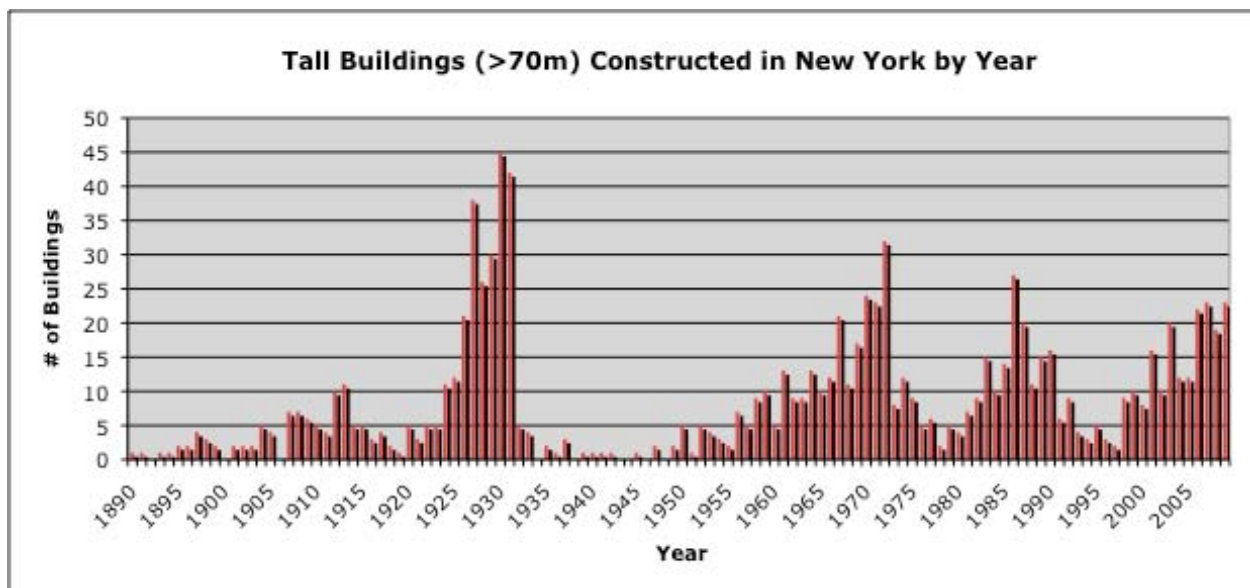
Figure 5 *Tall Buildings Constructed in New York by Year (source: fig. 2, Goetzmann, 2010. p.20)*

Newman (Figure 5) compiled "[t]he property booms that preceded the crashes of 1929, 1973, 1987, and 2000 stand out like a pikestaff. The buildings we see around us in New York City, they [Goetzmann and Newman]

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2   *"Many of these former homeowners believed their mortgage debt had been erased after their houses were taken by banks and lending companies. But the Texas company, Heritage Pacific Financial, has aggressively pursued collections and filed lawsuits claiming those debts still linger" (Jurgens, 2012)*

poignantly note, represent "more than an architectural movement; they were largely the manifestation of a widespread financial phenomenon" (Harvey, 2012, loc. 752-55).

It takes economists to make such a bold statement, that architectural movements are not autonomous products of a Howard-Roarkian type of architect's vision, but much more influenced by the financial movements. If we compare the impact of the influence of the current star-architecture league has on the profession and the spatial results of such infatuation, with the impact of the influence of the previous generation of Modernist heros the famous Marx's sentence that history repeats itself twice "[o]nce as tragedy, and again as a farce" (Marx, 2009, p.1) comes to mind. While Modernist stars brought the misinterpreted concept of existenz minimumm, that ultimately lead to hyper dense projects such as Pruit-Igoe in the USA, or Grand Ensembles in France, thestar-architectss brought an idea that all it takes for a developer to "sell" to a government the project that would quite often mean the dispossession of a local community of certain aspects of public and urban. What is an impact on a profession around the world, that is struggling with local developers to keep in projects additional spatial qualities beside the amount of square meters built, if those considered the best are all to eager to become a poster architects for tycoons of a global size?

One thing that above mentioned architects fail to do is to scrutinize "every commission whether its task makes sense and is necessary. One should never take this for granted. And architects should not automatically build something only because someone has asked them to do so; otherwise, they turn into pure service men" (Vassal, 2008). By servicing whoever comes with enough money to build a project, focusing, in most of the cases, on producing a spectacular object without paying much attention even to its immediate surrounding, and simultaneously being heralded by the profession itself as its forerunners and boundaries pushers, architects "'have remained powerless, subordinated to the visionless environments defined by the bottom-line urbanism of the developer's spreadsheet, making architecture simply a way of camouflaging corporate economic and political power'" (Tedy Cruz as quoted in: Robles-Duran, 2011, p.188).

Reflecting on a situation in the British context, Wouter Vanstiphout noted that "[t]here is an eerie resonance between the withering of our democratic system and the moral ambivalence of the architectural profession. Architecture veers wildly between subservience to corporate power and

neo-anarchist bottom-up experiments with participation. The political basis for architecture and planning — the design of public space and facilities — is disappearing from portfolios, taking the moral legitimacy of architecture with it. Like the political system, architecture is drifting further away from a position where it could broadly represent the interests of the British people. And this does not just refer to its "rightwing" corporate leanings, but just as much to its progressive "critical" side" (Vanstiphout, 2012).

In Serbian context, the subservience to corporate power among the architects was seen as the desired alternative to the situation in which most of the architects are earning their salaries by draughting legalization documents, i.e. drawing what was already built and not what is yet to be built. Stuck in the mindset of the reactive position, in which architects only respond to a commission, the most proactive act the associations of architects in Serbia did was to ask for more architectural competitions, with the hope that this would democratise the process of acquiring commission. The fact that most of the briefs were written in total accordance with the developers wishes was never considered, and what most of the competitions were good for was just developing skill of architect in packing as much as possible m2 for developer to sell, and, just rarely, the field for experimentation and scrutinization.

What is to be done?

"I think there are architects of the solid, who believe that architecture is an absolute value in itself, and architects of the void, for whom the value of architecture lies in what architecture allows to happen though and beyond its own material body." (Vassal, 2008)

Lets go back to the film for a moment. After a lot of fighting with a police, united representatives of various gangs from ghetto, together with a main protagonists of the film, a good guy from ghetto and his best childhood friend, honest policeman, manage to get to the president just in time before he pressed the button that will blow up the whole Banlieue. After establishing who is the bad guy (corrupted prime minister and developer) the crew decides with president to nevertheless blow up banlieue, so that a new housing estate can be built for the community, in which they could live better and be part of the society. Or: there is a job for the invisible architect after all, just the one that includes working with the community and not in denial that such thing exists.

What are the fields in which architects could and increasingly do re-appropriate the profession and to practice differently?

Architect need to reengage with the profession, in order to reengage with the communities. The repetitive refusal to take responsibility for the effects on communities the spatial transformations designed by the architects following the agenda of capital and developers have taken its toll. The architects became politically and socially irrelevant, while the increased number of those aiming to practice architecture (as building) have rendered them also expendable. What is needed is redefinition of not only how we practice architecture but also how do we organize ourselves as architects. While architects are finding other organizational models of working together, such as co-operatives, it is increasingly obvious that the associations of architects are not capable to deal with the increasingly precarious position of profession and that perhaps some kind of a new union formations could be more useful. For that to happen, the facts that architects are becoming blue-collar workers of the 21st century and are subject to the process of deskilling that was characteristic to deskilling of a factory workers due to the automation processes need to be taken into serious account.

Despite believing differently, architects are trained to decorate power, and rarely to question spatial practice. Since, according to David Harvey, the site of the class struggle has shifted from factory to the city, and the space became the core of the struggle, it has become increasingly difficult for architects to generate the trust of the communities they work in that they would not play them for the interest of capitalist. In order to regain and maintain the position of the trust, architects need to re-instate the political meaning of their practice. The scope of architect's practice also has to change, and "besides being designers of buildings, [they] have to be designers of political processes, economic models, and collaborations across institutions and jurisdictions [...] to operate differently in constructing critical observational research and alternative spatial strategies'' (Tedy Cruz, quoted in Robles-Duran, 2011, p.188).

Architects have been for long believing in the common sense of privatisation and in the illusion that the private capital and investors appreciate more the added value architects bring to their project. By inviting themselves into the process of creation of the new policies, architects have an obligation to introduce other elements in the already existing context in

which developers already put their paws on the territory, and try to become advocates of the community and space and not commodification.

Vanstiphout sees the potential for the profession in "the re-engagement of architecture and urban planning with public decision making, involving the maximum number of civilians. This means the upscaling and institutionalising of what are now incidental experiments with participation, crowd-funding and other such methods, so that spatial decision-making becomes a real authentically democratic process. It also means drastically opening up the closed, professional, jargon-laden debate about architectural quality and legitimacy to public, even popular, debate" (Vanstiphout, 2012). However, this transformation can not be instant, as it exposes itself to the perils of what Miguel Robles-Duran labels "architect as an instant activist" who "becomes an essential instrument for the 'new' and 'better' practice of urban redevelopment, helping governments and private developers clean their bad image by masking it as 'democratic', ecological and socially responsible" (Robles-Duran, 2011, p.187).

With large parts of the "developed" countries living in fear from foreclosures and the majority of urban population of "developing" countries living in the slums, the field in which the input of the "upgraded" architects can be crucial is appearing. The one of finding new models of housing, shelter providing that go beyond the market logic, and the dead social housing. "Architecture can take inspiration from the steadfast refusal to leave signalled by the Occupy movement, by refusing to play by the rules as written by developers and banks. And architectural thinking can contribute something invaluable to this extraordinary process by offering tangible models of possible worlds, possible forms of shelter, and possible ways of living together" (Martin, 2012). In order to avoid the trap of Marx's tragedy vs. farce argument, in the field of housing, the "upgraded" architect need to go beyond the ideas of Modernist architect that the in put of architect is needed only in the aspect of the organization of the space, but to question and think of new models on the all levels of production. After all, as the new generation of architect from developed world will be burdened by repaying the cost of their architectural education for the most of their life, the question of housing becomes their existential question as well. Therefore, Reinhold Martin has all the right when he asks "is it not time to take up again the question of housing publics with renewed vigour, and with attention to the integral relation between housing models and structural, societal change? Is it not time, also, to refuse the so-called common sense of privatization

and financialization, and to construct new processes, strategies or institutions — rather than ever more refined forms of indenture — dedicated to the common provision of shelter? (Martin, 2012)

The demand of more social responsibility and involvement with the community, put in front of the profession is not a light and it does require restructuring both the way how architecture is practiced, but also how it per-

Figure 6 *Occupy Wall Street New York (source: David Shankbone http://www.flickr.com/photos/shankbone/6267916621)*

ceives itself. However, architecture is not alone in this, the similar demand is put on other fields, such as design, programming... However, in order for a city to be re-appropriated, and stop being shaped solely based on the individual interests and market forces, the re-appropriation of the profession that deals with the space needs to occur.

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Urban morphology as a tool for the recomposition of public spaces in the historic city centre: case study of The Cathedral Square in Padua

ABSTRACT

Recomposition of public spaces in the medieval city compromised by war damage and speculative development is the theme here proposed, with particular attention to the case study of the Cathedral Square of Padua.
The working method is based on the belief that analysing the history of the city is fundamental to the study of urban morphology, clarifying the relationship between permanent structures on the one hand and temporary ones on the other. History becomes an indispensable tool with which to discover the underlying reasons for the development of the urban structure, which is an indelible reminder made in the image of the community. The methodology looks at the city as a product of functional systems (political, social, economic), but contemplates the overall urban form as a result of its spatial structure. The urban form is investigated in its physical specificity, which is the only method capable of finding the reasons for the special nature of the urban form in contrast to the social, economic, and political aspect that while certainly important, are insufficient.
In fact, restoring not only a material but also a spiritual value to the city to-

day is as indispensable as it ever has been. Consequently, a discussion can be held on the destiny of the city.

The Architectural and Urban Composition 3 course at the Department of Civil, Environmental, and Architectural Engineering of the University of Padua was based on fundamental 1960s studies about typological analysis (especially Aldo Rossi, L'architettura della città, 1966) specifically oriented towards the theme of public spaces and establishing relationships between these and private spaces. The spatial aspects and formal image of the transformations in the city are studied as a premise on which to base the design of the new architecture.

One of the areas in Padua studied by the students is Piazza Duomo (Cathedral Square), used as an opportunity to reconfigure the lost unity of a very symbolic and representative place, which acts as a custodian of the history and identity of this city. Piazza Duomo has been affected by rapid post Second World War reconstruction that has resulted in the loss of the organic unity with surrounding parts of the city. The hierarchy and order of the elements that characterize the form of this old place has been compromised by speculation in the second half of the twentieth century. Piazza Duomo is now a squalid parking space but in previous centuries it was a reference point for religious life in the city. It is used as a case study with analysis and proposals for a new urban design, in order to urge the city administration to solve the problems of loss of identity, incoherence with the historic context, invasive and aggressive presence of new buildings, degradation and microdelinquency.

Key WORDS: Boundaries, History, Indelible Reminder, Identity, Dynamic urban space; Post War Reconstruction, Excellence and Innovation in Teaching Architectural Quality.

1 INTRODUCTION

The medieval city centre of Padua is characterised by five squares located in close proximity to each other that have energised the fabric of the old medieval city since the Middle Ages (figure 1). Piazza Duomo (Cathedral Square) is one of these and is the place that has represented religious power in Padua for centuries. The façade of the sixteenth century Cathedral occupies the west side of this square and dominates the facing cramped narrow space. The Bishop's palace is nearby to the south, which opens up onto a very large Italian garden and is well illustrated on the seventeenth century map called the Pianta di Giovanni Valle (figure 2).

As with all-important churches in cities, there were also two fundamental

aspects in the relationship of the Cathedral with the surrounding fabric. The first one is that one of the sides had a public footpath that ran alongside the sacred building. This is on the north side of the Cathedral, unusually not shown but surrounded by small buildings. The second aspect is composed of the complete closure of the opposite side, built continuously from the church, blocking any possibility of transverse transit.

The closure of the side overlooking the square with buildings that were part of the religious residence (for example, in Padua the basilica of Saint Justine and the church of the Eremitani) limited opportunity for passageway, strengthening the presence of the church on the facing empty limited space and favoured the faithful noticing the sacred building.
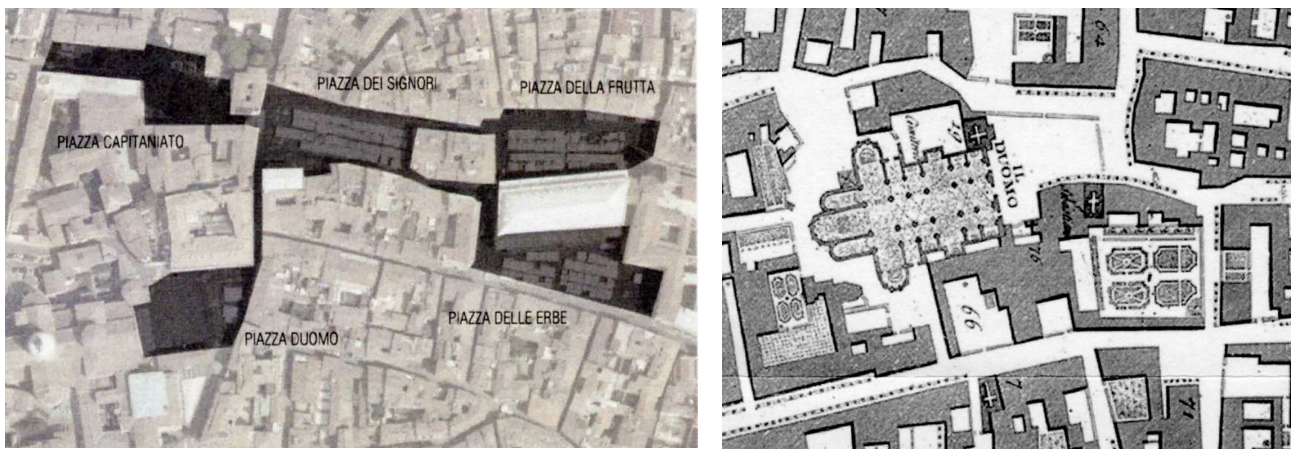
Figure 1. *The system of squares in the historic city centre of Padua highlighted in the photomap: the Cathedral square to the lower left of the image (once a seat of religious power); piazza Capitaniato in the upper left (military power); piazza dei Signori in the centre (political power); piazza delle Frutta and piazza delle Erbe to the right (mercantile power). From the work of the student Alessandro De Mitri.*
Figure 2. *The Cathedral square on the map of Giovanni Valle (1781-84). Note the continuous buildings that delimit the square on the southside. The Bishop's Palace is next to the Cathedral and the Italian garden opens out towards the east, which can be recognised from the four large flowerbeds. The teatro dei Concordi is indicated by the number 71 on the lower right.*

The buildings on the south side of the Cathedral square on the pianta del Valle have advanced well beyond the corresponding limit of the church façade. The Cathedral hangs over the small empty space of the square, closed in between the other buildings (figure 7).

Two fundamental events have caused this place to lose its identity, dissipating its strength of expression, and its coherence with the other squares in the urban system: firstly, the opening of a new road, via Vandelli, at the beginning of the twentieth century that separated the bishop's palace from its gardens and brought about the loss of the remaining buildings that delimited the space to the south of the square, and secondly, the reconstruction during the 1950s with very significant cubage but little sensitivity to the historic environment of the area on which the Bishop's gardens were laid out and nurtured.

The distortion of the consolidated urban morphology began with the pro-

gressive widening of the Cathedral square during the course of the XIX century by the demolition of buildings on the south side of the square. This widening corresponds to increased visibility of the Cathedral façade and culminated in the opening of via Vandelli, designed by the engineer Antonio Brillo, in the first decade of the twentieth century, a road that, in separating the bishop's palace from its gardens, directly connected the square with the southern part of the city centre. The tearing down of the historic building fabric with the removal of the southern edge of the square weakened the relationship between the square and the façade of the church (figures 3, 4, 5, 6). Following this, in the 1950s buildings on the site of the gardens to the east of via Vandelli, which had maintained contained indices of volume until the post-war period, were completely destroyed.
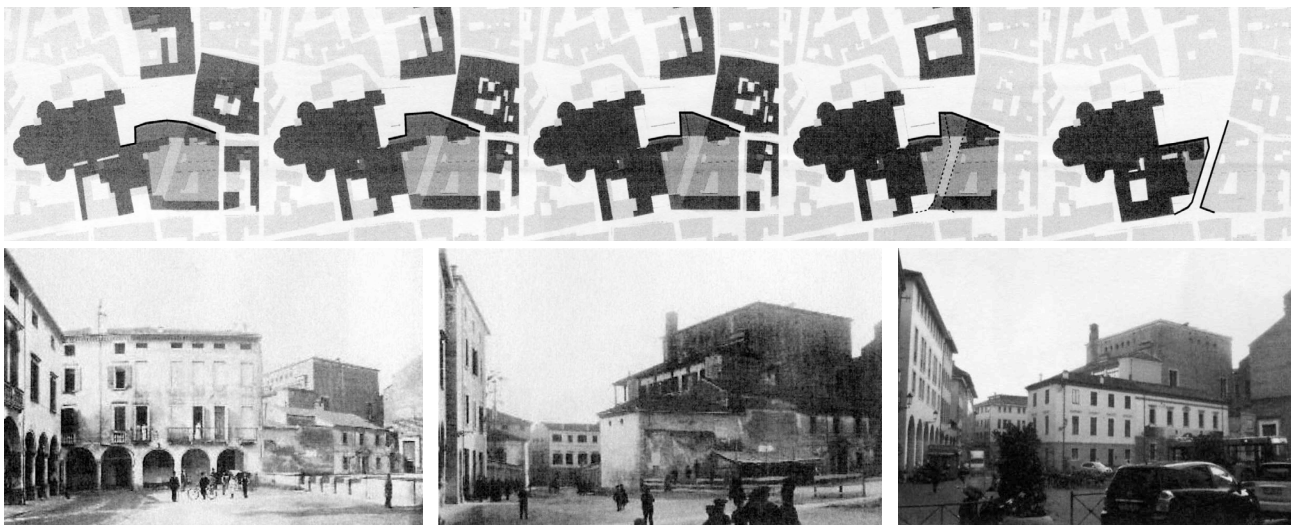
Figure 3. *Evolution of the shape of the Cathedral square from the end of the eighteenth century to the present day. The building that defined the south side of the square progressively diminishes, contracting until via Vandelli was opened. From the work of the student Francesca Grassetto, academic year 2010-11.*
Figures 4, 5, and 6. *View of the south side of the Cathedral square between the nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth century, after the opening of via Vandelli, and today. The prismatic brick built volume in view of the Bishop's palace appears in the background. From the Padua Civic Library and from the work of the student Francesca Grassetto.*

The wave of speculation resulting from the war brought the construction of the new block of housing with its very disjointed invasive volume (figure 8), devaluing the square in terms of the wider context of the system of the five squares within the medieval city walls it belongs to.

2.   CURRENT PROBLEMS

The equilibriums that balanced the area were compromised by the opening of via Vandelli at the start of the twentieth century. The square was transformed into a place of transit. The confused use, confusing arrangement, and deterioration made by the city administration is explained by the tremendous incompatibility between this induced function as a route facilitat-

ing passage and the contrast of the enduring roots of the place around the pole formed by the Cathedral.

The goods and passenger traffic composed of public transport vehicles, cars, motorcycles, bicycles, and pedestrians that cross the square in various directions in a confusing and untidy fashion pose a danger, and the acoustic degradation of the traffic contrasts with the ample open-air seating of the two main cafés. Microdelinquency and drug dealing in this place should also be taken into consideration.

The Cathedral is no longer the only religious or monumental point of reference in this confused context but a marginal event for the casual and occasional actors who cross the square. It is no longer the church of the bishop to which the community in the city looks but forms a backdrop of indifferent events that occur at various times of the day.

We note at last that the city administration has not particular urgency to face the problem, because of others more important troubles in the territory, from delinquency around the railway station to drug dealing in the university district.

And yet the Cathedral with the stereometric volume of the baptistery constitutes one of the most important historic-artistic phenomena in the city, one of those around which is developed the urban fabric particularly inclined to accept transformations and significantly changed in the twentieth century.

Figure 7. *The facade of the Cathedral in about 1900 with the Baptistery to the right. From the Padua Civic Library.*
Figure 8. *Post-War land registry survey map. The layout of via Vandelli and the densely reconstructed new block of housing to the east of this road can be seen.*

Aldo Rossi writes that Padua "has always been available for experimentation with new realities in the urban form and landscape ever since it was founded". Rossi notes that "the fluid organisation of Padua in successive parts with sudden decay also is a reason of its modernity", that is, "a modernity in the sense that experience above and beyond the specific nature

of an epoch is available" (Rossi, 1970, pp. 439-440). Study of the invariance of the Cathedral as a monument and the changeable fabric of the built environment surrounding it is useful to solve the uncertain condition of the public space.

Cathedral Square was a quiet restrained space in which attention was drawn to the phenomenon of the sacred building without any other believable distractions. The Cathedral could once again become a cardinal point in the city, one of those monuments connected by ample squares crowned by smaller buildings that particularly in Padua make the texture of the urban fabric readable. In conclusion, the Cathedral could once again be included among the historic monuments. As Rossi also writes, "they are symbolic forms which are stronger than their function" (Rossi, 1985, p. 22).

3. PROJECT HYPOTHESES AS DIDACTIC EXPERIENCE

In applying the wider theme of the relationship between analysis and project, this is the argument made in the specialist degree in Construction Engineering at the Faculty of Engineering of the University of Padua. In teaching the "Urban and Architectural Composition 3 and laboratory" course in the academic years of 2009-10 and 2010-11 (regular professor Enrico Pietrogrande, with coworkers in the laboratory Adriano Rabacchin and Alessandro Dalla Caneva), attention was focussed on the study of the appearance of the city for the purpose of obtaining in-depth understanding of the deterioration of various places in the historic city centre, including the Cathedral Square.

Figures 9 and 10. *Shots of the Cathedral square documenting the confused use of the space once dominated by the Cathedral and by the Bishop's palace. The two photographs show the views that open on entering the square from two of the three original accesses from piazza dei Signori and from via Arco Vallaresso. Today these views correspond to the empty space of via Vandelli while they once framed the buildings on the Cathedral side. From the work of the student Elvis Cescatti.*

Starting by considering architectural analysis as part of the project (Grassi, 1970, p. 65), the students were asked to study specific place by formulating planning hypotheses oriented towards reducing the incoherence with the wider context of the city centre, noting the loss of concentration in space as one of the criticalities, no longer enclosed between the church and buildings but open due to the new road on the south side of the square and the intense post-war building of blocks of houses on land originally occupied by the bishopric.

Knowledge of the square and its surroundings, of the type and position of the buildings that have defined its form through time, and the means of entry and exit were preliminary conditions for drawing up the planning hypotheses. In addition to studying the iconography carefully, in order to do this the students were required to observe what goes on during the course of a typical day and week, considering the presence of different visitors and residents.

Were not suggested from teachers to students explicit and exact project solutions, but only general indications in order to let them free to express the widest richness of proposals.

The students rejected the idea that the square was a place of business. Contrary, the analysis on site indicated, by their point of view, as the square was not in accord only with functional choices of commercial or residential nature. The monumental appearance of the square seemed to address their intentions to cultural activities. In this sense, the authors have helped students to develop design themes to elaborate, also with cultural functions, the idea of the square as a community and democratic place. The chaotic image of the square could found in this way the character of calm and order that is characteristic of the monumental sites.

The planning reflections required from the students had to address the loss of vocation by the square and had to formulate proposals to give it new centrality. The conclusions of individual students who have worked on the theme are now presented.

Like many of her colleagues, Francesca Grassetto proposed the re-establishment of the front side of the Cathedral and extended the area of the project to the block of housing that is found on the site of the former Bishop's garden, whose architecture has a discordant relationship with the historic urban fabric. The disappearance of the open breach in the wall through which via Vandelli passed makes it possible to pedestrianise the whole of this place with public transport vehicles being confined to the route on the north side of the square.
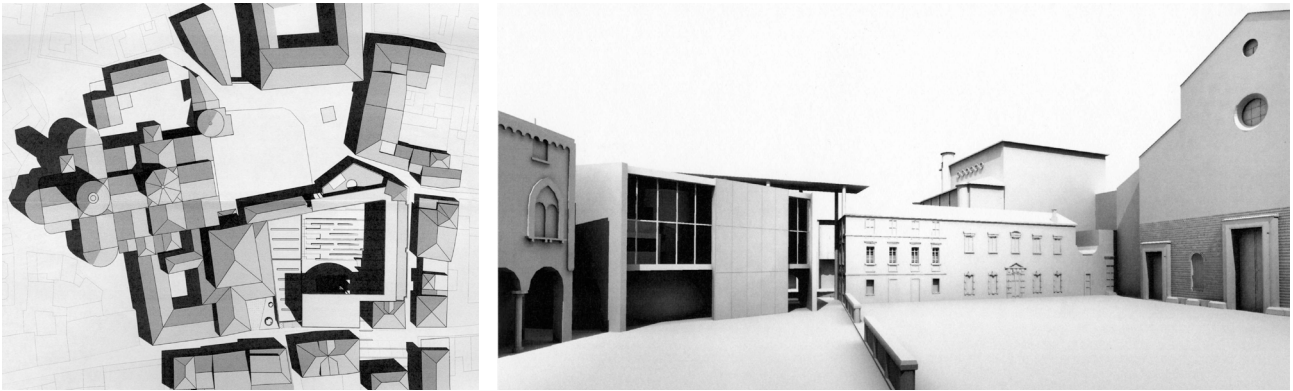
Figures 11 and 12. From the work of the student Francesca Grassetto, academic year 2010-11. Project for a building complex on the south side of the Cathedral square with cultural and residential functions. Planivolumetric plan and view of the square highlighting the insertion of the new volume where via Vandelli now opens.

The new architecture encircles a rock garden in which stone segments are interspersed with paving, rising to become the site for the open-air stage planned on the south side of the square (figure 11). In fact, there is a school of acting on the south side while a residential building encloses the garden to the east, plus a building with space for exhibitions interrupts the visual continuity between the new open space and the Cathedral square. Only a narrow passageway connects the two environments.

The acting school and the stone garden restore the old green spaces of the Bishop's Palace and are intentionally used to form attractions towards this area of the city centre.

The volume dedicated to exhibition environments simultaneously over-looks the Cathedral square and the acting school and its stage. Juxtaposed with the nearby buildings of the diocesan administration, it presents onto the Cathedral Square a side with a portico that closes the void opened by via Vandelli. This new building is connected to the pre-existing wing by an empty space, a detachment that is the only practical passageway on the south side of the Cathedral Square (figure 12).

Elvis Cescatti worked on the relationships between the built parts on the edge of the square and the views that open up upon entering the square. In particular, the Cescatti project considers the view enjoyed from via Soncin upon entering the square from the east. The left-hand side with a portico hid at least half of the Cathedral whose view then opened out very suddenly (figure 2).

The design of a triangular belvedere (figures 13, 14, and 15) follows from this observation and from the closed south side in continuity with the existing small building, and is appropriate to the function of public restoration as well as freeing the café tables crammed in the square throughout summer.

Another aim of this project and of others reported here is to reinterpret the

gardens, also used by the public now, in order to complete the façade of the Bishop's Palace. This aim is supported by the presence in the historic Padua of the alternation of paved public squares and ample private gardens hidden by surrounding walls, an alternation on which the urban form is based
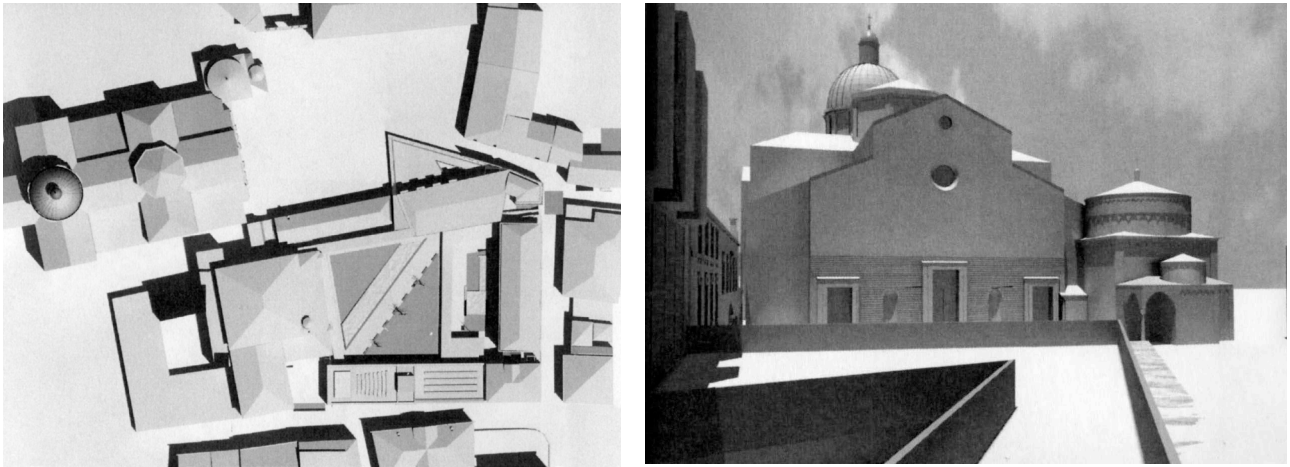
Figures 13 and 14. *From the work of the student Elvis Cescatti, academic year 2010-11. Project of new buildings and commercial and residential uses with integration of the existing spaces on the Bishopric. Planivolumetric plan; view of the Cathedral from the belvedere positioned as an extension of via Soncin.*

In this case the functions have been hypothesised as having commercial and residential uses substituting the existing uses and extending the exhibition space already present in the Bishop's Palace in addition to a conference room and various rooms for diocesan activities that are currently carried out in different parts of the city.

The student Sara Trevelin widened the theme of the project to include the teatro dei Concordi that was rebuilt as a cinema-theatre in the 1940s but is no longer in use. It lies at the opposite side of the block of houses whose permanent presence has already been discussed. Trevelin hypothesised the definition of a new square having the cinema-theatre as a background and the building of volumes for a new civic centre between the cinema-theatre and the Cathedral Square (figures 16, 17). The civic centre therefore occupies two distinct spaces, marking their identity by the appearance of the facades, and generates a series of narrow cramped connecting spaces that rimember the narrow alleyways and streets of the historic city centre. Furthermore, the buildings proposed present a portal providing direct access from the Cathedral square to the central volume of the library, delimiting the south side of the square not only by closing the space but by also generating polarity in the main access to the cultural services. Circulation is exclusively pedestrian, passage via the street behind the Cathedral being provided for public transport vehicles.

The connection between the renovated cinema-theatre dei Concordi, the

new civic centre, the Bishop's Palace, and the Cathedral would also promote the Cathedral square as the focus of a coherent area in the medieval city centre dedicated to culture, further enriched by the presence in the nearby piazza Capitaniato with its historic site of the University of Padua for the study of the humanities, the Liviano, planned by Gio Ponti before the Second World War.

The solution formulated by Alessandro De Mitri (figures 18, 19, 20, and 21) is based on three fundamental choices: a building that advances into the square, restoring the appearance of legible volumes on the pianta del Valle; the restoration of the green arrangement of the area to the east of the Bishop's palace so that the entire façade of this can be seen in full once again; and confirmation of the bus route along the ex via Vandelli below the new Bishop's palace gardens.
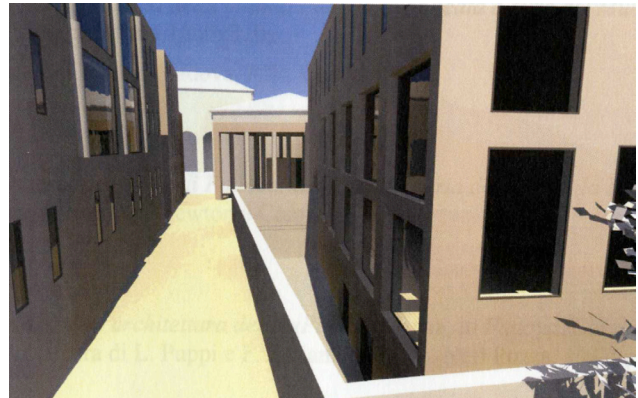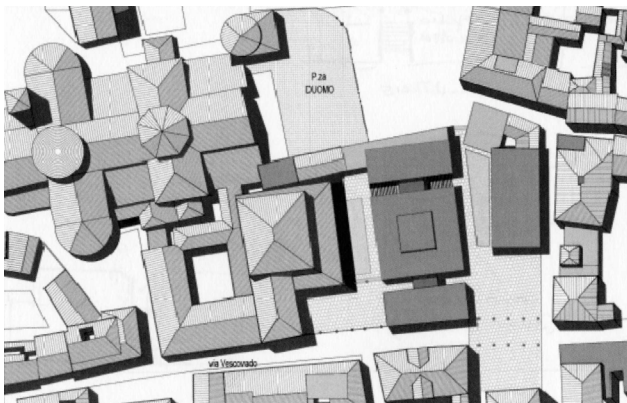
Figures 16 and 17. *Proposal for a civic centre on the former site of the Bishop's gardens. Planivolumetric plan and view of the pedestrian route that connects the Cathedral square, visible in the background, with the planned new square in front of the teatro dei Concordi at the end of via Vescovado (to the lower right in the planivolumetric plan). From the work of the student Sara Trevelin academic year 2010-11.*
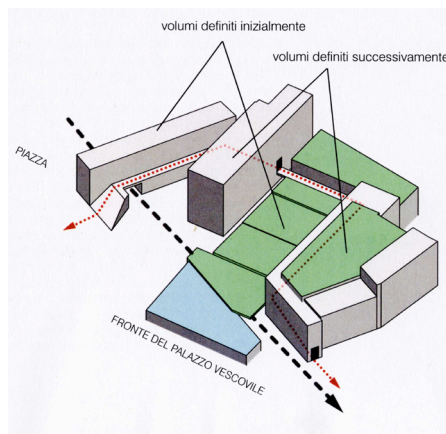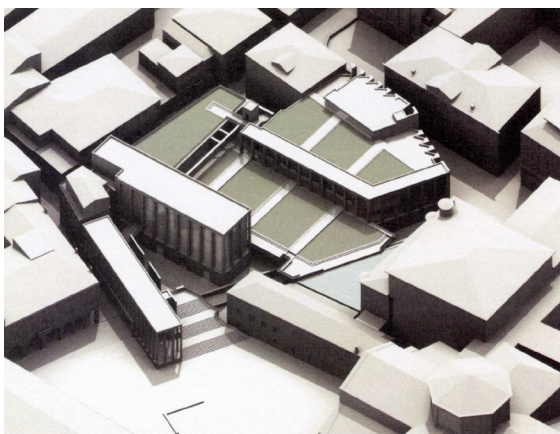
Figures 18, 19, 20, and 21. *From the work of the student Alessandro De Mitri, academic year 2010-11. Cultural centre project. General view from above; assonometric diagram indicating the bus route under the garden and the course of the pedestrian promenade; view with the facade of the Cathedral behind; sketch of the project layout.*
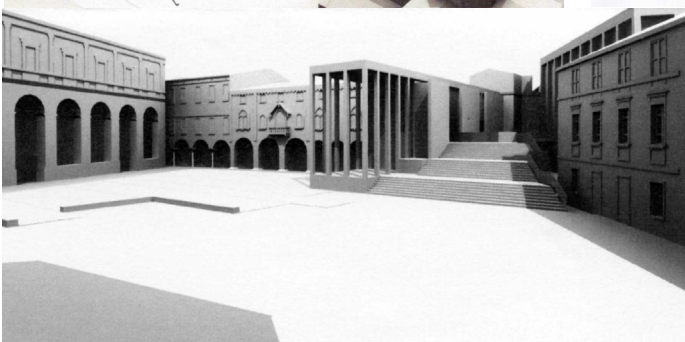
The new southern face of the Cathedral square presents a building that is angled along the old layout indicated on the maps, filtering the classic flight of steps that comes out onto the green of the Bishop's gardens.

The routes have played a fundamental role in the design of this type of urban fabric by restoring unity with the old town, thought through with a cultural centre as the main function. The Cathedral square will be closed to the south both visually and to the direct flow of private vehicles, reacquiring a specific definition of its environment while a new pedestrian route will go around the gardens, allowing the public to enjoy the view of the Bishop's palace for the first time as it was once exclusively reserved for the prelate.

Lastly, the proposal developed by Dario Volpin (figures 22 and 23) differs from the previous ones by maintaining the axis of via Vandelli but reserving it for public transport vehicles only, and the arrangement of the speculative post-war block of housing into new ordered volumes inside a regular prismatic shape. The envelope of the body invites imagination of the architecture inside it leading to a narrow flight of steps, which starts in the square.
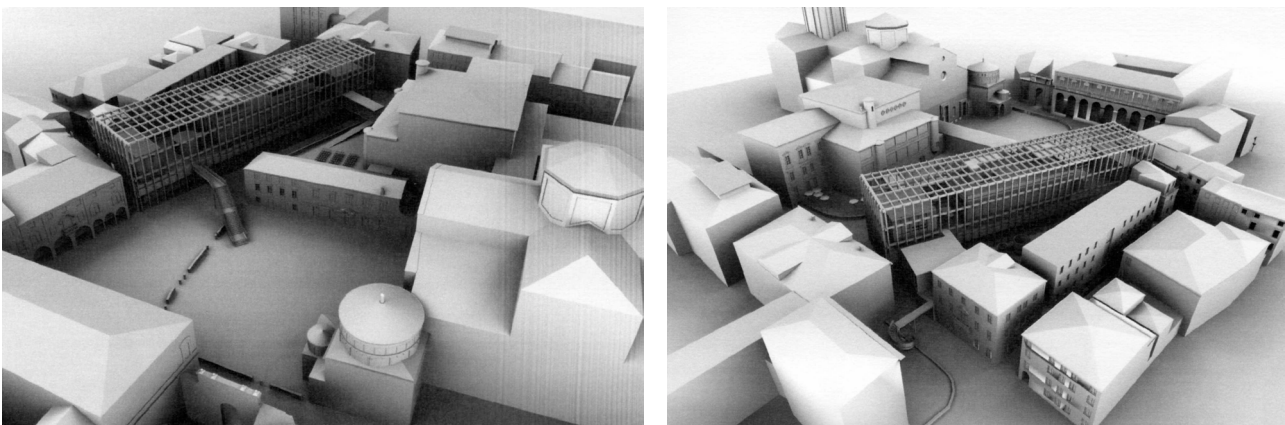
Figures 22 and 23. *Student thesis by Dario Volpin, academic year 2011-12. Project for a gallery of contemporary art. View of the Cathedral square from the north-west with the new volumes inserted; view from the south-east*

4. CONCLUSIONS

Each thought contributing to the project for this particular urban space has been formulated by considering the relationship between architecture and culture in the city as its starting point.

Extensive study of the history of the Cathedral square is one instrument that can now be used to focus on its distinctive character. In particular, studying the evolution of the spaces and forms through time has been a necessary prerequisite for checking general hypotheses for the most suit-

able method to restore unity and coherence to one of the oldest squares in the city centre. The appearance of Padua and balance between the uses of its spaces in the future will also depend on the choices that can be effected in this particular place.

The search for a formal reordering is motivated by the conviction that architecture is a fundamental means for promoting a new cultural and social asset in the areas investigated, where the new architecture draws inspiration from the needs of the territory and the events that have shaped its development.

In addition to being the basis for further architectural research and discussion, it is hoped that the ideas of the students, and their theoretical works, will become instruments for an immediate and direct dialogue with all those involved in the city, particularly the city administration.

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ETLEVA DOBJANI

TIRANE, ALBANIA

RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOOD IN THE PROCESS OF CAPITALISM CHANGE IN TIRANA

ABSTRACT

After the fall of communism, Tirana has had a rapid population growth, more than tripled, between 200.000 in 1990 and 763,634 in 2010.1 More than half of the metro area population is now living in urban settlements and due to internal migration, urban growth was almost inevitable. New housing developments and constructions and their related services, occurring rapidly one after the other at urban peripheries but even in the city center area, made the city grow in an un-healthier way. Due to population growth in the last two decades, Tirana has a strong presence of new condominiums tipology, new pubblic space around the buildings, new relationshish between pubblic and private. The introduction of new settlements, changed the carachter and the urban environment in the small neighborhood. The building, can be so imagined as a nucleus for urban infrastructure, and its volume or its layout in the context can impact the quality of the living space and the social interaction of the inhabitants in fundamental ways can influence in their quality of life.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the space in some different neighbor-

hood between the residential buildings, how has it change in the last two decades and how this space influence in the people's life and in the peoples behaviour towards space.

KEY WORDS: Quality of life, urban growth, new housing development, space in between.

1 INTRODUCTION

... Places are modified to fit ways of behaving, and behaviors are changed to fit a given place.2

After 1990, the fall of the communist regime led to many big changes in Albania, in political, social and economic aspects. After 50 years of totalitarian political organization and government possession of everything, central planning shifted in the market economy and this means: privatization process of the property, privatization process of the house, free movement of the people from their origin places for a better life, etc. Over this last twenty years the process of urban growth in Albania has been very fast, and cities have been transforming their identity by transforming their tipology of neighborhood.

As a result of this urban transformation process, in different regions emerged different physical and social structures, but the large flux of internal movements of population towards bigger cities for better life conditions and greater opportunities of employment, affected more than every city, the capital of Albania, Tirana. The fast switching market economy and the huge demand for new housing was unfordable from the local government because of the lack of urban planning. This resulted in a lot of informal construction without permission, which in many cases create bad living conditions in existing residential areas or in the creation of new areas with minimal quality of pubblic and private living space. The fit of a settlement refers to how well its spatial and temporal pattern matches the customary behaviour of its inhabitants. It is match between action and form in its behaviour settings and behavior circuits.

The chaotic development in planning and in construction in this two decades, best reflects the difficult political transition, economic, and social, from a centralized economy to free market society. The effects of such transformation have become very visible in the big scale of the city and also in the small scale of the neighborhood, in physical and spatial terms.

The urban areas, expanded rapidly in different ways:

- New buildings constructed in urban blocks (already built in the center and in its nearby);

- New construction created in the periphery as informall settlements.
These big challenges in the urban context, had a big influence in the space in between the buildings and it's relationship with the private space of the inside building. The result in most of the cases was "chaotic" in terms of urban space allocation, infrastructure maintenance, and environmental quality.

2 URBAN GROWTH

Due to the very rapid population growth in Tirana, these two last decades and the continuing request for new housing, consequently led the city to a sudden transformation from being a very regular and controlled urban layer to becoming a very dense and chaotic urban settlement. Urbanisation was proceeding not only into the periphery urban aereas but also into the rural agricultural zones.

The people who moved to Tirana were coming from all parts of the country. Some of them were settled in old apartaments made in communism period, offered for sale, because their cost was lower than the new housing produced by private sector, but anyway a lot of other people were purchasing new houses-apartaments constructed over these last years. Their location was spread overall Tirana. First their location was focused inside the old site blocks, but with the growth of the city, the new condominiums continued to create new urban settlements. Some other migrants, occupied the land in abusive way in the periphery areas, and there they built their own homes in a largely unplanned and uncontrolled way creating informality in the structure of the new created neighborhoods. The continues request for residential housing is playing an important role in the urban environment and the city is still expected to grow and change.

Throughout history, cities have been built to serve a variety of functions; as residential areas, forts, marketplaces, religion buildings, viability infrastructure, public space, industry, etc. An observation in the transformation of some different residental urban patterns with high density and high rise building created from the new settlements, will help in understanding changes in the outside living space of the building and how the city is growing.

3 NEIGHBORHOOD DESIGN AND HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

Every few years, any given city will change its pattern of growth to adjust itself to new needs, its inhabitants changing their demands out of life, similarly every few years, new theories explaining these patterns are thought up, along with attempts to predict the pattern of this growth, most of them

singling out one aspect of the discussion... The "New Urbanism" theory goes against the segregation, and the commuting that result from it, and offers a new alternative life style – urban tissues that combine commercial, public and green functions with the residential areas, and create conditions of security and community.

The design of a neighborhood that allows and encourages qualities in its inside such as diversity, interaction, easy access to services and amenities, less automobile use, a pleasant and low-stress environment, safety and security, and a high quality of life, regardless of residents' income, can contribute to a better quality of life for neighborhood residents. If the neighborhood would be asociated to a living organism, its components would be only two: fisical form and spatial form. The relationship between bodily function and socio–cultural function define the way in which forms and spaces are elaborated into different urban patterns.
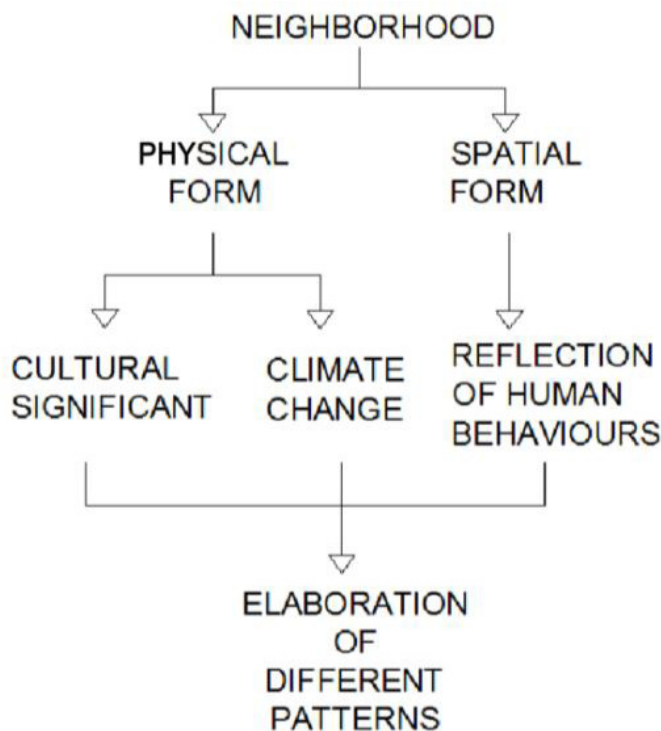
Fig. 1. The way in which forms and spaces are elaborated into patterns

According to this diagram some neighborhhods in differents aereas of the city of Tirana are going to be analised to understand the interrelation how the new settlements have influenced in the neighborhood design of spatial form and how this change of the space has influence the human behaviour. The diversification of public space between the buildings influence also the climate inside the neighborhood and its influence in the human quality of life. New residental building added in the place and their displacement in the existing neighborhood, or new adding in the existing buildings have influenced the urban form.

Observing the neighborhood behaviour in time we can understand the city evolution and its nature. «For the social morphology the neighborhood is a morphological and structural unit; it is characterized by a certain urban landscape, by a certain social content, and by its function, so that the change of any of these elements is sufficient to fix the limit of the neighborhood»

As we can notice from the following schemes, we are dealing with four case studies, which belongs to two different cases of development: (I) cases in the areas where new buildings are located in collective residential areas consolidated (in the center and it's nearby), and (II) area in the suburb (in this case Yzberisht komuna) where housing of low density, villas, have been replaced, with new settlements of 9-10 floors.
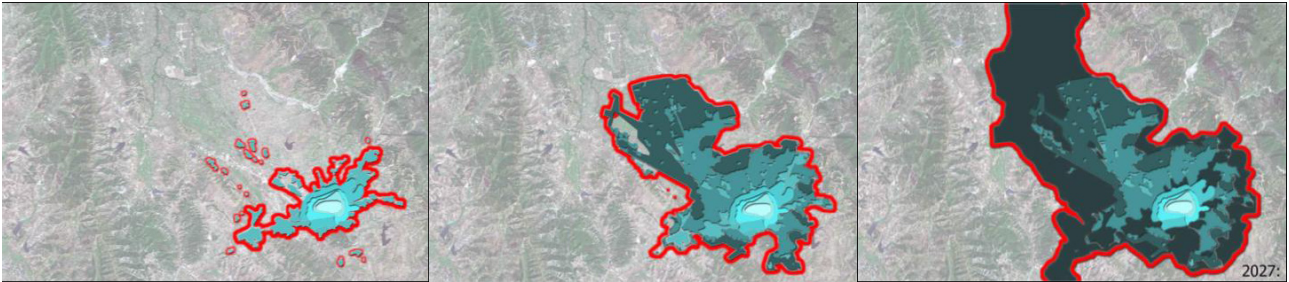
Fig 2. The spread and the density of the population in the city of Tirana in 1990, 2007 and the prediction for 2027

Fig. 3. Four different neighborhood as case study

AREA	1990	2012
1		
2		
3		
4⁶	(the situation till 2006)	(2006 – 2012)
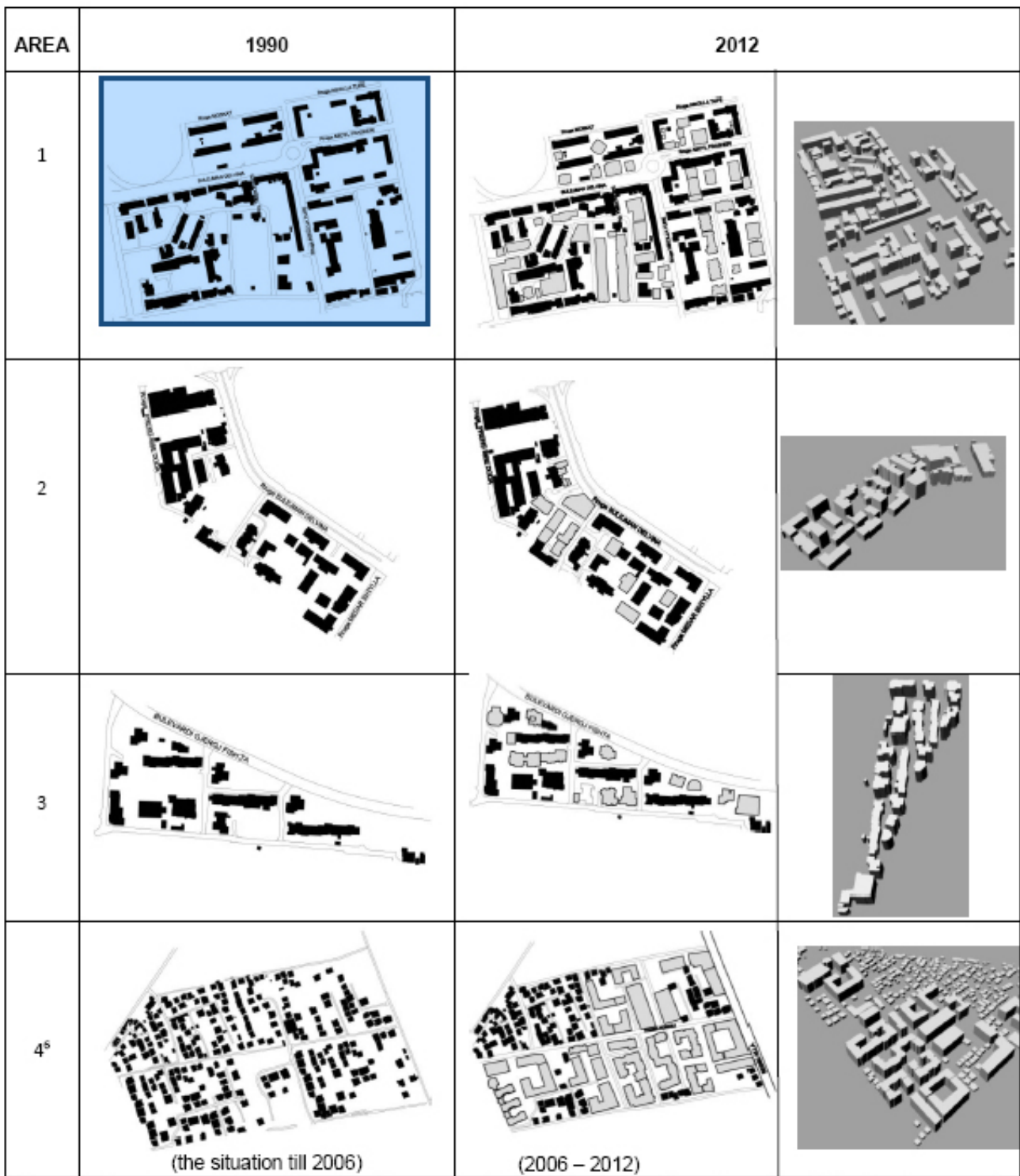
Figure 4. The change of the relationship between "solids" and "voids" in different location in the city, because of the new settlements during the last two decades

More near the center we go and more we can notice the lack of public spaces between the buildings. New residential development infiltrated inside the existing neighborhood between the existing buildings, trying to fill every void have often threaten their own character and identity. The high density of the buildings and the small space between them have caused the loss of environmental quality, the lack of a public space for people to

socialise, the lack of space for people to rest, the lack of the space for children to play. Even in the case when there exist an empty place inside this neighborhood not used for building, it is used for parking. Cars dominate

Fig. 5. The lack of public space for elderly to stay and for children to play. The invasion of the space from the parking lots.

the urban areas because people walking in general is gone, and all transit happens by car. The open and the sidewalks are occupied if they exist as parking lots and of course no bicycles spaces exist.

New buildings constructed in the last two decades, have minimize the common spaces in the neighborhood and often this has affected in their quality.

Fig. 6. The influence of the new settlements in the deterioration of the quality of life

The plug-in in the existing facades, have reduced the natural light of some apartaments, has deteriorated the quality of the common spaces of the stairs, of the main entrance or the space of the sidewlak of the pedestrian, which led to lower quality environment. People seems to be more spread and places and less active and lively inside their neighborhood.

The only place for the inhabitants to interact with the people or with the other neighbors are the cafés in the main sidewalks or the market placed in the entrance routs of the palaces or in the main street, the stairs since there are no lift in some of the buildings, or the shops placed in the ground floor of the buildings.

In the case of the building that settle in the place in a mimetic way with the buildings before 90, can be noticed the low quality of the materials and the

Fig. 7. Public space muted by private interventions

low tecnology used that has caused the deterioration of the facade after a short period of time.

In case of the suburb, where housing of low density, have been replaced by new settlements of high density can be noticed an attempt to create common pubblic spaces for socialization, relevant to each building or several buildings joined together. Interventions are made in a planned way to create regular spaces which in itself create an identity of their own. Many debates have been created for such a high density intervention in the periphery in which before was usable for agriculture. Now the concrete has covered the whole aerea and new settlements are to high, very near with each other creating some times narrow spaces with less natural lights. Nevertheless, the pubblic spaces inside these neighborhoods are always full of life, children that play with each other or children that learn to ride bicycles; old people who sit at the borders of parks to meet each other, to care for their grandchildren or just to be spectator of what happens; people that seat in the cafés or pedestrian that walk for taking the bus or go to the

Fig. 8. Open spaces that invite people to stay, socialize and children to play…

work in their small business inside the aerea.

The ground floor for each building in the whole aerea is occupied by shops or small business or offices which enlivens the area and the underground floors are used as private parking and replace the lack of open spaces and pubblic places.

The windows of the buildings are large and the balcoons that overlook in

the pubblic space are spacious, which gives to the people that lives these spaces a certain sense of security.

People that use the public spaces are different from each other. They can be the everyday users that works or live in the area, the visitors, the transit people, or people that come for any event, so even the activity in each space can be numerous: walking, running, biking, relaxing, socializing, daily recreation and play activity, selling, etc.

So, comparing the two cases: center and suburb (in this case), can be verified that more in the center we go and more inside of the neighborhoods there are missing the public spaces for socializing and for relaxing. The most of the spaces are only used as transit to pass. For meeting or socializing there are used the cafes in the ground floor of the buildings. Can sometimes be present open spaces without lighting or green, used as parking, that does not invite people to rest or do any other activity because they doesn't offer any plays to sit, or to play. Instead of this, we have the "new" neighborhoods in Yzberisht komuna outside the yellow line, the area of which have been reserved for future urban projects, especially those that might attract international capital. A large amount of unauthorized construction has taken place on parcels near previous state-run factories, most closed or in disrepair, but most of them were construction of low density (examples: Kombinati Ushqimor and Fabrika e Qelqit).7 In 2006, the new and massive residential investments began, based in an architectural and urban study.

In these new neighborhoods the larger and more lightness public spaces, the presence of benches or bordless where to sit in them, has enabled the vitality of the space from the children and the adults activities.

4 DENSITY AND SUSTAINABILITY DEVELOPMENT

Housing constitutes the largest space user in the city and has been the main request in the market in the last two decades. Its role has been crucial not only just as an accommodation for people to live, but also in shaping urban neighborhood and then achieving their development. The design of residential house typology and other buildings, the relationship between them, their relationship to streets and the spaces created around them, strongly influence the character of the site and its surroundings and contribute significantly to the quality and identity of the new residential environment.

Many housing developments in recent years in Tirana have been designed with little appreciation for local character or a sense of place. The real tendencies have been constructing as much as possible even sacrificing the common spaces or to present an attractive outlook and many have failed

to take account of the need. The quality of housing and its sorroundings environment, being basically an important health element, affects the well-being of the people, their productivity, and the manner of living. Precisely in the neighborhoods taken in consideration in the center and near to it, have been built new plug-ins in the existing facades in a very bad quality, new constructions close to the existing buildings often violating their space, new construction in the middle of the public spaces creating only chaos, confusion and stress.

The large amount of requests for housing is increasing more and more the density in the city of Tirana. Ebenezer Howard's thesis was protesting against urban overcrowding expressing himself... "that it is deeply to be deplored that the people should continue to stream into the already overcrowded cities"8, proposing as the best solution in the world, the "town-country magnet". On the other hand Jane Jacobs' in The Death and Life of Great American Cities, was a passionate defense of urban life and also different was the solution proposed by Le Corbusier with the vertical garden city. The development of Tirana city is directed towards the multileveled compact residential building in which live mixed people from all the other cities, from different origins, from different culture, and from different religion.

The compact buildings help in minimizing the thermal energy loss of each condominium for a better quality of life, but these is not enough for a better quality of life. Also the urban form should offer opportunities for communities to be organized and to meet in open public spaces, where inequalities between people may weaken toward a new definition of the concept of living. It should also offer sidewalks, bicycle roads to stimulate the public transport and minimize the construction of big number of extra infrastructure.

Maybe high density with high rise buildings, cannot satisfy a lot of people which can see this case as overdeveloped and dehumanizing because the dream of whom is to own their own house with the garden, but the low-density urbanism, on the other hand, is a model which can be considered destructive and selfishness to the community and environmentally disastrous because of the low-density car-orientated suburbs, which create unsustainable and environmental pollution, and do nothing to support the traditional energy and vitality of urban life. In a time in which the social networks is becoming more and more important, because of its "virtual public space", people reaffirm their need to inhabit real public spaces to grow up in a high quality sustainable development to rich and satisfy his interpersonal relationships. The sustainable urban form can be associated

with some design concepts related to compactness and high density of the building, sustainable and public transport, diversity, greening and passive solar design.

The high quality of life is very much related with the sustainable development, which can be also identified with the "optimum density", the "minimum energy and resource use", but also in the socio-cultural aspect development it consists in "awareness and responsibility of humans about the environment", "participation in the sustainability activities and studies".

5 QUALITY OF SPACE IN BETWEEN

Buildings and spaces are linked together. Our buildings form spaces but they also form us. We have to make sure this relationship does not limit people's possible movements and recreational options in a space. Only when the quality criteria are addressed, when all user groups are invited and all the different activities are possible, we can talk about a successful and lively public space of high urban quality.9

In architecture, the space and its composition is defined by architectural structures, both inside and outside buildings. Its composition delimitated between the physical elements of buildings (walls and ceilings), becomes the core of architectural activities. So the architectural space, takes life only when objects or elements make up as confine. The limit raised by the people create so the interior and exterior. Every place is marked by limits: the room, the hall, the marketplace, and sometimes even the whole city.

In the case study of the neighborhoods in center, the settlements have created an unliveable space through their irregular limits and often create suffocating spaces, small and narrow ones. The lack of open and common spaces for the habitants, limit the socialisation of the community inside. The neighbors don't recognize anymore each-other even though they may have been living for years in a row in the same building or in the in the vicinity together. The limits raised by the people have limited people's movement and people's activities, have limited children's games and in the same time have lowered the quality of life. "A good quality of life" is not supposed to satisfy the interior conditions of a flat only, when the outside space makes people feel unsafe and unhappy and doesn't invite them to be part of it with their activities.

The low height of existing buildings is a positive factor that allows the natural light to seep into the intermediate spaces and maintain the population density low, but the enclosement of the balconies and the facades adding's, limit the common space and the integrity among this space and the space in-between. The positive event of the low height in this areas is not usually respected by the new settlements that raise in the zone with a

greater height in the middle of the open space and this improperly interruption of the linearity, creates the confusion in the architecture language, destroy the existing grid of the neighborhood and make so loose so the public spaces inside to it.

In the book "Saper Vedere l'Architettura", Bruno Zevi describes architecture as something that does not derive as the sum of widths, lengths and heights of the building elements that enclose the space, but just from the vacuum, enclosed space, interior space in which people walk and live.

Once built, the architectural space becomes the scene of our movements, gestures, routes that takes people to appreciate and explore a space of a given environment. The building, protected by its enclosure, model the space outside to it creating so the public square, the market, the street, the garden, and humans change every space according to the activities that take place in it. The market and the square became so the place for exchanging the ideas and things, meeting places and socializing. Every place has its importance, its history, and its different relationship with the objects that belong to it.

The place, according to Pierre Von Meiss (1993), come into existence according to the ways of behavior related to conventional conceptual schemes, situations space, natural light, form and texture worthy to be remembered. Some places are destined to be full of action, and other exchange activities invite to settle down, to relax, some are more suitable as resting places and some other more suitable for movement. We build such spaces, objects, fabrics that together give an idea of the place.

To create a lively place the first focus should be on people and instead of starting with the buildings, urban planners and architects need first to envision the future life of an area. In this way, can be formed nice spaces that are inviting for people and take in consideration people's needs and behavioral patterns, and when the spaces are formed can be developed the guidelines for planning of buildings.

6 CONCLUSION (How we deal with "the spaces in between")

Public space in between buildings influences both the built form and also the vitality, creativity, communication, healthy that correspond to the quality of the life inside it, which can be they streets, squares or parks. A balance between the public and private space is crucial for the design approach. Buildings and their surrounding spaces should interrelate and define one another, with external spaces functioning as big windows, open balconies or lodges, green terraces exploited, rooms without roofs, etc. It is the building's scale and its relationship with the street or square that helps to encourage public activity and create a people-friendly environment.

In case of Tirana urban territory, after '90, because of the huge demand for new housing and often the need of the people to extend and to add some more spaces in their previous small apartment, has adversely affected in

fig. 9 The sidewalk used for private business and the street for cars and passengers

the diminishing the public space outside and in between the buildings.

In most of the cases, excessive abuse of the additions in the existing buildings has led to the creation of public space without life, where people cannot perform any activity other than passing on them. Creating narrow spaces, with no ligh, no safety and with no interaction with the privat space, has affected people's lack of socialization within the neighborhood, in the lack of the vivid activities and has influenced also in the creation of unsustainable and unsafe spaces. The only meeting place in this case remains the caffes or the markets, which often block the roads or sidewalks to keep their space and makes the passers movement difficult.

Planners and architects need to design spaces that can invite people every day to become lively and popular. It is not enough to focus on the architectural design and the aesthetics of the materials and details of the buildings. For doing that it should provides human comfort and pleasure. It should be attractive and also concern comfort, security and enjoyment. If architects don't think about these arguments, people might come to look at the beautiful design, but they will not stay for long, use and inhabit the space.

But, as mentioned above, the sustainable development in the socio-cultural aspect development means "awareness and responsibility of humans about the environment", "participation in the sustainability activities and studies", so that even the inhabitants need to be responsible and curative about the public space outside their private one, which in Tirana's existing neighborhood have been the main problems because of some egoistic initiatives taken by the inhabitants, that have influenced in the deterioration of the common space.

The closure of spaces in between of private and public one as balconies or lodges or the closed adding's that face into the public space in between

buildings doesn't make possible the interaction between private and public, which doesn't help people to fill sure living that space.

There is an attempt in the suburb taken into consideration, to create large and organized open spaces in-between the buildings, because of a previous study that creates open spaces that fulfill the needs of the inhabitants, taking care of the light in the public space, accurate sidewalks, large well connected streets even though some of them are not finished yet, because of the new construction in process in the whole area.

What miss in the new proposal settlements that could be a good initiative for the new projects to come, and would help a lot the quality of public space and the quality of people's life, can be the use of the flat roofs of residential buildings for private parties and public meetings, or the creation of the new models of housing, urban and architectural, deepening in the environmental organizational and space, remembering the 'technological" innovation. The creation of new housing taking into account the energy problem, helps reducing energy consumption and the air pollution for the benefit of all, and helps also improving the quality of life of individuals.

The sustainable development of a place should ensure people's comfort in it by lighting, ensuring places to sit or to play, creating possible design for air ventilation, creating green places for fresh air, using the correct techniques for architectural settlements and sustainable materials to protect the environment and to reduce the pollution, and also ensure people's security making possible the interaction of the public space with private space of the houses or private business around it, through open terraces and livable one by people activities, open balconies or large windows.

The creation of the common space that fulfill the need of the residents and the possible relationship between outside and the inside space, would increase the sense of ownership of the inhabitants towards the public space protecting it, living it, leading so towards a sustainable development and increasing the quality of life.

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- Fig. 1. Designed by Etleva Dobjani (based in Hiller, 1999)

- Fig. 2. Landell Mills in cooperation with Buro Happold, Regional Development Framework For The Tirana-Durres Region, 2008 to 2007

- Fig.3. Autocad Tirana and Google earth

- Fig.4. Drawings @ Etleva Dobjani

- Fig.5. Photos @ Etleva Dobjani

- Fig.6. Photos @ Etleva Dobjani

- Fig.7. Photos @ Etleva Dobjani

- Fig.8. Photos @ Etleva Dobjani

- Fig.9. Photos @ Etleva Dobjani

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ARCHITECTURAL EVENT AS A NEW TOOL FOR THE RE-APPROPRIATION OF PUBLIC SPACE – ON IMPROVEMENT AND ENRICHMENT

ABSTRACT

This article shows the significant role of an architectural event in the re-appropriation of an urban public space. An architectural event is understood here as a carrier of new formal values and a temporary functional attraction. This spatial phenomenon uses the architectural language and, because of its temporariness, has a short-term impact on the values of an urban interior. Its appearance is intentional and influences the architectural "constant of a public space" and in consequence its recipients. The significant role of an architectural event in the re-appropriation of urban public space is illustrated by its improving and complementing role in relation to urban interiors with diverse spatial and functional values.
KEY WORDS: PUBLIC SPACE, ARCHITECTURAL EVENT, TEMPORARY TRANSFORMATION, IMPROVEMENT, COMPLEMENT

Now we find ourselves at a key moment:
the time of repairing what has been destroyed, disturbed,
but still can be improved, recreated or restored to the state of equilibrium.
[Franta Anna, 2004, p.15]

1 INTRODUCTION

The city is a complex phenomenon which can be described in various manners. One of the most important factors defining a city is a high-quality public space – its inexistence indicates a deficit of social and cultural activeness. This article presents the improving and complementing role of architectural events as a new effective tool for the re-appropriation (or refinement) of an urban space – for its transformation into spatially and functionally attractive, socially accepted places. An architectural event is understood here as a carrier of new formal values and a temporary functional attraction. This spatial phenomenon uses the architectural language and, because of its temporariness, has a short-term impact on the values of an urban interior. Its appearance is intentional and influences the architectural "constant of a public space" and in consequence its recipients.

An architectural event – temporary, changeable, formally perfect – is a new element which shapes the public space of a city with very high yet temporary dynamic of impingement. Owing to the application of various technologies, it facilitates mobility and "momentary" duration in an urban space which gives the possibility of a multiplied positive transformation of urban interiors. Its appearance in an urban space encourages people to establish contacts, stimulate their creativity, arouses the feeling of safety, strengthens identity and produces culture. Three types of relations will illustrate this special role of an architectural event in the re-appropriation of urban public space. The improving role is exemplified by the relation between an architectural event and an interior with low values (a degraded interior), whereas the complementing role – by two relations: an architectural event and an interior with neutral values as well as an architectural event and an interior with high spatial and functional values.

2 THE IMPROVING ROLE

The necessity of improving an urban public space accompanies the degradation of what was once composed or what was never composed and turned into total chaos. Postindustrial spaces make a special kind of such degraded spaces. These areas which used to lie beyond the city borders "were absorbed by the violently extending urban buildings and lost their original functional values but still make 'black holes' in the spatial, cultural, functional and social continuity of urban tissue." (Gyurkovich, 2010, p. 110) This problem afflicts the vast majority of European cities being important for the current process of transforming industrial cities into postindustrial ones. An attempt to regain these neglected areas opens new opportunities for urban growth. Numerous strategies and activities which aim at renewing them can be observed. Temporary actions also contribute to their revitalization, to a search for their new role in the structure of a city – a particularly important type is an architectural event.

The improving role of an architectural event in relation to a postindustrial urban

interior is exemplified by the Kubik event on the grounds of a former ice-cream factory in Berlin (Picture 1). Designers from the Modulorbeat studio placed it in this degraded urban interior, which acted as an open-air music club, for three months (June-September 2006). The object was made of fuel containers covered with a metal net. The enriching LED illumination changes its form into spectacular lighting stimulated with electronic sound. On account of its temporary and changeable character related to the free layout as well as its internal technological variability within the illumination itself, this event temporarily alters and defines the landscape of the urban interior offering a short-term attraction in the form of a light-and-sound show. Under the influence of this performance in a public space, a degraded urban interior, which used to limit, overwhelm and was not associated with an urban public space, has become a spatially and socially attractive place stimulating spontaneous interpersonal relations.

A similar improving effect is illustrated by the Nomadic Museum (Picture 2). Among other locations, this object calls at postindustrial waterfronts – its first stop was Pier 54 in Hudson River Park in 2005. Using deep-sea containers and paper tubes, the designer Shigeru Ban constructs a temporary spatial phenomenon – a mobile art gallery on the area of more than 5,000 square meters. Thanks to the application of containers as the building material, this object is unusually flexible. It goes through continuous changes inspired by the topography and history of each venue ("stop") as well as modifications under the influence of the variable artistic contents of the exhibition. Owing to its temporary appearances in unattractive postindustrial urban interiors, these degraded and abandoned places become lively "spaces of culture" for a while.

The improving character of an architectural event may also refer to a spatial structure being expressed in the active incorporation of city dwellers into the process of creating it. It releases vast energy reserves, creates authentic social bonds and restores the democratic spirit of polis to public space. More and more frequently, this participatory method of regaining urban spaces is practiced in European countries. An excellent example of such actions is the "open-air library" project implemented in the district of Salbke in the postindustrial suburbs of Magdeburg, eastern Germany (Picture 4). This area has a very high unemployment rate, whereas uninhabited flats make above 80% of all the places of residence. The landscape of the district centre is formed by the sealed windows of closed shops and abandoned residential buildings – it is a virtual ghost town. A book has become the slogan and symbol of its transformation. The designers commenced the revitalization process with meetings and workshops meant for the inhabitants which resulted in the idea of a library named Lesezeichen. Then, a model was built in the real scale with the participation of the district dwellers (Picture 3). The form of this object was based upon plastic bottle crates, while books were delivered by the inhabitants themselves. The object existed in the urban space for about three years starting from the moment of collecting funds for the construction of the library (until 2004). It also acted as the venue of a

book festival and informal meetings – a new cultural centre of the postindustrial district. This temporary object made it possible to test the idea of such a library, provoked a discussion on the future of the place and integrated the local community. The construction of Lesezeichen, an object acting as a library as well as a 24/7 centre of local activities, was completed in 20092. Owing to the preceding cooperative process, this implementation has a symbolical meaning to the residents. Stefan Rettich – one of its authors – emphasizes the fact that the building really activated the locals, especially those who support its idea and use its space, but also those who destroy it3.

The appearance of an architectural event in urban interiors, unattractive and often unaccepted by communities, has a momentous meaning not only on account of its catalyst function. It also influences the image of a place by arousing new impressions and experiences related to a given space. As a result, spaces once regarded as insignificant, frequently socially unacceptable, gradually begin to function positively in people's consciousness and become real urban public spaces. Events appearing in such interiors are characterized by emphasis placed upon the social dimension and neutral formal values. Their essence is social integration instead of esthetical values. That is why these events are often based on a cheap material (e.g. recycled elements) and a simple construction. The causes of this state of affairs include:

- orientation towards social stimulation instead of the appreciation of the spatial values of a place,
- actions taken by artists and nonprofit organizations rather than the municipal authorities,
- the risk of unsuccessful actions in a degraded, pathological area,
- the spontaneous character of actions.

In the sense of re-appropriating urban public space, the improving role of an architectural event in relation to degraded urban interiors consists in the temporary transformation of a space into a place – in accustoming and humanizing them by adding new values and new meanings as well as integrating a local community4.

3 THE COMPLEMENTING – ENRICHING ROLE

The complementing role of architectural events appears where a public space has values determining its neutral or positive impact on man and makes the impression that "something is still missing here". This lack may concern
the formal or functional aspect being expressed in both the architectural and urban character of an interior (e.g. a monotonous arrangement) and the lack of meeting places or an interesting program on offer. The problem of inexistence and the related need for enriching/complementing the values of an urban public space may concern a space with neutral values as well as one with high (unique) historical and contemporarily created values.

The complementing role of an architectural event in relation to interiors with neutral values is exemplified by the Switch+ project designed by the Modulor-beat studio (Picture 5). This object was realized for three months in Münster, Germany in place of the former Westphalian Museum of Archeology in a space which had never been important on the social and cultural city map. This project was part of the international open-air exhibition "Skulptur Projekte Münster 07". The urban interior acting as the stage for an architectural event is an un-memorable space with neutral values which does not encourage passers-by to stop. Being located in the very centre in the vicinity of the main historical urban square Domplatz, it has huge developmental potential.

For several weeks, a twelve-metre form of perforated golden sheet copper was the central venue of events. The info-point is located on the ground floor, whereas a thematic bookshop and a space for selling catalogues in the system of multimedia visits – on the first floor. The second floor acts as an attractive open-air café separated from the city spaces by means of an openwork sheet only. Owing to a movable part of the pavilion, this object forms a kind of "urban switch" which changes the flow of pedestrians across the square, its intended use and the perception of the public space. The golden skin and the perforation with a variable diameter reacts to light in a curious manner. During the day, it fills up with shade dispersed into hundreds of tiny points; at night, it impinges the values of this urban interior acting as a lighting installation. The appearance of this new form transformed the space into a fabulous meeting place – modern, fashionable and attractive.

The enrichment of the public space with a new value offering an advanced architectural language and an interesting functional program considerably increased the qualities of the urban interior. In effect, the social and cultural city map was temporarily enriched with a new, socially attractive expression of this public space.

Showing the enriching role of architectural events in relation to interiors with high (historical) values, we must notice that these unique interiors, shaped by generations, are under restorers' protection nowadays. However, legal and mental restrictiveness sometimes limits the possibility of introducing new forms to an old tissue. An architectural event seems to be a particularly attractive tool for appreciating historical urban interiors because – on account of its planned temporary character – it facilitates a number of experiments which do not make a durable intervention in historical urban fabric. It gives the possibility of a temporary transformation of a historical square into a meeting and interacting place which connects the past with the busy present as well as the unknown future. Let us quote the words of Zygmunt Bauman who defines the most desired forms of public space as conducive to both modern ambitions of removing and leveling differences as well as postmodern attempts to emphasize these differences by distinguishing and separating them. It concerns a public space which appreciates the creative and life-giving value of diversity and notices the need for an

active dialogue between the differences. (Bauman, 2007, p. 123). Activities that stimulate such a dialogue can be exemplified by two relations: an architectural event located in an open park space and an architectural event located in compact urban development.

The former relation is illustrated by the Serpentine Gallery a project held cyclically in the space of Kensington Garden in London (Picture 6,7). This place ranks among eight excellent royal parks founded in the eighteenth century which – in the face of the intensifying urbanization of the city – were preserved as open spaces and became public parks. Equipped with a round pond, smart avenues, a number of classicistic sculptures commemorating some important personalities, a historical gallery and a palace, Kensington Garden is recognized as much more formal than the neighboring Hyde Park. The Serpentine Gallery project, commenced in the year 2000, presents an excellent temporary and cyclical enrichment of the formal character of the park with modernity and originality. A surprising architectural event which comes and goes is built for three months every year near the historical Serpentine Gallery in the park landscape. Every time it looks different; every time it offers a new quality. The cyclical and temporary character of this project facilitates a dialogue with the current needs of the place and the visitors which deprives the park space of its formal character for a while. Juan Nouvel, the author of the red

deconstructionist pavilion arranged in 2010, paid special attention to the possible coexistence of his pavilion and its users' needs. "I would like the Serpentine Summer Pavilion to meet with the habits of Londoners in Hyde Park, not to perturb them, to simply invite them to enjoy a complementary experience that is by no means obligatory. It would be good if their curiosity were to be slightly aroused, and the desire to discover holiday feelings could spread out naturally, beginning with everyday conversations"5. This complementing character of architectural events within the Serpentine Gallery project enriches the attractiveness of the park by giving it contemporary character as well as touching the past because "they are great additions to our parks and cityscapes; they can offer us adventurous, alternative and even radical impressions of what a new architecture might be"6. An architectural event located in an urban park space becomes a formally expressive object and a kind of magnet – a central place for interaction and interpersonal communication.

The latter relation is illustrated by Olafur Eliasson's implementation entitled "Your Reality Machine" located for three months in a compact urban layout in the capital of Poland (Warsaw) in a green square at a baroque church and in the vicinity of the Presidential Palace – in Krakowskie Przedmieście (Picture 8)7. Its temporary appearance was related to the events of the Polish presidency in the European Union Council in 2011 including various cultural activities.

Krakowskie Przedmieście is one of the most valuable and representative streets in the old town part of Warsaw – a fragment of the Royal Track. The entire street as an urban layout entered the register of monuments in the 1960s. In 1994,

the Royal Track was acknowledged as a historical monument which additionally emphasizes the high architectural and urban values of the interior. These days, Krakowskie Przedmieście – thoroughly repaired in 2007 which aimed at giving it more representative character – is a wide promenade with a street in the middle accessible for public transport and taxis only. This animated space is one of the most popular streets in the capital city. Its length (more than one kilometer) determines the diverse values of its individual sequences. Its stretch which hosted the described event ranks among the smartest places. Its historical character, monumentality and a number of special buildings – the Presidential Palace, the Tyszkiewicz family's palace, the church, a monastery, some hotels – give formal character to this public space. The appearance of futuristic Your Reality Machine temporarily alters this image. Its red and white futuristic form supported by thin elements contrasts with the historical surroundings and creates contemporary character, while the pavilion interior opens brand new perspectives for people who enter its space (Picture 9). All this is facilitated by an enormous kaleido-scope standing in the centre. Instead of a roof, it has a big opening framed with large, geometrically cut mirrors on four sides. They multiply their reflections of fragments of the surroundings and the neighboring buildings as well as the pavilion construction which seems to extend ad infinitum.

This mirror play encourages the visitors to look up at the sky, temporarily cuts them off from the monumental street frontage and transfers them into the world of imagination and dreams – it enriches the place. Not without reason, the jury defined this project as a sensual sculptural form which stimulates imagination and creates a user-friendly mini space within a historic urban interior.

4 SUMMARY

The foregoing description illustrates an architectural event as a new tool for the re-appropriation of a public space understood as repair or complementation. Owing to an architectural event, urban interiors with diverse spatial and functional values can experience a temporary transformation which will give them some socially and culturally meaningful values. A degraded public space, just like one with neutral and high values, assumes "new vitality" resulting from the appearance of a "spatial experiment" which becomes a momentary catalyst of activities, human interactions, a dynamic in the reception of permanent architectonic elements. This "new vitality" is of paramount importance in the context of the territorial expansiveness of cities (urban sprawl) and the dynamic process of transforming them into metropolises. These processes indicate the necessity of decentralization, i.e. the "construction" of new alternative centers of culture and entertainment. Thus, an architectural event can make a valuable stimulus for positive transformations in the spatial, social and cultural structure of the cities.

Picture 1. *Kubik, in the grounds of an old ice-cream factory, Berlin, Germany [on-line]] Available at: http://www10.aeccafe.com/blogs/arch-showcase/2011/04/16/kubik-by-balestra-berlin/ [Accessed 08 August 2012].*
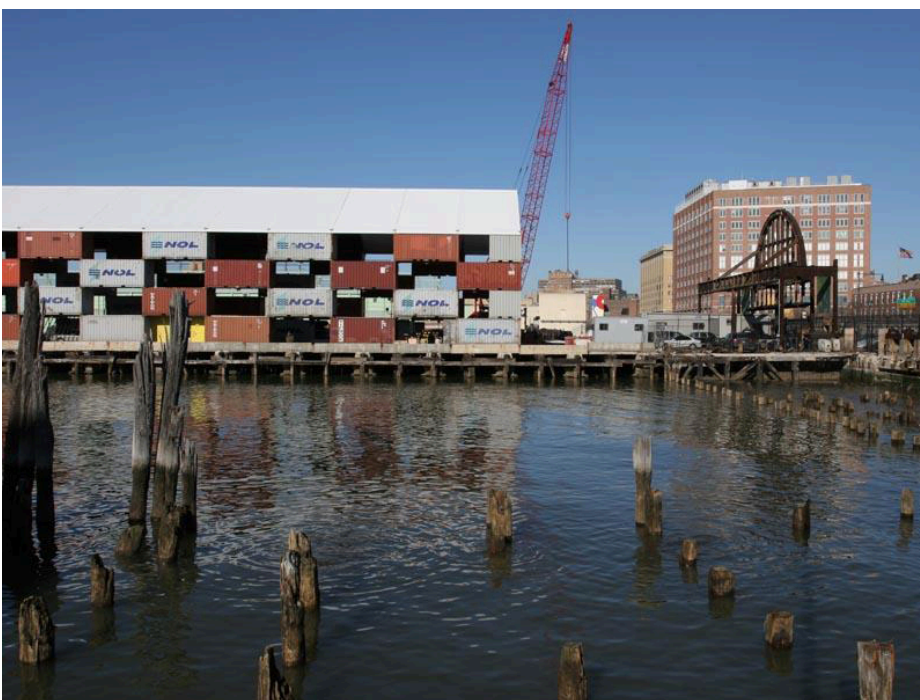
Picture 2. *Nomadic Museum, Pier 54 at Hudson River Park, New York, USA [on-line] Available at: http://wirednewyork.com/piers/pier54/ [Accessed 14 August 2012].*
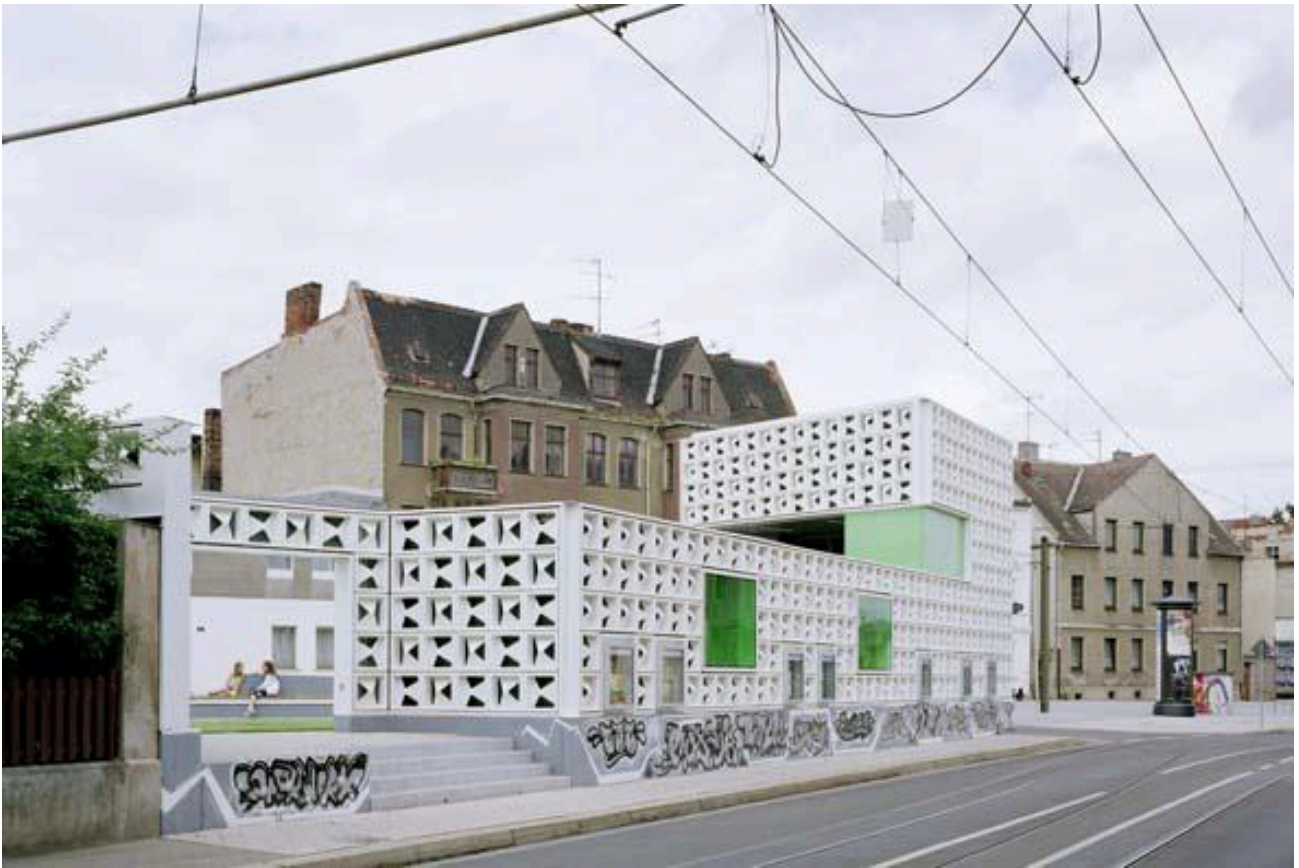
Picture 3. *Lesezeichen, Mageburg, Germany – permanent object*
Picture 4. *Lesezeichen, Mageburg, Germany – temporary object [on-line] Available at: http://www.archdaily.com/39417/open-air-library-karo-architekten/ [Accessed 30 June 2012].*

Picture 5. *Switch +, Rothenburg 30 street, Muenster, Germany [on-line] Available at: http://www.archicentral.com/switch-by-modulor-beat-18022/ [Accessed 08 August 2012].*

Picture 6. *Serpentine Galleries 2012, Kensington Garden, London, Great Britain*
Picture 7. *Serpentine Galleries 2009, Kensington Garden, London, Great Britain [on-line]] Available at: http://www.serpentinegallery.org/ [Accessed 08 August 2012].*

Picture 8. *Your Reality Machine, Krakowskie Przedmieście street, Warsaw, Poland – street view*
Picture 9. *Your Reality Machine, Krakowskie Przedmieście street, Warsaw, Poland - interior [on-line]] Available at: http://blokprojektowy. wordpress.com/2011/10/02/your-reality-machine/ [Accessed 08 August 2012].*

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URBAN RE-GENERATION THROUGH TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION AND FUNCTIONAL MIXITE'. A CASE STUDY IN MODENA, ITALY

ABSTRACT

In the Italian region of Emilia-Romagna the economic growth of the Fififties – the so-called economic boom – was based on industrial production, mostly generated by the initiative of small size craftsman cooperatives. The model of development, with strong social character, was based on the initiative of the public administration, that had the political and economical power to trade rural areas at the boundaries of the city and sell them at a very low cost to the new enterprises.

After fifty years or relative success, that economic model is facing an economic crisis, due to the globalization of the markets, that is forcing the reallocation of many small and medium sized enterprises in bigger industrial areas or, even, their collapse. Part of the old semi-industrial areas located within the boundaries of the city, are now partially dismissed.

In order to regenerate the functionality of these obsolete industrial districts, new strategies are required, based on the promotion of private investments.

According to the expectations of the promoters, new guidelines for the reconfiguration of the districts and more flexible urban rules should help in trying to regenerate the areas with the aim of creating new poles for highly specialized craft, creativity and technological innovation. The new initiatives for the regeneration of the districts try to match new functions with high environmental standards (eco-design, green buildings).

In this paper we analyze a recent initiative of the city administration for the regeneration of a semi-industrial area in Modena, named villaggio artigiano. This process is based on functional mixité, that is considered a strong antidote to urban sprawl and the urban zoning of the Modern Movement that has separated housing, work places, shops and services. The original structure of the villaggio should be able to facilitate this process of regeneration and reappropriation of public space, based on the technological aspects of architectural design and the potentialities of energy rehabilitation and on-site energy production. The aim is to reach the goal of a zero energy district. This initiative has been widely promoted – the district and its enterprises have their own Web page – and it is supported by some architectural proposals derived from inter-disciplinary workshops that involved many professionals and the University of Bologna.

KEYWORDS: URBAN REGENERATION, FUNCTIONAL MIXITE', ZERO ENERGY DISTRICT

1   URBAN REGENERATION POLICIES FOR MID-SIZE CITIES

Europe is characterized by a network of mid-size historic cities. In the XX century these cities were equipped with industrial zones and grew rapidly, expanding their boundaries. In the last decades many people started to move from the urban areas to the suburban settlements, in order to reduce living expenses and have more housing space and a better quality of life. An obvious consequence of this displacement to the campagna was the consumption of rural land, and the formation of suburbia. In the meantime town centers were transformed into financial-administrative districts. This trend was particularly evident in the Italian region of Emilia-Romagna, where eight small mid-size cities, including Modena (180.000 inhabitants) and the regional capital Bologna (350.000 inhabitants, with a metropolitan area of 500.000) are placed along a main axis, called the via Emilia.

Although some urban planners have recently affirmed that the phenomenon of

suburbia, or sprawl, has already come to an end, due to the recent economic crisis and the occupation of inner peripheries by new immigrants, the environmental consequences of sprawl are still present:

-        increasing gas emissions and environmental impact due to transportation;
-        consumption of green and rural areas, due to the proliferation of dispersed construction;
-        increasing provision costs of public goods and services.

In order to contrast this phenomenon, today public policies tend to focus on reducing the consumption of land and regenerating the existing urban areas through densification. There is no doubt of the ecological advantages of a dense urban fabric and a functional mixité. According to the organizers of the 23rd Enhr conference in Toulouse, the functional mixité "has taken on a prominent position in the field of public policies on housing, representing an antidote to social or ethnic segregation, as well as the trend in urban zoning that has separated housing, work places, shops and services". Although many researchers are very critical about its definition and hesitant on a form of ideal mixité, in the name of mixed use a lot efforts are currently undertaken in urban contexts within urban regeneration policies, or in the framework of the redistribution of social housing (Albini, 2010). Mixed use design is essential in the development of greener cities, in particular near zero emission cities. A dense, mixed use city is by definition a green city. The recent project for the zero emission city of Masdar in Abu Dhabi, by Foster and Partners, is a clear example of this concept.

The process of urban regeneration is often very slow, accomplished in phases and not always successful. In the recent past planning experiences have proven that urban regeneration must be stimulated and guided by local or regional strategic actions (Smith, 2012).

Moreover, urban regeneration, or urban renewal, implies the concept of community. Community is here interpreted as a sense of belonging, a way of life, a diversity with a common purpose: networks of paths for automobiles, pedestrians, bicyclists, mass transit and wildlife. A real community has a unique character, a sense of place, and it is environmentally responsible (Hall, Porterfield, 2001). The community exhibits also a visual clarity, that evokes a distinct identity. It is a well defined district that can be entered, where buildings and structures share certain recognizable characteristics. In order to regenerate the degraded areas, new services should also be furnished to increase the quality of the urban spaces. Street design anticipates a variety of users and attempts to create a balanced environment in which the paths are not designed for the automobile but

favour the pedestrian.

Participation is an efficient and politically correct way to achieve the above mentioned sense of community, and it is very helpful not only in supporting new ideas and strategies for urban regeneration, but also in improving the environmental consciousness of social groups. Awareness of ecological issues, supported by participation, and promotion of urban quality converge in an unique task (Walker, 2. Many city governments have promoted participative processes for urban rehabilitation. The redevelopment of Tor Bella Monaca in Rome, the regeneration of the Forth and Clyde Canal in Glasgow, the new rehabilitation projects in Barcelona are some documented examples of regeneration projects on the Web.

Many Italian local administrations are trying to promote new projects of urban regeneration, even though the processes are clearly slowing down in the last years. There are two main of reasons for that:

1.   in the last fifteen years a lot of new buildings were built, with a considerable quantity of new spaces put on the market; in the actual period of economic crisis the big amount of available spaces blocks the rehabilitation processes;

2.   the public administration has a few resources to invest in urban projects; on the contrary, the temptation of the local government is to raise local taxes to face increasing costs.

In conclusion, promoting urban transformations has more and more become an extremely complicated task for local administrations, due to the fragmentation of the public institutions, the unexpected political conflicts and the lack of public financial resources. In such a perspective, the only feasible solution for the administrations is to offer more flexibility to the private investors, lower the urbanization costs and support innovative ideas.

2   POTENTIALITIES OF ENERGY REHABILITATION IN URBAN AREAS

Up until today, energy rehabilitation was a secondary factor in urban regeneration projects. In the last ten years the investments in the italian context have shown that almost all the efforts for clean energy production were concentrated on small initiatives and almost nothing has been done at national or regional level considering the urban fabric as a system. A few cities have started successful programs to create energy efficient districts, following the so-called Agenda 21, for the installation of cogeneration power-plants or biomass plants. Only in rare occasions big investments were driven to local communities, upon their approval, for the exploitation of renewable energy sources (wind power or geo

thermal energy plants).

As far as the energy sector is concerned, buildings, more than urban districts, are the primary object of national and regional policies. Although transportation is highly responsible for the reduction of CO2 emissions, the building industry is still considered the sector that can mostly contribute to energy savings and where all the investments are made. According to the Intergovernamental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the largest cost-effective savings potential still lies in the residential and commercial buildings sector, where the full potential is estimated to be around 27% and 30% of energy use.

Some types of stimulations offered by local governments, such as volumetric incentives and reduction of urbanization costs, are directed to private citizens. On average the fiscal detractions hardly compensate the major costs for the energy equipments. The annual financial law has included fiscal subtractions for energy retrofit projects, allowing a decrease of taxation (55% of cost, payable in 10 years) for energy rehabilitation projects. The result of this program is that money was invested only in small projects. This is evidenced by the high percentage of small interventions in relation to the total amount of recent projects: 3% of interventions are global rehabilitations, 37% are windows and walls replacement, 18% are solar panels installations, 27% are boilers installations, 15% are multiple interventions (source: Italian Ministry of Economics). One of the consequences is that incentives for the energy retrofit of buildings rarely contribute to improve the architectural quality.

Incentives for the production of electric power with photovoltaic installations (PV) are contained in the yearly renewed national program Conto Energia, according to which electricity is conveniently paid to the private producers. Some financial support for coplanar or integrated PV, thermal solar systems and micro wind turbines is also considered. The incentives are given if the panels are integrated in the architecture of the building or technologically innovative. Although administrators are trying to put some limitations, PV systems had a significant visual impact on the urban environment and the rural landscape.

Apart from the financial benefits, the consequence of the new mandatory energy regulations (Dlgs n. 192/2005, Dlgs n. 311/2006) is that new buildings have significantly improved their performances. The Energy Performance Index for winter thermal comfort (EPi), which expresses the energy demand, has dropped significantly. The use of renewable energy in public buildings (at least 50%) is mandatory. Almost all the categories of buildings have introduced effective shading elements on south and west walls. A certain reduction of the radiat-

ing solar heat through glass surfaces and the control of the solar factor (G) is required. Other specific design solutions are adopted to lower the thermal contribution during the summer, reduce the impact of the external environmental conditions, optimize the spatial distribution and favor the natural ventilation, with particular attention to night ventilation.

This technological transformation has been seen by developers as a big effort in terms of construction costs, but it has become a key factor in selling new houses: today only high performing buildings have the chance to be sold. As long as concerns existing buildings, energy rehabilitation is not always convenient: in some cases other aspects – for instance, seismic requirements – suggest a totally different approach to regeneration, such as demolition and reconstruction.

3   THE CRAFTSMAN VILLAGE IN MODENA

The case study regards a 50 years old district, named villaggio artigiano (craftsman village), located in the fringe belt areas surrounding the railway line Milano-Bologna, not far from the historic centre of Modena. The origin of the district dates back to 1953. After the post war crisis that brought unemployment in the big industries, Mr. Corassori, Major of the city, decided to support small enterprises for the re-enhancement of the local economy, counting on bank guarantees and other financial support, especially intended for cooperatives.
The new quarter was located utilizing 15 hectares of low cost rural land that the town acquired from private owners. In the following 6 years new 74 enterprises filled the empty lots of the district (Fig. 1). The area became one of the engines of the "economic boom" during the sixties and seventies, especially in the mechanic and ceramics field – Modena is the town of Ferrari –. The Italian postwar economic miracle started in these areas, with small companies of less than 10 employees.

The form of the villaggio, located west of the historic centre, is distinctively triangular, the longer side being limited by the railway (Fig. 2). The area is characterized by storehouses and residential units, originally placed in a dense and irregular way, due to the lack of regulations, the speed of construction, and the small sizes of the enterprises. Narrow streets and poverty of green areas still characterize the district; architecture is also quite simple. People started to live near the working place. More specifically, the new functional typology that grew up in the area is characterized by the residence of the entrepreneurs attached to the factory, or the laboratory (Fig. 3). The factory is usually a concrete prefab structure, with shed or arched roof structure, while the living unit is usually built

in bricks and concrete. The working unit is usually placed on the back (entrances to both sides), and the 15-25 meters wide residential unit is unsurprisingly aligned on the street. Building performances of these types of buildings are evidently low, compared to new ones, although some improvements were made over the years.

It is possible to count about 120 lots in the district, and subdivide them in 3 categories: small lots, with a surface comprised between 200 and 1000 m2, characterized by high density and small activities; medium lots, from 1000 to 5000 m2, big lots, over5000 m2, with a smaller density and activities that require spaces for material movement. The cheapest lots are close to the railway. In the south part of the villaggio the dimensions of the lots are bigger, because of the size of the companies.

Figure. 1, Sketch from the fifties, representing the new craftsman village. Figure 2. Aerial view of the same area after 60 years. Source: Comune di Modena.
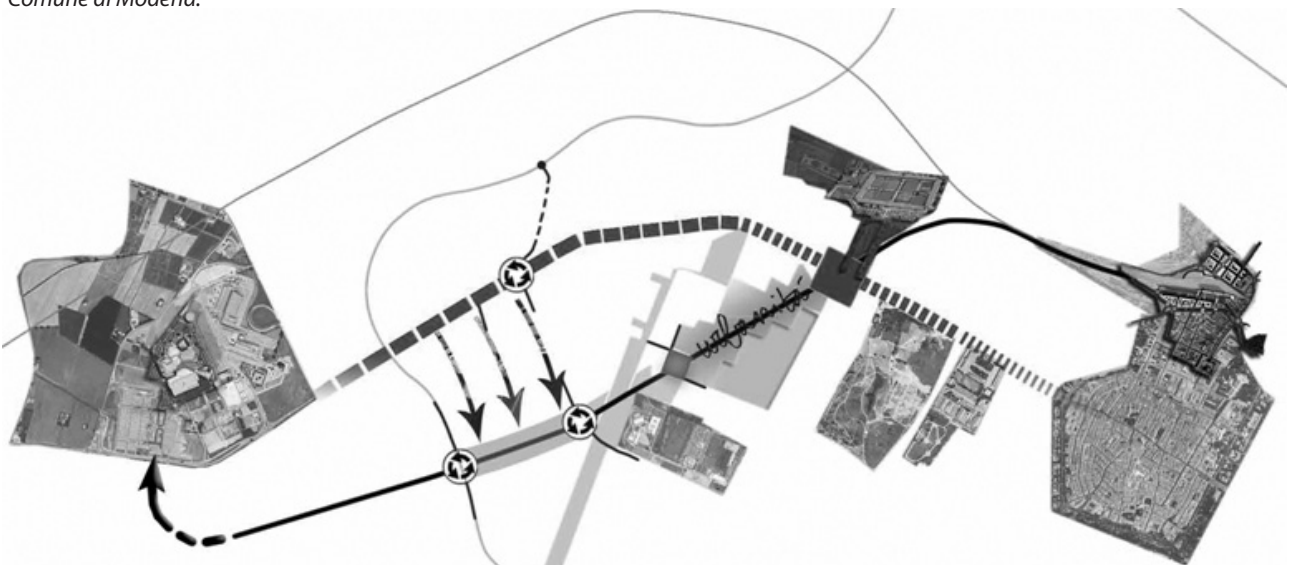
In the last 20 years some companies increased their dimensions and moved to new industrial compounds, leaving some lots empty. Many other buildings started to reveal their inadequacy. On one hand, the craftsman village, embedded in the city, has become mostly obsolete or diffusely degraded, for the lack of minimal environmental or functional standards. On the other hand, the structure of the district has demonstrated a certain attitude to adapt itself to the changes of the production system.

Today the villaggio is the result of what is left of the concentration of craft enterprises, small businesses, semi-industrial, and residential units. The village has modified its original productive nature, and it is possible to recognize a trend of spontaneous substitution from traditional activities to other forms of highly specialized craft, connected to creativity (fashion, music, publishing, graphics). Some empty spaces, low costs and the strategic location offer ideal solutions for the needs of some entrepreneurs.

For this reason the villaggio was elected as one of the intervention areas in the plan for the development of the so-called quadrante ovest (west quadrant) of the city of Modena (Fig. 3). The railway line, black in the picture, is the ordering and unifying element of this urban system. One hypothesis is to transform the railway into a local metro line and a new connecting element to the other elements of the urban system: the polo fieristico, the cimitery and the historic town. Through the use of this structure the village has all the potentiality to become the centre of gravity of the west quadrant of town.

The new masterplan for the district is based on flexibility and promotes the functional mixité of the village (Fig. 4). According to the town administrators, the potential rehabilitation strategies of the area should be oriented to the recovery of the intrinsic values of the village and the proposal of a new – urban, social, economic – model of community.

offices
commerce
parking

Figure 4. Degraded storehouses, attached to residential units. Figure 5. The old buildings are the key elements for the functional rehabilitation of the blocks. Source: Comune di Modena.

Fig. 6. Using old warehouses for storage and small offices. Source: Comune di Modena.

The village is seen by the urban planners as a good candidate for becoming the incubator of new entrepreneurships, the experimental nucleus of "a different way of making cities". Regulations encourage the transformation of the village, incrementing the functional mix between production and services, which will remain prevalent, and housing. Rehabilitation projects should lead to new and innovative typologies of buildings (atelier/houses, houses/workshops, housing complexes with shared services) (Fig. 5).

Aside to these potential transformations, it is worth remembering the importance of the interventions on the public side: the design of collective spaces for meeting and socialization, the rehabilitation of the streets, the creation of parking and green areas, using the space available across the railway and new spaces (Fig. 7). The masterplan looks back at the presence of commerce and services as an opportunity to generate new spaces for the quality of life. The funds for these ideas should come from private investors in the area.
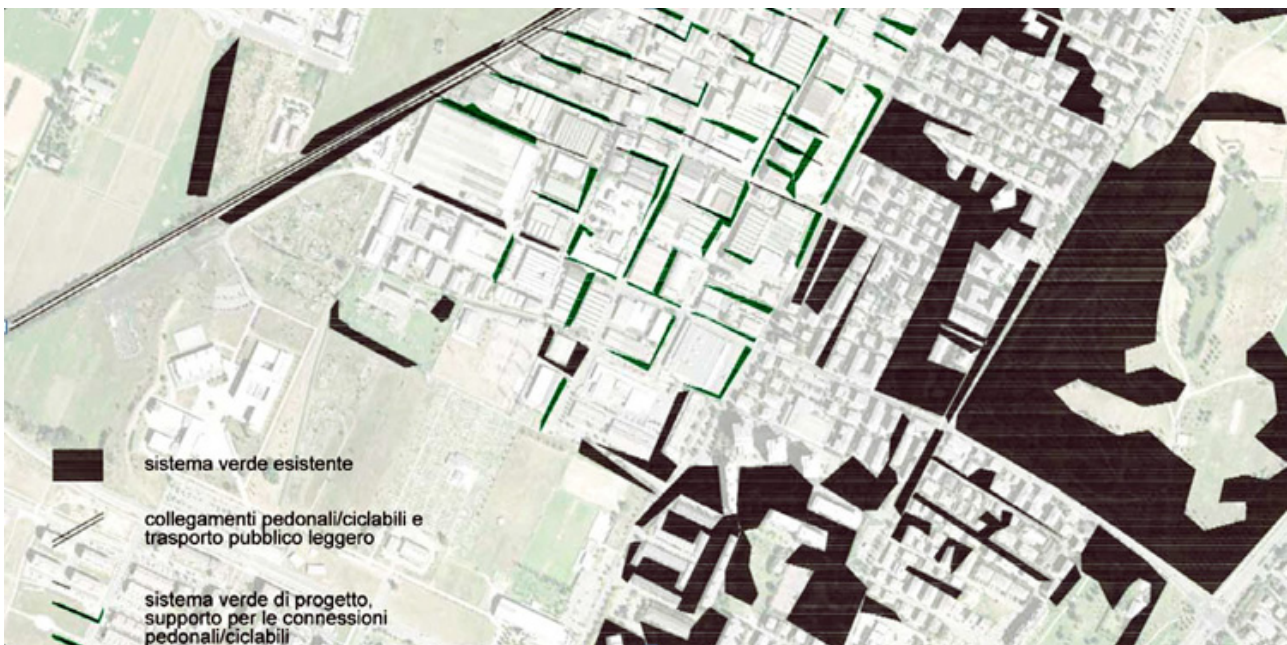
Figure 7. Network of green public paths. Source: Comune di Modena.

4   DESIGN WORKSHOPS

According to new new masterplan (POC) for the area, there are four levels of intervention: conservation (L1), Conservation + transformation (L2), transformation (L3), susbsitution (L4) (Table 1). Every private owner decides the level, retrieving its manufactured production according to a new plan that imposes certain constraints: car parking, diffused vegetation (at ground level, roof and border), renewable resources for energy production, supporting guidelines in case of demolition and reconstruction, transfer to the municipality of part of private areas, reduction of effective noise levels through the introduction of innovative processes. In return, the owner obtains municipal tax cuts, incentives in terms of overall useful surface, and the possibility of increasing the building height and placing new intermediate floors in the existing building. Potential green solutions for buildings remain voluntary. In fact, no measures have been adopted in the masterplan to reduce the energy demand of the district; the reduction of the energy consumption still depends on national financial support. As we mentioned above, the city of Modena has recently decided to advertise the villaggio as the local "incubator for new entrepreneurship". A competition for the marketing of the area was launched, with the idea of generating a creativity pole (polo della creatività). The project aims at enhancing the character of innovation and creating a database of the activities to facilitate the interaction between the various stakeholders, a sort of a common market for joint advertisements.

Level	L1	L2	L3	L4
Type of intervention	*conservation*	*conservation/ transformation*	*transformation*	*substitution*
Minimum unit of intervention (UMI)	Apartment unit	building	lot	lot
Index	Existing SU*	No SU limitation		
Use	No change allowed	1/3 of 0,75=C/2/3 The rest of the general design surface=A0, A10, C1, C6, D3, D5, D6**	1/3 of 0,75=C/2/3 The rest of the general design surface=A0, A10, C1, C6, D3, D5, D6	1/3 of 0,75=C/2/3 The rest of the general design surface=A0, A10, C1, C6, D3, D5, D6
Standard	--	Public parking: payable private parking: 1parking/design unit + paying the rest up to 50% of standards	Public parking: payable private parking: 1parking/design unit + paying the rest up to 50% of standards	Public parking: payable private parking: 1parking/design unit + paying the rest up to 50% of standards
Morphological restraints	--	Profile (demolition of the approved	Typology reinterpretation	Maintain the street alignment 1/3 productive uses at ground floor

Table 1: levels of intervention. * SU = gross usable surface ** Allowed functions: according to Modena's masterplan the letter A stands for different types of residences, the letters C and D for different productions and services.

Another initiative is the promotion of architectural workshops, in coordination with local associations and designers. In November 2010, 65 people (public administrators, owners, architects, engineers, surveyors, evaluators, agronomists, lawyers) joined a first design workshop, named MOW (Modena ovest workshop), a participated experience on the redevelopment of this first micro-industrial urban compound of the city The workshop attempted to test the state of the art in the field of urban regeneration, searching for convincing solutions. One of the objectives was to stimulate the creation of innovative craft activities in the abandoned lots. Ideas were translated into potential solutions. Final architectural drawings are the result of the creative exercise, merging research data, programs, goals, site factors, stakeholders input. One idea was to create an ecological grid with vegetation, following Berlin's experience. An internet page, with a virtual map of the village and information about the activities, is another result of the workshop (fig. 6).

Following the MOW project, one design laboratory at the University of Bologna has promoted a second initiative, where some models of raw housing with mixed function are replacing a few existing factories in one of the blocks of the district. The functional mixité is the primary aspect connected to this intervention. No more single properties and monofunctional lots, but the proposition of a new architecture, aimed at the small integrated productive dimension, with the residences within the productive buildings. This model is directed to the requests of small economic activities, and can be aggregated and repeated; the block is in function 24 hours a day and it is configured as the actualization of the old concept of casa a schiera (raw house), the real propelling engine from the medieval city to the industrial revolution.

This initiative was very appreciated by the public administration. The existing buildings will be demolished in a sequence of progressive phases (intervention of substitution, L4) because of their level of conservation and inefficiency (Fig. 7). The final result will be a sequence of lots (9x18m), facing two streets; one street with car access to the garage, the other with pedestrian walkways (Fig. 8). As long as no actions like long-distance heating (LDH) or PV parks for the production electric power are taken into consideration for the district, the decision was to design high performance buildings. The model seeks the best integration of the active systems for the production of renewable sources on the roof or in the south facade (Fig. 9). The configuration of the roof should stimulate the utilisation of active systems. The buildings have three floors. Green solutions

include passive systems like greenhouses solar balconies and reduced S/V ratio, and active systems. Active systems include "class A" equipments, heat pumps connected to geothermal wells, heat recovery units, ceiling/floor radiant panels (max temp. 25-35° C), PV production (at least 20 kWp), TLR/gas design for class A buildings, air exchange systems (<0,25V/h), condensing boilers, thermal regulators, hot water production with thermal solar panels, high efficiency lighting, sensors. water flux reducers, rain water collection.

The sequence of buildings should correspond to the zero energy buildings standard, which could be the key factor to start the regeneration of the villaggio artigiano. The research group in Bologna is also beginning a research work on the potential use of district energy through a district network. For this network the concept of perequation should be used: the buildings or the enterprises that produce an exceeding quantity of energy receive some benefits and act as compensation to the less virtuous activities. The goal of zero energy district should be reached also with a thermal plant, where the district energy production is mostly concentrated.

Figures 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, from top left to bottom right. Images of the proposed raw houses with mixed functions, equipped with passive and active energy systems. Source: authors.

CONCLUSIONS

The case study of Modena demonstrates that the efforts of local administrations to promote cultural initiatives for the rehabilitation of parts of the cities are unsuccessful if not supported by technological innovation and new ideas. Even though the project for the villaggio artigiano still lacks in sustainability, the idea of promoting a productive community with a clear identity is challenging. Design workshops are good opportunities to share knowledge among stakeholders. In the next future the key for the success of this operations will be the ability to take stronger decisions according to common interests. As public finances are very small at the moment, private investors are required to help the promotional initiatives. While the submitted projects try to convince entrepreneurs to make investments in the district, market opportunities should be stimulated by awards (bonuses) and incentives for distinguished projects of green buildings.
Moreover, urban regeneration processes should be the result of well coordinated strategies for environmental sustainability, starting from the national level down to the local. Successful eco-sustainable cities and regeneration processes are the result of complex and coordinated policies, where the impulse at national level is necessary to support the efforts of local administrations and private capitals. Concerning the issue of energy production, in order to reach the goal of zero emission, public investments will be needed. In this perspective, in Italy the goal of near zero energy consumption in still far to be reached.

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REAPPROPRIATION OF MODERN RUINS AS A SYMBOL OF URBAN RENOVATION
JAPAN AS A STUDY CASE

ABSTRACT

Modern ruins are everywhere, following us in our daily walks through the cities, and the more modern is the city, the stronger are the feelings given by those relicts. They can fiercely stand for years and disappear from one day to another, though their presence is never neutral. This impermanence is stronger in a land like Japan, where a Shinto-Buddhist wooden culture still permeates the economical and architectural urban debate.

Japanese modern ruins have recently become a strong research subject due to the latest preservation and renovation of Modern Architecture debate. Recent years have seen Japan passing from a policy of continuous destruction and substitution of its architecture patrimony to a more articulated debate on the possibilities offered by the reuse of buildings even for different purposes. This kind of debate, born only after the failing of the 80's bubble economy, is still in its full bloom with the particular characteristic, in contraposition with what is happening in Western Countries, of the almost total theoretical contribution absence. Every single example carried on in last years brings a new brick in the construction of a full patrimony of experiences, still without mostly stating any theoretical issue except for historical studies of Professor Hiroyuki Suzuki. For

this reason, Japan is nowadays one of the most interesting experimentation fields for new possibilities in the consolidated urban texture Reconnection and Reappropriation.

Nevertheless physical reuse and reconversion of the built architecture is not the only recent topic brought on in Japanese contemporary Renovation debate. Haikyo ("abandoned place" in Japanese language) is basically the exploration of urban ruins, but in Japan this kind of research has become massive matter of discussion with many publications and entire filled up shelves in common bookshops. Since the "rediscovering" of the abandoned mining island Hashima (or Gunkanjima, near Nagasaki) in late Nineties, Japanese scholars started to explore deeply the territory in search for lost parts of their urban history. The meaning of this research is not only the symbolic reappropriation of those missing parts of the shared urban memory but also the symptom of a strong change in Japanese people mind attitude respect to their modern architectural heritage. Not by chance the two issues of this debate, the Modern Architecture Renovation and the Haikyo, found a common field in the reappropriation of abandoned Metabolism buildings, experimental examples for a Japanese way to the city Re-use.

KEY WORDS: Haikyo, Renovation of Modern Architecture, Ruins, Re-use

Nostalgia as a way to the Preservation

Early Romantic period saw melancholia and nostalgia as the leading engines for the ruins exploration. The study and the symbolic reappropriation of ancient decadent buildings were necessary for the regaining of the National European spirits, but also for offering a clear love involvement for a too far past (Stead, 2003).

In the Western side of the World, the worship for ruins has slightly changed subjects from such symbolic buildings as churches, temples and fortifications to the modern and contemporary cathedrals of Society: the collapsing remains of the industrial age in Europe, in the former Soviet Union, in the United States. Abandoned car factories in Detroit; furnaces of former steelworks in the West Germany, now part of public parks; Eastern Europe ghost towns (Dillon, 2012).

All those modern ruins are subjects of books, movies, exhibitions, symbols of the Nostalgia of a not so far powerful history (Boyl, 2010). This Nostalgia is more important as it's the emblem and the remainder of a possible future that never happened or could have transformed in something different (Huyssen, 2006).

Study of those modern ruins is the humble continuation of the Romantic spirit that pushed our ancestors to admire the great relics of the past. The aim of the following investigation is to analyse how the worship for those modern ruins can bring them once again to be physic and symbolic part of the living urban environment.

Restoration and Renovation as crises symptoms of Western Society

There is another kind of impulse that has been concerning the modern ruins in the Western World. The Renovation and the Reuse of old and ruined architecture, part of a longer tradition that dates to the European medieval period, has spread out by the Eighties of the 20th Century, with impressive results like the Tate Modern in London and the MAXXI in Rome. Those results are sometimes respectful of the meanings and the purposes of the original constructions, some other times bringer of new connotations and maybe a new life.

Renovation is always a compromise between the need of the preservation of urban memory and the necessity of a newest and better standard of life.

Renovation is part of the same process that once brought to the contemplation of ruins, but at same time is it's full and final betrayal; John Ruskin's ideas betrayal, somehow.

Long time has though passed since Ruskin and the whole bloody Short Century stands tall in reminding us that preservation of our buildings patrimony is not only nostalgia; our recent history of war and destruction should always teach us which kind of danger we are always running trough. Again, the desire for the contemplation of the modern ruins and its parallel, the need for their Reuse, are the two poles in which a big part of the preservation debate still stands on. Authenticity is another focal point in this debate, a point that became more important when, after the war destructions, Europe desperately needed symbols to restart from (Giedion, 1956). Authenticity perhaps is another issue that turned out to be more and more important as Modernism started to replace the old way of living with a newer one (Macdonald, 1996).

Anyhow all this kind of debate has been developing mostly in the Western areas affecting only in a second moment the former communist countries. We can state that the continuous search for a physical memory to be worshipped is also symbolic of the ageing of Western Societies (Cannata, 2012). Ageing is surely one of the reasons for the late increase of the Ruins tourism, as well for the intensification of the Renovation of modern architecture. Renovation and Ruins tourism are two of the faces of the Reappropriation of the urban spaces.

Rome, as perfectly exemplified by Giovanni Battista Piranesi artistry, has been one of the most prominent starting points for the developing of these two ideas of Urban Reappropriation, in particular in the period between the 18th and the early 20th Century, when the city was both at the center of most of Italian Grand Tours and attending at the permanent metamorphosis of its own built patrimony (Huyssen, 2006). Still today the city of Rome is the result of this self-rebuilding with constructions that bring with them traces of different styles and centuries. Renovation and Reappropriation are similarly symptomatic of the creeping economic crisis that threatens the Western World since many years. Urban decayed areas, with their modern ruins have become the scenario for newer artistic pro-

ductions and a laboratory for the reconnection with the living city: an active cultural Reappropriation, before any physical one (Edensor, 2005).
Finally, without being comprehensive of all the reasons that underlies the birth of Renovation and Reappropriation of the urban texture from both a physic and symbolic point of view, we can resume those few following points as the main generators of Western love for its built and sometimes ruined past:

- Ageing of Society.
- Economic crisis.
- Search for Authenticity.
- The tradition of building lasting constructions, with a long decay time.
- Nostalgia for a possible future that had never happened.
- Romantic love for the remnants.

All these points contributed to the three main approaches of Western societies respect their own built heritage:

- Preservation and Restoration, in all the possible theoretical branches.
- Renovation, Reuse and Transformation.
- Contemplation and study of the ruins.

These three different attitudes are originally and historically recognized heritage of Western cultures, with all the obvious differences for all the countries.

The approach to the preservation from other points of view

These kinds of approaches can be found in other civilizations, diverse for their evolutions but slightly similar from the environmental point of view.
Simplifying, we can define the stone civilizations as bringer of a similar attitude between each other, a methodology that leads to one or more of the approaches listed above.
Anyway, there are some other examples of different evolutions that brought to different results, like Japanese one.
Japan, though partly heir of a stone civilization, the Chinese one, developed its own culture in a peculiar and original way, due to different religious, philosophical and environmental context.

The role of Impermanence in Japanese approach to historic remnants

Japanese culture and approach to the built environment have always followed three main guidelines through the lessons of Shinto, the native ancient religion, Buddhist cycle of life in all its local variations and the coexistence with one of

the most instable and difficult natural environment in temperate climate areas. This combination of factors brought to one of the most peculiar and coherent element of Japanese culture: impermanence (mujō in Japanese language). Impermanence is the backbone on which most of Japanese civilization evolved and still today is a central element of people existence. Born as one of the three marks of being in Buddhism[1], the concept of impermanence found early a more central importance in the Japanese way of living[2].

Japanese architectural culture is a wooden one, and wood is the perfect material for materializing impermanence. A well-known practice concerning Japanese religious architecture is the Shinto ritual shrine reconstruction, expected to be achieve every twenty years. Buddhist temples are subdued to a more traditional restoration when needed, but their physical end and substitution is just one of their accepted destiny (Young and Young, 2007).

Still now, the average life age of residential buildings is approximately twenty years and usually newer constructions replace the old ones offering a continuous regeneration of the city landscape.

Wood, as well, is not much used anymore but its constructive culture has essentially remained the same one as the pre-modern period, when concrete and steel were yet to become the main building materials as today.

For the same reasons, a Romantic appreciation of ruins as intended in the Western World could never find big application in Japan. Restoration as well was traditionally differently valued since the spirit of a building in Japan has always been more important that its material substance; the preservation of a building soul was more important than its time-based body and material authenticity was not a value in itself (Locher, 2010). It is not by chance that Japanese laws on preservation protect the Intangible heritage as well as the Tangible one since the 1950 Cultural Property Law, adopted in its spirit by Unesco only in 1993 (Pierconti, 2011).

On the other hand, since the opening to modernization after 1868, Japan started a fast path for the acquisition of preservation instruments of its own cultural and urban heritage. Between 1973 and 1990, Japan began to recognize modern buildings and industrial abandoned areas as a cultural heritage, enlisting some of these complexes in the preservation lists (Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan, 2011).

The acknowledgment of modern buildings heritage was a remarkable step for Japan, followed by an increased interest for the renovation and transformation of the constructions that couldn't be saved from the continuous increase of land value in the Bubble economy period (Suzuki, 2000, 2005).

The entire operation of renovation of Marunouchi area in central Tokyo is basi-

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1   *The other two marks are un-satisfactoriness and non-selfhood (Lennox Tierney, 2009).*

2   *An important Japanese interpretation of Impermanence within the concept of architecture related to the life can be found in the Hojoki or An account of my hut, written by the Buddhist monk Kamo no Chomei in the 13th Century. The story of the continuing reconstruction of the hut is a metaphor of the transience of life.*

cally the result of the compromise between the biggest land speculation investment of the Bubble period and the will of preserving some of the most important modern buildings of Japanese history. The DN Tower 21, complex of 1938, after having survived the bombing and been the seat of General Mac Arthur government, has been demolished in 1989 to be rebuilt with an additional Tower in 1995. The seat of the Club of Industrialists, 1920's brick building was partially demolished, and rebuilt and reinforced in the years between 2000 and 2003 in a project that included a renovation with a steel and glass Tower. The Mitsui complex, made in its present shape in 1930 and protected as an important cultural asset in 1997, has been the subject of a ground speculation which led, between 2002 and 2005, to the building of a skyscraper in a contiguous lot, the Nihombashi Mitsui, which has however allowed the rescue of most of the historic building (Suzuki, 2004).

Renovation as a new issue for Japanese cities?

The debate on renovation and transformation in Japan, born only after the failing of the 80's bubble economy, is still in its full bloom with the peculiar characteristic, in contraposition with what is happening in Western Countries, of the almost total theoretic contribution absence (Pierconti, 2011). Every single example carried on in last years brings a new brick in the construction of a full patrimony of experiences, still without mostly stating any theoretical issue except for historical studies of Prof. Hiroyuki Suzuki[3] and in a more comprehensive way the research of Fiber City Tokyo 2050, bringer of theories on the urban texture

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3   *Hiroyuki Suzuki, Professor, Aoyama University of Tokyo. Prior to occupying his current position, he served in many others including Visiting Professor in Harvard University, and Vice-President of the Architectural Institute of Japan. One of the biggest historian of Japanese Architecture, due to his contribution to the studies of Architectural History and Arts & Design, he has received many awards including the Suntory Prize for Art and Literature for Genius of Place in Tokyo: Genius Loci (Bungei Shunju, 1990) and the Society of Architectural Historians of Japan Prize for Toward the Urban City (Chuo Koron Shinsha, 1996).*
Recent publications in English language include The Birth of Modern Architecture in Japan, 1998, Docomomo Proceedings, Stockholm and Urban Development and Historical Preservation: Toward a New Partnership, 1998. Tokyo: Japan Echo, 25(12).
Professor Suzuki has been the most prominent scholar involved in the debate for the preservation of the Marunouchi and Tokyo Station areas in Tokyo, marking the start of the contemporary debate on the preservation of Japanese architecture of 20th Century.

Figure 1. *Jordy Theiller, 2010. New Sky Building, designed by Yoji Watanabe, 1972, Tokyo. The building, almost abandoned, saw the start of restoration works in late 2009.*

Figure 2. *Federico Scaroni, 2009. Nakagin Capsule Hotel, designed by Kisho Kurokawa, 1972, Tokyo. The building is currently in state of almost abandonment. Debate is going on between demolition and preservation.*

Figure 3. *Jordy Theiller, 2010. Gunkanjima (Hashima) island, Block 65, Nagasaki prefecture. The mining island is abandoned since 1974.*

Reconnection related to the necessity of a total rethinking on the city expansion (Ohno, 2006).

Recently, the influential magazine JA dedicated an entire issue to the Renovation of Modern Architecture in Japan and asked several Japanese architects like Junya Ishigami, Taisei Design and Hidetoshi Ohno (2009) to offer their point of view on such a topic. The results were really different from each other showing how far are the positions on what should be intended for Renovation as a common base. On the other hand, is underlined that Japanese traditional demolition-reconstruction system was comprehensive of a strong recycle of materials and sometimes of the reuse of these pieces in a place, different from the former one. This approach to the preservation is a symptom of the bigger importance of the objectness rather than the placeness and helps the spiritual Reappropriation of the new building in the existing context. The people can feel once again the spirit of the building and rejoin with it (Hashimoto, 2009).

Haikyo and the reconstruction of history as reconstruction of Urban Society

Physical reuse and reconversion of the built architecture is not the only recent topic brought on in Japanese contemporary Renovation debate.

Haikyo (abandoned place in Japanese language) is basically the exploration of urban and suburban ruins but in Japan this kind of research has recently become massive matter of discussion with entire filled up shelves of related publications in common bookshops. Since the rediscovery of the abandoned mining island Hashima (or Gunkanjima, near Nagasaki) in the late Nineties[4], Japanese scholars started to explore deeply the territory in search for missing parts of their architectural history. The meaning of this research is not only the symbolic reappropriation of those lost fragments of the shared urban memory but also the symptom of a strong change in Japanese people mind attitude respect to their 20th Century architectural heritage (Arita, 2010).

Most of these ruins are a direct result of the exploding of the bubble economy of the Nineties that emptied mining towns, museums, amusement parks, hotels and resorts[5]. Most of these facilities have been regained by nature but still stand as a manifesto of the ruined economy of the country. Private and public authorities are not interested or they lack of funds for the reconversion or even demolition of these complexes (Nakata and Nakasuji, 2009).

The new attitude to study or simply contemplate these remnants is significant in a country that for millennia proceeded to the constant reconstruction or demolition of its own heritage. And sure this attitude is another side of the same spirit that brought to the salvation, via Renovation, Reuse and Transformation, of the endangered assets.

Recalling the list of reasons for Western approach to historic buildings:

Ageing of Society.
Economic crisis.
Search for Authenticity.
The tradition of building lasting constructions, with a long decay time.
Nostalgia for a possible future that had never happened.
Romantic love for the remnants.

It's possible to say that some of these statements still remain valid for Japanese

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4   *A big contribution to the Haikyo contemporary fame is related to the success of a short documentary realized in 2002 by the filmmaker Thomas Nordanstad on the island of Hashima, also known as Gunkanjima. Hashima, formerly owned by Mitsubishi Company, have been the most important coal mining facility in Japan and the first concrete buildings of Japan have been realized here in 1916. The island have been the most densely populated place in the world, but after the closing of the mines, in 1974, all the population, almost 5000 inhabitants, was forced to leave so suddenly that still now the flats look abandoned by a short time. The island has been closed to every visitor until 2009, when Nagasaki municipality organized the first official trips for tourists (Manaugh, 2005).*

5   *Many publications showed the interest of Japanese readers on this argument. It is impossible to recall all the magazines. For this research I based my references on the publications Ruins Notebook (Nakata, K. and Nakasuji, J., 2010) and Wonders of Japan (2009).*

situation except probably for the last one. Ruins contemplation in Japan is perhaps not a direct son of Western Romantic spirit of Ruins Tourism. It is probably another characteristic of the Japanese attitude to all that is impermanent, with the difference that Haikyo have never been part of Japanese cultural background; at least not in the shape they are shown today. They were not intended to be transitory but they became so (Kobayashi, 2011).

Figure 4. *Michael John Grist, 2009. Gulliver Theme Park, Gunma prefecture. Abandoned since 1995.*

Figure 5. *DIGIK7, 2011. Gunkanjima (Hashima) island, Nagasaki prefecture. Tourists.*

From this point of view, Haikyo seek and study is gradually becoming a truly Japanese cultural experience, and these sentences taken by "The Tale of the Heike"[6] of 13th Century maybe can help us to understand:

The sound of bells echoes through the monastery at Gion Shoja, telling all who hear it that nothing is permanent. The flowers of the Sala trees show that all that flourishes must fade. Proud men, powerful men will fall, like dreams on a spring night, like dust before the wind (Arita, 2010).

Is impermanence the only future for Haikyo?

Impermanence is still part of Japanese psyche. Searching for and feeling impermanence is a strong part of Japanese esthetic behavior. Some of the most popular traditional activities during the year include the contemplation of the falling plum trees leaves, the Hanami or the enjoyment of the red leaves of maples, the Momojiri. Both these two traditions come from the need of regaining a contact with nature every year.

The search for Haikyo is basically going in the same direction, with the strong dif-

6   *The Tales of the Heike (Heike Monogatari) of unknown author of the 13th Century is the epic narration of the fight between the Taira and Minamoto clans for the control of the Japan of the end of 12th Century, during the Genpei War (1180-1185). Religious issues like impermanence and karma cycle of life permeate the whole story. The last English translation has been the one of Burton Watson in 2006.*

ference that everybody can see ruins for a much longer time, making them part again of the urban and rural landscape with a process of memory Reappropriation. Differently from the Western world, where we started to see the physical Reappropriation of modern ruins through artistic contribution and a stable cultural debate, in Japan the Haikyo are still a wonder to be contemplated but with a more far deferent respect.

Another issue is that the feeling of nostalgia for ruins easily merges with other two Japanese cultural peculiarities — the Sabi, the aesthetic of old age, loneliness and tranquility and the Mono no Aware, a strong but gentle sensitivity to ephemera (Griggs Lawrence, 2004). Usually the Mono no Aware shows the awareness of impermanence.

For Japanese point of view, perceiving the abandoned spaces of Haikyo as related to the Mono no Aware is a first important step to the recognizing of the role that ruins have gained in the landscape of the country and also in the collective memory. For this reason, recognizing the state of Mono no Aware in a haikyo structure is more important than its state of decay. Its spirit is no related to the state of preservation.

In a period of hard and enduring crisis both social and economic, these ruins help to fill up the gaps of recent collective Japanese history and at the same time they create bridges to reach back again urban areas now totally abandoned and separated from the evolution of the rest of the country. To fulfill this kind of

Figure 6. *Michael John Grist, 2009. Volcano Museum, Gunma prefecture. Abandoned since 1993.*

idealistic Urban Reappropriation, the exploration of Haikyo is an involuntary but crucial starting point.

Contemplation of ruins it is indeed a way to reuse these remnants as a physical memory, both tangible and intangible. Through the many publications, TV programs and Internet diffusion the modern ruins are living a second life becoming once again part of the common built heritage and at the same time guardians of the collective consciousness (Cannata, 2012).

Anyhow these lost complexes are only rarely officially designated as cultural assets as the ancient temples and shrines and still the worship for them is mostly shown through books, magazines and websites, with little attention coming from the academic research. The general interest, however, is growing up so fast that Gunkajima, the first and most important of all the Haikyo, has been proposed in 2009 as candidate for being inserted in UNESCO World Heritage List (Kawamoto, 2009).

For a "Battleship Island" that has the possibility to become museum of itself, most of the others haikyo are left to the abandonment and the pure worshipping of scholars and Ruin tourists. Nature is growing up inside these incredible and silent structures, demonstrating once again that the natural cycle of lives, death and rebirth, heart of Buddhist religion, still plays an important part in the Land of Impermanence.

Pure contemplation is probably the most authentic approach for the Reappropriation of these Modern Ruins by Japanese society, but contemplation alone is probably just the starting point of a new and original attitude towards these useless and fundamental pieces of Japanese contemporary urban history. Contemplation is an attitude that will maybe bring the Haikyo to lose their extraordinariness among the other elements of the natural and built environment, but at the same time it will give them the possibility to ideally rejoin such an environment as a more coherent part.

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'New Pristina/Kosovo' and 'The New Charter of Athens'

ABSTRACT

The "Athens Charter" was a landmark document about 'modernist' urban planning and architecture. This charter had a huge impact on urban planning and development post World War 2, which contained a prescriptive view of how cities might develop, with high density living and working areas, connected by highly efficient mass transport systems. The Charter mobilized many supporters all over the world, but also got increasingly criticized by contemporary planners and their professional organizations, such as the European Council of Spatial Planners (ECTP), representing over 20.000 urban and regional planners from all over Europe. In May 1998, the ECTP adopted A "New Athens Charter", at an international conference held in Athens. By comparison with the original Athens Charter of 1933, the New Charter and its review of 2003 focus on the residents and the users of the city and their needs in a rapidly changing world. It promotes a vision of "The Connected City", which can be achieved by planning and by spatial planners, as well as other professions. In this paper I will briefly correlate the hypothesis of the "Disconnecting Cities" in contemporary Kosovo - and

the capital city of Pristina in particular - with the Vision of the Connected City. It is merely based on my personal observations and professional experience of more than 6 years uninterrupted presence in this country, of which three years working for UN-HABITAT and three years working for the International Civilian Office/European Union Special Representative.

Key WORDS :Transitional country, Cultural diversity, Instrastructure network, Mono-centric trend, Social inequality, Environmental neglect, Spatial synthesis

1   INTRODUCTION

The "Athens Charter" was a landmark document about 'modernist' urban planning and architecture published by the Swiss architect Le Corbusier in 1943. The work was based upon Le Corbusier's "Ville Radieuse" (Radiant City) book of 1935 and urban studies undertaken by the "Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne" (CIAM) in the early 1930s. The Charter got its name from the venue of the fourth CIAM conference in 1933, which, due to the deteriorating political situation in Russia, took place on the SS Patris bound for Athens from Marseilles (Mumford, 2000). The Charter had a huge impact on urban planning and development after World War 2, which contained a prescriptive view of how cities might develop, with high density living and working areas, connected by highly efficient mass transport systems. The Charter mobilized many supporters all over the world, but also increasingly criticized by contemporary planners and their professional organizations, such as the European Council of Spatial Planners (ECTP), representing over 20.000 urban and regional planners from all over Europe. In May 1998, the ECTP Assembly adopted a "New Athens Charter", at an international conference held in Athens (ECTP/CEU, 2003). By comparison with the original Athens Charter of 1933, the New Charter and its review of 2003 focus on the residents and the users of the city and their needs in a rapidly changing world. It promotes a vision of "The Connected City", which can be achieved by planning and by spatial planners, as well as other professions. It embraces new systems of governance and ways of involving the citizen in decision-making processes, using the benefits of new forms of communication and information technology. At the same time, it pretends to be a more realistic vision, in distinguishing between those aspects of city development where planning can exert a real influence and those where it has a more limited role. The New Charter of Athens expresses confidence that in the 21st century Europe will advance decisively towards the goal of integration. Within this developing framework, the ECTP presents a common and widely shared Vision on the future of European

cities (Part A). This is a vision of a network of cities, which will:

- retain their cultural richness and diversity, resulting from their long history, linking the past through the present to the future;
- become connected in a multitude of meaningful and functional networks;
- remain creatively competitive whilst striving for complementarity and co-operation;

contribute decisively to the well-being of their inhabitants and users;

integrate the man-made and the natural elements of the environment.

Within the New Athens Charter 2003, the Vision also includes a framework for implementation (Part B) consisting of:

- a brief summary of the main issues and challenges that affect cities at the beginning of the third millennium;
- the commitments required by spatial planners in realizing the Vision.

This 2003 version of the New Charter of Athens is addressed primarily to professional planners working throughout Europe, decision makers and urban developpers, to give direction to their actions, for greater coherence in building a meaningful network of cities in Europe connected through time, at all levels and in all sectors.

2   Newborn Kosova/Prishtina

On February 17th 2008, the Kosovo Albanian majority (90%) declared Kosovo independent; a newborn Republic succeeding the most southern Province of

Serbia. This is the day that Kosovo became 'Newborn Kosova' and Pristina 'Newborn Prishtina' (see figure 1 with photo of the statue "Newborn" in the centre of Pristina)

Looking at the recently adopted "Spatial Plan of Kosova" (MESP, 2012 – see figure 2 with regional highway corridors), it could be argued that the 'Charter Vision' is well integrated as a contemporary planning guideline. This result is mainly thanks to the leadership of the newly established (2003) Kosovo Institute for Spatial Planning (KISP) and the support and technical assistance by respectively UN-HABITAT and the (Dutch) Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies. The management and staff of the KISP could be labeled as the emerging new planning community, which is gradually shifting from the Yugoslav-Socialist planning tradition towards the mainstream (Northwest) European market-oriented and

socially-environmentally corrected planning approach. However, this 'planning community' is mainly composed by architects and engineers, with a special interest in spatial and urban planning; only a few of them have had the chance to obtain a specialized master's degree in planning elsewhere in Europe. Despite ongoing attempts, there is no planning education (master's) in Kosovo. By default, the number of 'planners' with in-depth knowledge and know-how on the Charter Vision and its application is relatively small. This might partially explain the paradox that in reality Kosovo rather seems to develop in the opposite way of the New Charter. Apparently, the new planning approach did not (yet) trickle down to the vast majority of the planning architects, politicians and other decision and opinion makers. The post-Yugoslav planning approach seems to be only sustainable on paper. Even worse, it could become the nice facade behind which unsustainable politics and business can continue. Taking the end of the conflict in 1999 as the zero-reference point, I would argue that the territorial situation of Kosovo before the conflict was to a certain extent more in line with the New Charter Vision than onwards from then. The territorial development since then is rather shifting partly in a very chaotic way and partly towards the worst parts of the CIAM '33 doctrine, with a strict separation (juxtaposition) of functions and with oversized constructions and road networks that are destroying the old pedestrian cities that Kosovo used to have. With postwar US and Germany as likely role models (which is hard to say due to lack of public discourse on this issue), Kosovo is developing in a rapid but rather unsustainable way, despite the massive international support and advice. Combined with the fragmentation of former Yugoslavia, cities in Kosovo tend to become rather 'disconnected', contrary to the Vision of the Connected City of the New Charter.

3   Disconnecting Culture

Since the departure of most Serbs and many Roma (among other minority groups) in most Kosovo cities (actually all except Serb majority North Mitrovica

in North Kosovo and Prizren with its Turkish and Bosniak minorities in South Kosovo) Kosovo cities are obviously less multicultural than before the conflict of 1999. Of course it can be argued that a majority community experiencing a gradual oppression by the largest minority community in the pre-1999 phase could hardly live up to the expectations of a multicultural connected city or society. However, the massive departure of Serbs is in general regarded as a cultural loss altogether, also by many Kosovo Albanians. After all, Serbs and Albanians have a conflicting but shared history of many centuries. The multicultural decline is clearly reflected in damaged and lost cultural heritage, less multi- or inter-cul-

tural events and less diversity in urban artifacts that express multi-cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2005).

The cultural decay could eventually be restored, at least partially, by tapping into the growing multicultural diversity of the Kosovo Albanian diasporas, the possible return of Kosovo Serbs and other minority communities, tourism and maybe most of all through 'intercultural' education (open university), cultural events (such as 'Dokufest' in Prizren or the Freedom Festival in Pristina) and sportive events (such as the international Pristina Half Marathon). However, cultural and sport events cannot compensate for the loss of immovable cultural heritage (monuments, sites and landscapes). All Kosovo cities and the capital Pristina in particular are facing very hard times in retaining the cultural richness and diversity that results from their long history, linking the past through the present to the future. Unlike elsewhere in Europe and even in the Western Balkans (for instance Sarajevo and Skopje) no attempt was, or is, made to preserve the historic centre of Pristina, nor its rivers and its green spaces. Kosovo's unique mix of mainly Byzantine and Ottoman cultural traces is in an alarming state of danger. Pristina and most other regional cities are sacrificing their cultural heritage and identity for the sake of fast supply of new and modern standard urban facilities such as apartments, houses, shopping malls, retail units, roads and recreational facilities. As this happens merely in an unplanned and uncontrolled way, valuable traces of previous urban layers are disappearing at an alarmingly fast pace. Moreover, the little planning that is done, in the form of very rigid and old-style regulatory (land-use) plans, is often rather a catalyst for eradication of the old urban fabric, as can be witnessed throughout the old historic centre of Pristina, as well in many other Kosovo cities (D'hondt, 2008).

For many years after the end of the conflict, the UN-administration could be blamed for not bothering too much about this issue. Unfortunately the situation has not changed much since the final takeover of the new Kosovo institutions at the central and local levels; in many cases we see the contrary. A painful recent example is the destruction of 'Hotel Union', an architectural and urban landmark in the very heart of Pristina, next to the National Theater, and opposite the famous Skanderbeg monument and the flashy new skyscraper used by the Government, overlooking the rapid transformation from Old to New Pristina (see figure 3). Many more 'atrocities' happen to cultural monuments and sites, but most do not even reach the media. There is actually a recent trend that the media is more aware of this urban assault, labeled by some as 'urbicide' (Coward, 2008). This 'urban genocide' seems to be a recurrent pattern in most Kosovo cities. The Byzantine layer was substantially 'erased' by the Ottoman layer, which was heavily affected by the Yugoslav layer, especially with Marshal Tito's ambition to materialize and accommodate the socialist ideals with CIAM inspired urban planning and architecture, of which some examples also deserve to be protected as cultural heritage (the Youth and Sports centre for sure but also other urban landmarks such as the National Library and the Hotel Grand,

despite their high ranks in the charts of the 'ugliest buildings in the world'). It seems engraved in the psyche of the local people to re-write history after every change of regime, by erasing as much as possible of the 'bad reminders'.

However, most of the 'daily damage' to cultural heritage has less to do with 'identity' or 'memory', but more with 'migration' and ' wild capitalism'. Most of the new high-rise (four- to ten-storey) apartments replacing the small houses with courtyard are propelled by the huge influx of urban immigrants (mainly from other cities in Kosovo), as well as by the huge short-term profits made with real-estate investments. Prices of apartments and houses in Pristina have increased by more than 100% since the end of the conflict, while the price for land has increased by about 300% in the same period, despite the rather poor quality of renovated and even new apartments (Vöckler, 2008). For many citizens and new entrepreneurs – including 'land-grabbers', the speculative building became a gold mine, an employment opportunity, and/or a ticket for a decent pension. In a country with sky-high unemployment figures, politicians are either prone to corruption or at best offer weak verbal criticism of the 'collateral damage' of this urban assault.

Disconnecting Roads

The gradual destruction of cultural heritage is part of the cultural erosion of the city. Pristina and the 6 other regional centers used to be rather compact and small- to medium-sized settlements, with 'mixity' and proximity of functions. Most services were in walking or biking distance from home. This was most apparent in Ottoman times, but the socialist 'modernization' following the second world war was less drastic than in many other cities and regions under socialist, communist or even capitalist regimes; at least in terms of diversity and proximity. Combined with a rather low car use, Kosovo cities remained basically pedestrian. Large public spaces were not really needed as the street was the public space, used as the place for human interaction, especially around mosques, churches, hammams, other public buildings, street markets, etcetera. Most streets in the old historic centers were very narrow and mainly pedestrian. The more modern lanes and city boulevards had wide pavements with trees. Also typical in some cities were the Ottoman or Oriental covered street markets, of which some were already destroyed during the Yugoslav period, including the most important one in the centre of Pristina. Nevertheless, despite an attempt to 'modernize' the Ottoman city patterns, you could still to some extent sense Pristina's Oriental spirit shortly after the recent conflict.

However, the current 'regime' seems to be much more 'effective' in overwriting the city's genetic DNA. A tsunami of new tall-big-eye-blinding-buildings and a massive influx of polluting cars flooding the narrow streets and low-density neighborhoods reshaped most Kosovo cities and the capital in particular into urban dystopia. City biking became an obscure suicidal activity, and disabled

people or mothers with babies hardly dare to leave the house. Urban public transport disappeared and was for many years taken over by aggressive and very polluting mini-busses of at least 25 years old. Urban public busses recovered partially over the years in only a few cities. The central bus station in Pristina always provided good intercity bus services but was never, and is still not, connected with the intra-urban bus network. Also the railway station in Pristina - a pink painted tiny little station you would rather expect in a small village in the countryside - has no bus connection and requires a taxi ride or dusty/muddy walk to or from very nearby downtown, separated by an informal business zone where works have started to build the highest tower in the Balkans (see further). Just as in the 'developed' European cities during the 60s-80s, the car rules, and the pedestrian suffers, hopping around cars that drive and park without any courtesy or respect for basic traffic rules.

Since the declaration of independence, the Kosovo politicians and authorities have strongly prioritized roads as the major incentive for economic development at both local and central levels. Road infrastructure was always rather poor in Kosovo, even relative to Yugoslav standards, as there was never a highway in Kosovo; huge efforts are now being made to catch up with the region. Upgrading the current 2x1 multi-modal main roads between the cities and all the villages in between, into 2x2 express auto ways is destroying this basic connecting network and putting lives in danger.

The newly planned and partially comstructed only modern standard international highway from Pristina to Tirana in Albania is not very likely to improve the inter-city connectivity in Kosovo, except for Prizren that is on the way from Pristina to Tirana. The highway is exclusively planned and designed by the Ministry of Transport - as in many other countries 'a state within the state' - and (of course) not coordinated with the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning, or with the affected municipalities. There is no Environmental or Territorial Impact Assessment whilst we know that exit and access points of the highway can have a very positive or very negative territorial impact. The billions spent for only one road can indeed not be spent for other urgent development priorities such as education or health care, or - to stick to the infrastructure as such - the desperately needed upgrade of water supply networks and sewage systems (there are daily water cuts in Pristina to limit water spill due to broken and leaking water pipes). On the other hand, this new highway has the potential to connect what was never connected before: the capitals of Albania and Serbia, with good branch connections to the capitals of Macedonia (FYROM), Bulgaria and Montenegro. For landlocked Kosovo, this highway will be the fastest way to the sea and a lifeline with a country considered by many Kosovars as their motherland.

Mono-centric trend

Despite ambitions to consolidate the longstanding polycentric network of Kosovo cities, with 6 regional and very compact cities nicely 'draped' around a very modestly sized and compact capital (almost like a planned Christaller pattern), the trend seems to lead to a more mono-centric concentration on a wildly sprawling capital, with a focus on real estate and service economy. Meantime the regional cities fail to resume their industrial activities with which they were attributed by the previous socialist regime and survive mainly due to migrants from the even poorer countriside who are settling informally in and around these regional lighthouses. By the way informal settlements - considered as a big planning issue all over the Balkans - are not all poor settlements. Many 'smart' owners of agricultural land made use of the 'power void' after the conflict to sell and/or develop unplanned and unlicensed settlements nearby all cities and the capital in particular, counting on the influential future inhabitants to acquire state or municipality subsidized basic infrastructure. The brisk transition from a socialist to a capitalist regime has not allowed the cities to adapt progressively with solid corrective public governance at central and local level. City authorities clearly lack the capacities to find creative and competitive market niches to fight the huge unemployment and to become part of the European level urban playing field (Hirt and Stanilov, 2009). There are little or no competitive advantages to Kosovo cities compared to the neighboring cities in the Balkan region, let alone beyond. However the abundant young population of the cities (Kosovo is the youngest country in Europe) is an untapped reservoir of potential urban creativity, also given the great "hunger" of the youth to take part in the global (Western) economy and lifestyle.

As long as the youth is not massively leaving the regional cities to study and work in the capital (or outside Kosovo, which is difficult now due to visa problems with Kosovo passports), there is also hope for sustainable recovery of these regional cities. The recent decision to establish a second state university in Prizren is a positive sign also some young entrepreneurs and NGO's are exploring new markets of recreation and tourism in and around many regional cities, which are all surrounded by relatively unspoiled mountains, valleys and even stunning canyons; perfect for adventurous tourism. Western and Southern Kosovo in particular - with 3 of the 6 regional cities - have the best opportunities for tourism, with a unique mix of natural and cultural heritage in and around these cities, which could be better 'connected' with all kind of cultural routes, hike and bike trails, public transport (intercity buses and in the long term also trains) and even a few cable cars to winter and summer resorts in the high mountains (with many peaks above 2000m). All regional cities - without exception - are also potential

stepping stones from the capital to the neighboring countries. Once the cross-border links will be restored - after being ruptured due to the conflict - and improved, the Kosovo regional cities will be able to exploit this competitive advantage and restore their ancient function as market-places and rest-stops on Balkan trade routes and corridors from the Adriatic to the Black sea, and from the Danube to the Aegean.

Social Disconnection

In a state of flux (post conflict and post socialism) it might seem reasonable that city authorities emphasize more the creation of wealth or 'bread and butter' economy (roads, industrial zones, schools, kindergartens, hospitals, culture houses, ...) than the well-being or quality of life (traffic safety, jobs, education, play-grounds, health-care, culture, ...). However, the assumption that well-being will come along with more wealth is not happening, rather the opposite. The over-densification of multi-floor apartments in the old (historic) centre, without respect for basic construction standards in terms of safety, light, sun and the neighbors, is causing a dramatic burden on the well-being of urban citizens, including the usurpation of the limited open spaces and the lack of creation of new public spaces and playgrounds.

A general decline in communal living standards overshadows certain improvements in material living standards. The lack of maintenance of existing public spaces and the creation of new public spaces is part of a structural problem, namely the lack of a "public realm". Central and local level politics show very little, or no interest in the public realm, in how to accommodate a dynamic urban society, or how to include "public debate". Civil Society is still very weak and cannot (yet) bridge this huge gap between particular interests (private, family, clan, political party) and genuine public interests (the well-being of all citizens, the city as a community). Yet, people have and do express their needs for a better city or community. More than 10 envisioning workshops (also known as planning charettes), conducted by UN-HABITAT in the period from 2006 onwards, clearly demonstrated that "ordinary" citizens are not only seeking for a better balance between wealth and well-being, but are also able to provide creative and sustainable visions and actions. Some local political leaders and civil servants demonstrated true commitments in advocating and implementing those community driven visions, but in most cases there seem to be a huge gap, as if citizens and their representatives are looking towards opposite horizons (D'hondt, 2012). Most political leaders and civil servants are clearly struggling with the brisk and multiple transitions in society and country. The

lack of capacity to steer and correct the new free market regime seems to be overcompensated by a rather authoritarian polity, as if one foot is walking in the (old) American dream but the other is still stuck in the communist nightmare. Moreover, a general 'relaxation' in government control and regulations and the elevation of private property rights, created a fertile ground for corruption, a term that might be one of the most frequently used by the media and opinion makers in Kosovo.

Environmental neglect

To close the circle which opened with the alarming neglect and systematic destruction of cultural heritage, the same could be stated about the urban and rural environment, including the quality of air, soil, water as well the respect for rivers and green areas, shortly, Kosovo's natural heritage. However, the most frequently heard environmental complaint might be about the dirt in the street, along the streets, on street corners, in and along rivers, the illegal dumpsites everywhere and especially where higher 'earth' is needed to build new (illegal) constructions. Apart from the visual impact and pollution of soil and rivers (see figure 4 of the open sewage 'river' in the outskirts of Pristina, with a wooden bridge to illegal constructions in the flooding area of the river), there are some more pressing environmental issues in New Kosovo, such as the highly led-contaminated soil in and around the city of Mitrovica in North Kosovo; this results from environmentally irresponsible mining and manufacturing (such as battery production) in the past decades. The biggest attention has been given to two Roma camps on highly contaminated lands and, it seems that a solution has been finally found to resettle people, however, based on European standards, more than half of the population of Mitrovica and surroundings should be evacuated. This environmental legacy is a serious setback and obstacle for economic recovery of this region, and it is not very likely that the mining industry will

be able to foot the bill for the cleanup. Most likely the EU will have to step in here and it could use its leverage for an alternative development similar to what happened in the Rhine-Ruhr area, including industrial heritage preservation and re-use, to connect the 'glorious' past with a likely less glorious but more sustainable future. It could also be a 'grand project' including brownfield regeneration, industrial diversification, education, etcetera, and involve both the Kosovo Albanian and Kosovo Serb communities, as well as the other minority communities such as Bosniaks and Roma's, across the division of the River Ibar.

Spatial Synthesis

The last section in the Vision of the New Charter of Athens is about 'Spatial Synthesis', the overall picture of the city, and the role of plans and planners to manage change and growth (or even decline). I will focus on the capital city, as this is clearly the most emblematic case of urban development in Kosovo.

In the Ottoman period, Pristina was a lively trading town with only 18.800 inhabitants by 1910. In the Yugoslav era, this provincial town grew to 108.000 by 1981, when the last census was organized. As Kosovo's administrative centre, Pristina received up to 43 percent of Kosovo's capital expenditure, which allowed the city to 'densify' and expand substantially, but in a controlled top-down way. By the 1980s, this growth model already came to an end due to the economic recession, followed by a decade of ethnic repression and leading to the open conflict in 1998/1999. Post-conflict Pristina has become again a city of administrators, but the old and new Pristina-li (mostly coming from other Kosovo cities as well as the surrounding villages) could not longer count on 'the state' or 'the party' to employ them and transformed themselves again into traders of all kind (European Stability Initiative, 2006). Nobody knows exactly, but Pristina's population has probably tripled since the last census in 1981, from 100.000 to an estimated 300.000 inhabitants now, while its structure (houses, streets, utilities such as electrical grid, energy supply, water pipes, sewage; and social services such as health care and schools) were still from the old days (before 1981). This means that by the time of New Kosovo/New Prishtina, more than 25 years passed without any structural adaptation and urban upgrade. However unlike many post-conflict or transitional cities, people didn't wait for the new rulers. They demolished their houses and build new and bigger ones with their own bare hands, or they sold the land to developers to build shiny new (but poor quality) multi-storey buildings all over the city, including in the old historic district (see figure 5 taken in the old district of Pristina). Nothing was safe anymore, even the protected monuments, as we have seen. The 36 regulatory plans approved between 1967 and 1990 were still in force but nobody seemed to care about them effectively creating a legal vacuum. It was and still is a time of Turbo-Urbanism, as Archis-Interventions called it (Vöckler, 2008). In September 2000, Rexhep Luçi, the city planner of Pristina, launched an initiative called "Vision for Pristina", that included a re-enforcement of the law and the demolition of illegal constructions in, for instance, the city park. Luçi was shot dead and the murderer was never brought to court. There is little doubt that he became a threatening factor for the turbo-capitalists and paid for sincerity with his life. Since then nobody has walked in Rexhep Luçi's footsteps to put an end to this third and most disastrous urbicide (European Stability Initiative, 2006b).

Conclusions

The kind of non-regulated urbanism described in this article is for sure not un-common in the Balkans or South-Eastern Europe. It has been stated and re-searched that since 1989 most transitional countries (the ex-communist and socialist countries on the European continent) have moved in a rather unsus-tainable direction (in terms of spatial structure, green spaces, urban transport, construction practices and governance) (Hirt and Stanilov, 2009). Closer to my current home, most of Athens is built and reshaped that way. There was hardly an 'implemented and enforced planning', but rather "post-regulation", meaning that public and private key actors agreed on a set of legal instruments to adjust and improve the most problematic facets of the spontaneous urban structures, after it had been built. Maybe New Kosovo Cities are also better off with incre-mental adjustments rather than 'the most sustainable urban plan' that not will work anyway. Nevertheless, because of the development gap of more than 25 years in Kosovo, there is a clear need for a 'grand and urgent effort' with an Urban Policy that connects, integrates and supersedes all horizontal (inter-sec-toral) and vertical (central-local) policies with impact on the cities.

For planners and politicians coming from developed and regulated countries elsewhere in Europe, Kosovo shows what can happen without any realistic vi-sion, planning regulation and/or enforcement. After this you might appreciate more the complicated web of rules that are often seen as an obstacle for dy-namic urban development.

Yet, there is also the other side of the coin. Except during the harsh winter days, Pristina and other Kosovo cities are lively and livable places, almost with a vil-lage feeling of everyone knowing everyone. Even the greedy capital does not exceed the size and density of a few neighborhoods or city extensions in a real metropolitan city (such as Athens or Belgrade to stay in the Balkans). The urban life is still quite relaxed and the 'mixity and proximity' of basic urban functions might be in danger but not yet lost. The city might be encroaching on the green corridor to, and parts of, the Germia Park, but the green oasis still offers great trails to run or bike, all the way up to the rounded summits with stunning views up to the mountain chains separating New Kosovo from its neighbors. Only a few hours away from the capital for alpine hiking and cultural tourism is one of the stunning inhabited World Heritage listed monasteries, among many other places of interest.

This is and will never be Switzerland with its nicely trimmed landscapes with

well signposted trails and with well preserved, highly serviced, maintained, orderly cities with disciplined and highly educated people sweating on their bikes or hopping on/off trams to/from work and to homes with trimmed gardens. This is and will remain Kosovo in the Balkans, even Post-Conflict and Post-Transition, with more rough landscapes and messy cities, lacking many things except many (young) people and bursting of life, bad and corrupt politicians, crooked entrepreneurs and a lot of challenges for good and sincere politicians (yes there are), creative social entrepreneurs and last but not least Newborn planners teaching the nuts and bolts of 'transitional planning' and teaching the Western Orderly the 'hidden benefits' of (a certain degree of) disorder.

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THE RIGHT TO APPROPRIATION: SPATIAL RIGHTS AND THE USE OF SPACE

ABSTRACT

People use spaces through their diverse dwelling practices; including their various economic, politic, social and cultural activities. These practices take place in all kinds of lived spaces of people, ranging from the most personal space to the ultimate common spaces. However otherizations of different groups of people, exclusions of diverse activities and violations of human rights appear in these spaces too, due to the transformation of the process of formation of spaces into a production process, on the grounds of the domination of state, capital, and institutional knowledge over people and their everyday lives. To prevent these exclusions and guarantee free and equal life for all people in dignity, spatial rights, which include all the principles that should fulfil, respect, protect and promote the rights of every human being in the process of formation, representation and use of spaces should be determined. These principles can be developed on the basis of the idea of the right to the city which was introduced by Henri Lefebvre.

Lefebvre argues that, the right to the city should modify, concretize and make more practical the rights of the citizens as urban dwellers (citadin) and users of

multiple services. It would affirm, on the one hand, the right of users to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in the urban area; it would also cover the right to the use of the centre, a privileged place, instead of being dispersed and stuck into ghettos (for workers, immigrants, the 'marginal', the 'other' and even for the 'privileged'). In other words, the right to the city imagines inhabitants to have two main rights: (1) the right to participate centrally in the production of urban space; and (2) the right to appropriate urban space.

This paper aims to examine bicommunal activites held in Nicosia UN Controlled Buffer Zone as a sample of right to appropriation, and develop the socio-political conditions and requirements which are necessary to have this right fulfilled, so that spaces can embrace diverse dwelling practices of human beings.

KEYWORDS: APPROPRIATION, THE RIGHT TO THE CITY, SPATIAL RIGHTS, DWELLING, BUFFER ZONE, NICOSIA

1. INTRODUCTION: SPATIAL REPRESENTATION, BUILDING AND DWELLING

Although space is being reduced especially by architects, constructors and planners to a physical object, it has powerful mental and social impacts, as it is mentioned in Lefebvre's book, "the Production of Space" (Lefebvre, 1991). This can be understood through etymological studies on the meanings of the words related to space in different languages.

Space in English derives from the Latin word of Spatium which has completely physical meaning of "extent in width and length" (Marchant, 1948: 533). However Heidegger's study on the ancient meaning of the word of Raum, as "a place cleared or freed for settlement and lodging", brings up the social meaning of space. To clarify the social aspects of space and to enlighten the interrelation between space and settling, Heidegger investigates on the meaning of the word buan, the Old English and High German word for building, which in addition to its meaning as an act for physical formation of space; also carries the meaning of dwelling as a social act. Heidegger mentioned that the meaning of the old word buan is not only "to build" and "to dwell", but also it illuminates the mental aspects of space. Because buan also is used as the word bin in German as ich bin: I am, and du bist, you are, implying I am, means I dwell, and also I build. According to Heidegger buan is the way in which "we humans are on the earth", the way we build and dwell. Heidegger also engages another etimological study on the

Old Saxon wuon means to stay in a place, which has been used as the Gothic wu-nian: "to be at peace, to be brought to peace, to remain in peace" (Heidegger, 1971).

One of the words for space in Arabic is Makan, which derives from kvn in the meaning of existence and it has a strong mental and social meaning of place of existence (Dai Islam, 1985:208, Muin 1968:4311-4312). In Russian the word мир has both space and peace meaning (Sçerbinin & Mustafayev, 1979) and in Turkish barınma, the verb for dwelling, which derives from bar: the old version of var, in the meaning of existence, connotes also barış, another word deriving from bar in the meaning of peace (Sadri, 2010).

Consequently, parallel to the Unitarian theory of Henry Lefebvre in "the Production of Space", regarding the physical, mental and social notions of space, in addition to the physical meaning of space rooted in the word spatium, it has a mental concept related to human existence as it is reflected in the words makan, baun and barınma and also social notion of dwelling and to be at peace as it is directed in the words мир, barınma and raumu.

Lefebve explains that in addition to the physical dimension of space which can be perceived by different feelings, it also has a mental dimension which can be conceived as a concept. Just like in planning and design, the mental imaginations that we create about a space when we are thinking about that space, or in other words the representations that we produce about the physical space in our minds imply the mental dimension of space in the process of production and reproduction of space. Lefebvre suggests that, space also has a social dimension when used and changed by people, so explains the lived space as social space (Lefebvre, 1991).

So it is possible to conclude that the perceived space of Lefebvre is associated with building practices; his conceived space is related with mental processes such as the spatial representations of human existence; and his conception of lived space actualizes through the dwelling practices of people. So, the reciprocal relationship between different meanings of space in different languages such as building, dwelling and spatial representation of human existence, is reflected in Lefebvre's Unitarian Theory. One cannot be realized without the existence of the other.

2.   DESIGN, PRODUCTION AND USE OF SPACE

Lefebvre calls attention to how space is produced in capitalist system and how disciplines related to spatial representation, such as design and planning are constructed; how state, capital and institutional knowledge dominate over the everyday use of space through an analysis of production of space and its history. Lefebvre distinguishes absolute space, the natural space which exists without any production activity of people, from the produced space. He suggests that people change the natural space or absolute space in two different ways resulting in two different types of space, namely social space and abstract space (Lefebvre, 1991).

The first type, social spaces, occurs as a result of social and collective production/creation processes. These spaces are formed through collective mental and practical actions of a lot of people during a long period of time. Hence, they have been developed and transformed in accordance with the needs of different generations by different actors throughout the history. Collaboration, reconciliation and cultural accumulation arising from spatial representations of everyday life are inherent within the formation of social spaces. Thus, social spaces represent peace, as in the word wuon, and individual, collective and social existence as in the words mekan and buan. These qualities can not be found in spaces that have been designed and produced in a short period of time by one single person or institution for the purpose of temporary usage. Therefore, Lefebvre exemplifies the social spaces by historical sites in old cities.

Lefebvre uses the concept of oeuvre to name this collective and social production process (Lefebvre, 1968). The French word oeuvre means all the work that had been created by an artist during her/his life period. The reason of this entitlement is that the space is an outcome of a collective and social production, and the city as a social space, is an art work that has been produced by societies which have lived in that city during the history. Yet oeuvre as a space is an art work that has been created as a cultural representation and as a result of collaboration and reconciliation which is directly related with the life of society.

The second type of spaces that are produced as a result of human intervention stands on the opposite of oeuvre. They are produced by capitalism and neo-capitalism, designed and produced within the domination of ruling power and as an outcome of collaboration between the state, capital and institutional knowledge and excluded from the social processes. Lefebvre calls spaces produced as a result of such kind of production abstract spaces (Lefebvre, 1991).

Abstract spaces, on the contrary of oeuvre, are not formed as a result of collective processes; therefore, they do not provide equal access opportunity to everybody. They occur at the intersection point of knowledge and power and they are the hierarchical spaces of certain groups such as political leaders, groups with economic interests, architects and planners, which desire to dominate social ortganizations. According to Lefebvre, the capitalist production of space also results in the homogenization and fragmentation of space (Gottdiener, 1993: 129-134).

With the production of abstract space, the use value of space remains ineffective against the exchange value of space. As Mark Purcell mentions, the purpose of production of abstract spaces is to obtain exchange value rather than use value (Purcell, 2003). In other words, spaces that are produced as a result of this process are not for use of people, but for exchange with more money. As indicated with the word raum, the use of space is related with dwelling and place making practices of people. The architecture theoretician Christian Norberg-Schulz indicates that dwelling is not only related with sheltering under one roof, but also related with social structure, economy and politics, and defines dwelling under three categories: collective dwelling as an area of meeting and exchange; public dwelling as an area of agreement and social reconciliation; and private dwelling as an area of meeting of personal needs (Schulz, 1993). Consequently, as abstract spaces are hierarchical, divided and fragmented they bring about different exclusions and as a result, they limit different dwelling practices of people

Schulz reminds us that a collective dwelling is a meeting place in which people gather and exchange their products, ideas and feelings. According to Schulz, the ultimate importance of collective dwelling is its capacity to provide opportunity for people to be able to meet inspite of all their differences. He names this as millieu of possibilities and exemplifies this type of dwelling by city spaces. He defines the city space as the area of meeting, gathering and collective dwelling. According to Schulz, the availability of different choices within the millieu of possibilities means a kind of togetherness, more than just meeting, and draws the framework for agreement. Schulz mentions that this agreement indicates common interests and values, and forms the basis of fellowship or society. Additionally, he underlines the idea that this agreement should aim to reach a forum, through which common values are determined and protected. Since such a forum is recognized as an institution or a public body, he names this type of dwelling public dwelling. Schulz remarks that the choices within the millieu of possibilities might be more private. He reminds us the necessity of private dwelling as a private zone, in which an individual has the opportunity to define and

develop her/his own identity, and protection of this zone against the intrusion of others. Schulz exemplifies the private dwelling by home, in which the personal world is nourished, memories are collected and reflected (Schulz, 1993).

All these dwelling practices can be realized in an oeuvre, a space which is created collectively by equal and free individuals. This illustrates the relationship between the use, representation (design) and creation (production) of space. A space which can encompass all types of dwelling practices and represent all cultural accumulation can only be oeuvre created collectively.

3.   SPATIAL RIGHTS, THE RIGHT TO OEUVE, THE RIGHT TO APPROPRIATION

We need spaces to be able to perform our activities: we need a house, a shelter which protects us from disasters; we need to work to be able to live so we need work spaces; we need to be educated to be able to work so we need schools; we need roads to be able to go to schools. We need to participate within decision making processes in order to live free, so we need spaces for gathering. We need public spaces to be able to voice our objections to decisions which threaten our freedom, and this space should be open, accessible and available to all of us. If we don't have those spaces, we can not decide, we can not affect decisions, and we can not be free. To be able to do all these, to be able to live, to be free and equal, we need private and collective spaces which are designed properly for our access and use. The appropriateness of spaces to our needs depends on our participation to the collective creation process of spaces with use value. However, we need a comprehensive framework of agreement against our personal and collective madnesses which we have experienced in the past and present, and especially in totalitarian regimes, majoritarian orders and in all types of hierarchies. This should be a liberterian and humanitarian framework of agreement which affects our private and collective lives, and which aims to hinder any kind of cruelty, exclusion and threats to us and to the most vulnerable ones. This agreement should derive from the cultural accumulation of human beings throughout the history, life experience of different people and societies, and from the meeting of all humans, and should carry us towards a better future. Today, the closest agreement to this type of an agreement is human rights.

Human rights will help us to coexist more freely and peacefully as we live together. We need private, collective and public dwellings, and to be able to dwell we need to produce and use spaces. These are our rights. Living humanely in social spaces in accordance with our framework of agreement depends on the definition of spatial dimensions of human rights, namely spatial rights. Spatial

rights are rights that are related to the creation/production and use of spaces. Lefebvre laid the foundation of this idea and field of research with his book entitled "The Right to the City", which was published in 1968. In the following years, this idea has been enlarged upon by academics such as David Harvey, Peter Mercuse, Mark Purcell and Don Mitchell, and activist groups such as right to the city initiatives, neighbourhood and city organizations, and human rights activists.

Lefebvre defines the right to the city with two interdependent rights: the first one is the right to oeuvre as the art of living in the city, or in other words right to participate in the activities. The right which is related to the creation/production of spaces aims to replace the city space as a capitalist production with a high exchange value with the oeuvre. Thus it requires the active participation of citizens within the use and formation of spaces, and allocation of destiny and all facilities of the city to the habitants of the city. The other one is the right to appropriation, which includes the right to appropriate time and space (Lefebvre, 1968).

Lefebvre considers the right to oeuvre as a right to participation. According to Purcell, the right to participation dedicates a central role to the inhabitants of the city in the decision making processes related to the production of space, which are usually conducted by power, capital or other institutions. For the inhabitants of the city should have a word in the production of spaces they spend their lives in (Purcell, 2003). As the people have the right to be in the center of decision making processes, they constitute a control mechanism over the city life, and this strengthens their voice against the power. On this basis, Don Mitchell relates the right to oeuvre with the publicness of the city. For Mitchell, the city is a place for social interaction and exchange among different people, therfore it is a public space. Publicness requires heterogeneity, and the city space which guarantees to meet with differences is the basis of heterogeneity. Different people have different projects related to the city, and people can have right to citizenship if reconciliation among these projects can be maintained. Since the city as an oeuvre is composed of collective projects and facilitates different people live and dwell together (Mitchell, 2003).

People can reach the right to appropriation with the formation of oeuvre and their different dwelling practices can be actualized. Lefebvre explains the right to appropriation as the full use of space in the everyday life of the city. Mitchell relates right to appropriation with the use of space and dwelling practices. For Mitchell, the right to the city means the right to use urban spaces, in other words the right to dwell within the city. Mitchell underlines that the right to the city can only be fulfilled in the condition that the right to housing which includes the

right to sleep, get rest, go to the toilet without anybody's permission is maintained. As a result, Mitchell explains that the right to housing is a type of appropriating the city, and this is different from the right to property. For the right to property is exclusive, it gives the right to the owner of the property to limit the access of unwanted people, and leaves the decisions about the usage of the space to the will of the holder of this right. This is a very crucial point, especially in an era in which many of the members of the socity have no possesisons, and the public and common spaces are being privatized and taken under the control of private owners. On the contrary of the right to property, which is personal and exclusive, the right to appropriation suggested by Lefebvre is a collective and inclusive right. He describes the right to appropriate and change spaces in accordance with the needs of inhabitants of the city as a collective right. For this reason, with Purcell's definition, right to appropriation includes the right to live, play, work, in the city, to be represented in it, to define it and to appropriate it. The right to appropriation provides right to dwell for everybody without being excluded. With reference to Karl Marx's use value and exchange value concepts, Purcell defines the right to appropriation as "maximizing the use value over and above the exchange value". Within this framework, right to appropriation aims at "transferring control from the capital and the state towards the inhabitants" (Purcell, 2003).

4. APPROPRIATION VS HEGEMONIA, BUFFER ZONE IN NICOSIA

The full use of space in daily life and realization of different dwelling practices of people is not possible within abstract spaces produced under hegemony. To be able to maintain this, a milieu of possibilities, which is produced out of capital and power is needed. The Buffer Zone in Cyprus, which was formed after the division of the land as a result of Turkish Military intervention to Cyprus in 1974, may constitute an ideal example for this milieu. This area is under the control of UN and does not belong to any of the two divided parties.

Buffer Zone separating the old town in Nicosia (Papanastasiou, 1994)

Nicosia Buffer Zone constitutes a stage for many bicommunal activities, which can not be organized on neither northern, nor southern sides of the island. These activities have ranged from official UN organized interstates negotiation meetings to sports events, from cultural and environmental activities to different workshops, academic seminars and panel discussions, from summer camps and youth gatherings, to receptions and commemorations (Broome, 2005).

Nicosia, Layers of Absence and Presence (Bakshi, 2011)

It has been used by both communities since 2003, after the boundaris were removed. This area remained out of the control of capital and the state, and the production and design processes of the space. It has been made empty of regular social, economical and political activities mostly. Everyday life, power and capital are absent in this area. This is ably reflected in the maps of absence prepared by Anita Bakshi (Bakshi, 2011).

For this reason, it houses some associations such as Association for Historical Dialogue & Research (AHDR), H4C (Home for Cooperation), Cyprus Community Media Centre (CCMC), operating in their privately owned buildings in this zone, and some activities such as World Peace Day commemoration, graffiti for peace, bicommunal picnics, concerts, celebrations, meetings and exhibitions.

The best example for this bicommunal activities is, the 1st September Commemoration of World Day of Peace which is annually organized by labour federations such as PEO (PanCyprian Federation of Labour) and DEV-İŞ (Revolutionary Federation of Labour Unions), Socialist parties such as AKEL (Proggressive Party of the Working People) and CTP-BG (Republican Turkish Party – United Forces), NGOs such as Cyprus Chamber of Fine Arts (EKATE), Bicommunal Initiatives such as Relatives of Missing Persons and Victims of War "Together We Can!" and CBOs such as İskele Citizens Initiative, Famagusta Initiative. Thousands of Greek and Turkish Cypriots and settlers of the both sides meet in Buffer Zone to celeberate the Peace Day and to demonstrate their will against the conflict and their desire for the resolution. During the meetings leaders of labour federations and political parties make speeches and music bands from both sides sing peace songs (Kibrispostasi, 2012).

Bicommunal meetings and events which held in H4C are other examples of instructive bicommunal activisms. This Home is a common space for intercommunal and bicommunal cooperations and it hosts events with the partnership of different civil society organizations from across Cyprus and around the world. The H4C also is the home for organizations working across the divide in Cyprus, and has a library and archive for students, researchers and academicians. Workshops such as Changing Attitudes by "Listening to Each Other's Story", exhibitions such as Nicosia, Topographies of Memory, public debates such as Everyday Nicosia: Past & Present and confer-

ences such as Restoring Commitment for a Negotiated Solution have been held in this home (H4C Website).

As it has been seen in two examples, one temporary meeting at open spaces and one permanent space for collaborations; Buffer Zone can be appropriated by people of both sides for peaceful uses. With these kinds of permanent and temporary facilities, and with its streets, squares, and walls available for other bicommunal activities, this area constitutes a milieu of possibilities.

5.   CONCLUSION

People realize their representation of existence and dwelling practices through spaces. However, spaces are not always shaped as a result of cultural accumulation and diversity of daily life practices, but formed by design and production under the hegemony of capital, the state and institutional knowledge. Therefore, they exclude the free use of people and limit their accessibility. For a full use of spaces, people need the right to appropriation. For this right to be fulfilled, oeuvre and collective creation/production of space needs to be established. To be able to reach this, spaces need to be saved from all types of power and be appropriated by people.

Nicosia Buffer Zone which was formed as a result of war is an area in which the right to appropriation is actively used. To be able to activate the right to appropriation in everywhere in the world, we need to maintain similar conditions as this buffer zone. This means, spaces and spatial organizations which allow diver

sity, freedom of use and accessibility for everybody, and which are freed from the state, capital and institutional knowledge. This is the must for appropriation. Otherwise, spaces will always be formed and used by majority and power groups for accepted and tolerated practices, or for very short periods of time. In the long term, they will be exclusive for vulnerable groups or maginal activities. As a result, this brings the "haves" and have nots" in terms of the right to appropriation, just as in property.

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Inês Alves

Manual of Appoach to Transitory Territories

ABSTRACT

A main concern about the architecture place and it conceptual territories-framework on contemporary, as in the articulation of this discipline and others in the structure of a common project, of public space approach.
It is rethought the role of theory and practice through two dimensions that intersect and establish a reasoning line, where it is proclaimed the blurring of the study fields and also the territories of action.

Having the public space as an object of study, it is developed a reflection about the multifaceted territories of nowadays, formulating a fair approach to this common territory, having present questions that, in one hand, has a main preoccupation the multiculturalism and, in the other hand reflects an increasing territorial-homogenization.

It looks for a revisit of the artistic practices and social sciences and humans orientations that walked by with the enormous change of the human condition, and his relation with his environment and the others, as well as the profound

the hybrid dimension increasingly established, imposed by a informational society and the reality gearing with the implementation of the virtual domain and managed by opposed assumptions than previously followed.

It is approached the concept of nostalgia, opposing to the fast territorial evolution and the alteration of uses, by the imposition of new necessities, of immediate effect.

A study focused on the issues imposed since the begin of the industrial revolution, that results on a rethink about roadside territories, the actual importance of accessibility, as well as the efficiency on the access to information and mobility. Territories characterized by the need of a fast answer, neglected on the past and witch today own a kind of life, a singular dynamic, where public space – easily understood by their residual morphology – stand still and where social, commercial and exchange dynamics has been performing.

Anchoring the approach to these territories by some 'nodules' or crossroads localized on a channel with a singular importance to the city of Porto, the Estrada da Circunvalação became as an experimental surface, of approach to the landscapes characterized by their roadway specificity. It represents an experimental element, of test and observation that culminate on the construction of a 'Manual of Approaches and Interventions', a graphic appellative piece, that illustratively and ironically, proposes an approach filter to the 'multi-morphology' of those territories.

So, it is developed a reflection where theory and practice have the same speculative and playful dimension, that look for, like the decentred character of nowadays territories, also a discipline decentre, refining a possible hybrid character and this way clarifying it approach to the field and to the physic, programmatic and cognitive formulations, that could give a capable answer to the multicultural societies and mestizos territories outlined by them.

Key-words: Hypermodernity; Interdisciplinary; Territories; Transferability; Theory/Practice

Manual of Appoach to Transitory Territories

Globalized Territories vs. Human Subjectivity

The immediacy of the Post-Modernity marked an artistic period empty of intention and intentionality; a mix of colors and shapes, representative of minorities and social marginality. Geographically fostered on the urban peripheries, resulted as a popular sensibility, and although translated "as a form of disorientation,

meaninglessness and fragmentation." (Wilson, 1991), reflecting complex worries, of social and urban character.

The Post-Modern culture was completely and directed related to the suburb, and to the morphological and typological city-transformations, but mainly to a new way of social organization, witch the primordial symbol of the suburb became the feminine one. "Women take a central place in this disordered city, in which the idea of disorder can no longer be expressed, since there is no prior order from which to deviate." (1)

The man, always associated to the idea of order, representing himself as measure for everything – Vitruvius's man, Da Vinci's man –, was confronted to the impossibility of representing something unachievable and unaffordable. The humanistic foundation is drained of meaning and place, mainly because of the disbelieve / distrust on exact sciences and the terrifying global catastrophes carried out by the instant technologic developments and the advent of new studies based on the exploration of the human subjectivity, like the Freudian Theory of Psychoanalysis.

The motivation to fight the correctness of the modern architecture and somehow to built a critical movement witch inquire all the assumptions taken as fixed and eternal. "In the post modern world we all become hysterics as we travel the city of skyscraper and abyss, alert with feeling of horror and excitement, but free from guilt or sadness." (2)

The consumer society, the attractive colours and shapes placed on the urban fronts, appeals also to the sexual character, profiling feminine bodies on neon, appealing to the senses and extrapolating the marginal and illegal side of society. "The contemporary urban woman is both consumer and consumed" (3), fact we can observe still today on the occidental publicity.

When the higher point of this period was reached, the "phenomenon of architectural communication" is explored, as well as the "graphic sign on space" (4), in the words of the triple Venturi, Brown and Izenour (1972). Refered by Keneth Frampton as "mask for the concealment of the brutally of our own environmental" and as "ruthless kitsch" (1992), it would be necessary to understand that it is "one of the defining texts of postmodernism" (Vinegar, 2008).

Reflecting about the symbolic power of image and icon, a trusty testimony to post-modern art and architecture, it is developed a contribution about the ar-

chitect activity, taken to another platform, witch the disgust from suburban culture has no longer sense, accepting this way the context as identity and the built landscape as a contribution and an acquired data.

Beyond the evident facts reached on the work developed on the Nevada desert, it would be important to refer the contribution of The Structure of the Scientific Revolution of Thomas Kuhn – published on USA on 1967 – vigorously debated in Yale, just at the time when Venturi and Brown frequented it. Basically, this contribution defended "how a community of inquirers can constitute themselves as a science, regardless of their subject matter". (5)

The suburb thematic and the post-modern practices, initiated with the industrialization process, extend for a century, and it remains as a problematic far from to be solved. Munford, in 1922, pointed the suburbs as "dormitories where life is carried on without the discipline of rural occupations and without the cultural resources that the Central District of the city still retains"(6), this way defining a weird territory, without typological norms of city or countryside, considering it chaotic in relation to rural places, and too much peripheral to the urban concentrations.

The subjectivity of this territory remains as a constant, characterized as some kind of a step taken without irreversibility, and from the moment witch the subjectivity of human kind has been defined, no longer we could look at life and space the same way. It is almost like antagonist stages of familiarities and globalities, "… not as a place you can walk into (…) but as an image-saturated space which is both intensely personal (inside people's homes and heads) and extensively abstract". (7)

We keep assisting some discourses witch descredibilates the suburb image and the typology, with a tendency to be considered as the "ugly sister" (Hartley, 1996) of the historic city and developing a marginal lecture of this uncharacterized places, close to the main distribution routes of distribution, sometimes recognized from the worse reasons. Having for example the sexualisation on suburban production, with some kind of an exploration and vulgarization of feminine image and body, with a overwhelming aspect witch "(…) women's subjugation to the 'feminine career' is secured, tying them to housework, childrearing, and abuse; it's also the site of sexual perversity, domestic violence, incest and anorexia. (…)". (8)

One of the main priority to the suburb reconfiguration would be the alteration

of the association of some exclusion behaviours to the places, that appeared with the segregation phenomenon's at the initial period of peripheral zoning. " If the tendency to feminize and sexualize the public domain continues, (…) then it follows that the prejudicial reputation of suburbia will also have to be rethought." (9)

The idea is to create a strategy not composed with purely structural revenue, but with a reflection about the path taken the last decades, with the balancing between diverse think and action fields, contributing to a better configuration of the public domain, remembering that the "suburbs are places of constant change, as people move in and out, adapting their homes to their own requirements and ideals."(10) Understand the territory not only in a geographic or a demographic way, but also the occupation and use ways, as a live organism, composed by complex and unique conditions, and looking straight to the territories one day thought to be without an identity, but today characterized by one. "We want to see the periphery as a concrete data, as a place with precise physic characteristics, with 'in-differences' and identities, shapes and distances, materials and movements. It's not easy." (11)

Human Subjectivity vs. Nowadays Technocracy

The propagation of the information society has been walking side by side with a suspicious feeling, progressively vanish. The technology has already given proves of it strength and human vulnerability had been drag with it.
Today, this idea, has already suffered some ruptures, and emerges a vision of a technique and informational supremacy. The television offered to the common citizen the accessibility to the power of image, which previously was only accessible to some strict environments, and the progress of this kind of information society has been advanced also because of the dissemination methods of the universal information.

As we live on multiple realities we suffer also a gearing process, and evidently assume a condition of progressive subjectivity, thanks to the numeric reality, mostly present on 'virtual' language, witch reduce us to 'x' identification numbers. William Mitchell refers the digital revolution-legacy as a converter element of a "profound subjectivity", transferring "functionality and attention to the screen space, where distance and past is constantly available." (12)

Having the screen surface as the study object, also Venturi reminds, in his enthusiastic way, taking it to an extreme and proceeding to a parallelism between

façade and the monitor. About Time Square he writes "Viva the façade as computer screen! Viva façades not reflecting light but emanating light – the building as a digital sparkling source of information, not as an abstract glowing source of light! … Viva iconography – not craved in stone for eternity but digitally changing (…)" (13)

The idea of dispositive, studied by Agamben – following the Foucault's legacy – can be here referred. On his idea, the dispositive existed since always, and is composed by "everything that have, in a way or other, the capacity of capture, orient, determinate, intercept, model, control and ensure the gestures, the conducts, the opinions and the discourses of live being" (Agamben, 2007). We can consider the computational machine as dispositive that determinate our actions and thoughts.

The textuality of the cybernetic space accentuate the individual gearing and fragmentation, causing a sensation of a progressive subjectivity, like a 'cyberdispositive', under the form of network. The substance dilutes; the "body enters this 'space' as a form of writing, it literally becomes a cybertextual body. Because language wraps the Internet, the entire environment becomes a textual projection." (14)

"The space of the possible is shrinking. This is not so much about the identity storm and the return of the religious as about an increasing loss of political space(…). Could the city be the place of political articulation and social restructuring? Or are we entering a phase of history in which man renounces being of flesh and blood and Internet apace takes over the imaginary and the economy of desire until becoming the only possible space in which to think about the politics of the future?"(15). Placing this question, Ramoneda announces the eminence of the political and social extinction on civitas concept, witch make us think that maybe when this conditions would extinct, the city won't exists anymore and we will live on another organism. Maybe an "huge decentred megalopolis"(16), as Christine Boyer remembers 'cyberspace' being trivially named, in witch all the spatial typologies would suffer a phenomenon composed by a frontiers fading. Boyer also developed an inverted parallelism between the post-modern and the cyber-spatial individual, referring an inversion of the Foucault's 'closure spaces'. "The marginal's (…) are left outside the protected zone (…). The marginal has become our post-modern Monster, beyond the norm and increasingly invisible." (17) The author also refers the existence of a "digital support that divides witch is connected from witch is disconnected." (18), an incontestable factor to think about the idea of the information democratization. If the information is avail

able in every street corner, - or even on the urban front, as Venturi referred – the gap become enormous, between those that have this reality available and the others witch doesn't have the access to this dimension; it becomes an enormous divisor wall between antagonist realities, sometimes physically close to each other.

Maybe "we are on the threshold of a new era in which telecommunications will replace face to face contact and the city as a fixed urban space will eventually become redundant" (19), but it seems important to consider the instability of this times, the human evolution and to assume his achievements and reflections. It is important to consider that the concept of 'evolution' was obviously defined after it exists; in other words, it is a practice that already existed, when it was defined theoretically.

The constant nostalgic that has been defining our reality, and also confronts the insistence preformed by the virtual reality on invade our houses and cities. Almost like a "nostalgic cry for contact with the real thing at the very moment when computer-generated simulation has confused our sense of authenticity". (20) Maybe the ambiguity on authenticity felling is responsible to assist us in a concrete future, since the past has a romantic taste, and the present remains uncertain.

Arika Suzuki define the contemporary territory as representative of a "convergence of a succession of possible networks", since the transport, to information, in witch the mix of strengths, cultures and a constant cross flow exists "a tendency to introduce, in real spaces, the synthetic purity of cyberspace"(21), allowing a major flow and by this way, vanishing borders. It seems also to exist a tendency to "the analogy between the computer matrix and regional cities – or spatial orderings that cybercities erect – asks us to make a qualitative leap from virtual to physical space, erroneously assuming that the boundaries separating these spaces can be crossed with ease."(22), aspect that make us consider that despite the frontiers that is crossed by, the physical and virtual space it still remains as an aspect of an enormous contrast, to many times with inverse realities.

Manuel Gausa defends "a multilayer system, progressively diversified, produced by information and several, discontinuous and overlapping realities – in cohabitation – that would continuously mutate, pervert, change, transform and interpret the own elementary schemes of development that would define it, and witch strength would be precisely, on the constant capacity of renovation and modernization. Of construction and recycling." (23)

That constant maintenance of the existent will define a particular kind of re-cycle, in which the product to be recycled will constitute no more only the material dimension, simply because the objectivity of the touchable world is now on a hinge point, where there's no return. The cohabitation that Gausa proclaimed will exist also on the relation between the world that we used to live, and the new one, much more subjectivized. Then there will be the necessity not only to recycle buildings and material resources, but mainly cognitive layers that would compose us into the urgency of a constant reinvention.

The constructive dimension is changing, not only because the concept of city seems to disappear, but also the disciplines of architecture and urbanism are eminently loosing purpose, and the man are more conscious of the ecology principles, but above all, the idea of homogenization, subjectivity and the uncertainty of the future seems to turn us into a mess of conjugations.

Is certainly missing a familiar destination, some sensation of comfort about the others, the world and even us. Recently that idea of human objectivity was completely vanished, and now the reality is also expanding and owning unknown forms. Certainly we'll have to think that the same way we conquer a totally expanded dimension, also the dimension of reality has been expanded and by the human hand, representing product to be debated and worked in.

Hybridism and New Identities

"Nevertheless, planning is necessary if cities are to survive"(24). A strategically and experimental plan, with the look centered in the present and closest future; an articulation program between scales with a common concern, looking for a continuous platform of reflection and action, ruled by programmatic, material and cognitive questions.

As Koolhaas refers that "the city no longer exists", and also proclaims "the death of urbanism", reflecting that "we are left with a world without urbanism, only architecture (…)". The author defends another kind of urbanism, not only "a profession, but a way of thinking, an ideology", that made us develop an exercise "never again be about the 'new', only about the 'more' and the 'modified'" (…) and not "about the civilized, but about underdevelopment." He still refers that "our 'sophistication' hides major symptoms of cowardice centred on the simple questions of taking positions – maybe the most basic action in making the city". And he ends the reflection proclaiming that "more than ever, the city is all we have". (25)

To understand the idea defended by Koolhaas – that someone may consider contradictory -, first we need to understand that the city that he refers at the beginning no longer exists, is not the same that he finish putting all his hope in, with the need to establish another discipline, another doctrine, that no longer exists to accomplish architecture, but centered, with no drifts, to the contemporary questions.

There is today the necessity of risking, but acting with a strategy not based on accurate data that enables the constant articulation and reformulation of their positions and consequent decisions. If we understand the space as "mutable, contested and multiple" (Massey, 1994), then all the disciplines involved will have to act considering the principle of 'Non-eternity' and volatility. This idea implicates the formulation of the actual public space as an organism in constant mutation, or as Jane Rendell recently affirmed, the perception of the space as an "active ingredient" of a reality (2011).

The subjective way that the human specie assumed on the last decades made us permeable to the material, cognitive and virtual environmental. The space that we make today, 'make us' tomorrow, shape us to it dimension. "Today, the human condition is the urban condition", (26) condition that make us, more than citizens, participative elements, like cellules of an organism in constant redefinition, not reaching, a stable designation.

"The classical disciplines of architecture and urbanism are no longer enough to understand, plan and control the urban landscape, neither the conduct of its inhabitants"(27). The restrictive limits of the disciplines doesn't make sense anymore, all the professionals will have to deal with the exact sciences, as well as the humanities, social sciences and the study of man and society must take into account all the dimensions of formal and descriptive of a process. "The urban project can now be more strategic and plastic, with acupuncture intentions on human skin to affect the whole organism" (28).

Maybe the decentralized and fragmented environment of the suburbs could develop a great role on the structure of an experimental platform, intervening on the territory with a greater urgency for change, with a reflection and practice that necessarily respect the pre-existence, and therefore consideration for formal typologies, behavioural, relational and pre-established. "So not only will save resources, both natural and manmade, but will focus our energies to create new and unexpected interventions hybrid." (29)

"You may proceed, considering the highway intrusive in the landscape and life in the bucolic countryside, or the geometry urban life (...)" (Martin Price 1994-1996), however it is a useless and naive game of powers, especially considering the infrastructure scheme as a constant movement of forces. The mere formal scheme promotes a stable structure that, taken alone these days, is highly volatile and obsolete part.

It is peaceful to say that the 'city', as defined in the beginning of the sedentary human age, no longer corresponds to the actual structure and territorial planning. Manuel Gausa also notes that even the idea of 'metapolis' appeared defining not only "the capacity for growth, but also to the ability to 'mix': interconnection and interaction. With the territory and other territories, with the place and other places. With identities... and between identities."(30)

That idea of an active organism and the absence of a direct space definition, implicate a fading of the disciplinary boundaries. The conception of the architect as a kind of an ethnographer (Xavier Costa, 1998) is responsible for the urban variations, no longer result of economic relations, but essentially of the "terms of cultural identity" that, like the territories, are in constant modification.

A prototype of an "inter-discipline" that agglutinates different kind of field works, giving answers to globalized territories, to human complexity and lateral forces promoted by velocity, fluxes and information, that it stands by an honest approach between actors and realities. It is assumed the urgency of a dynamic and mestizo look, conscious of it own volatile and unexpected character. An articulation program between different scales, that shares common places, allowing to define a structure that brings together cognitive, materials and programmatic issues.

The public space remains to me as a collective dimension where changes could be discussed, understanding that not only as a material reality but also as a digital one. The democratization of the opinion could be materialized, establishing also a democratization of space. The public space, as a common surface to witch community element, it should be considered a precious structure to establish an experimental palimpsest, that should determinate a new look about social responsibility, auto-conscious and engagement concerns.

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Urban acupuncture as a strategy for public spaces renewal in Tirana

ABSTRACT

The paper reconstructs the evolution of the term "acupuncture" from its very definition in the traditional Chinese medical theory to the coined term of "urban acupuncture", now used worldwide in architecture and urban design fields, often with a vague meaning. It provides an overview of the single physical interventions on the urban tissues, conceptually designed with the use of this approach, from the Curitiba case in Brazil to the European case of Netherlands. It also attempts to explain the importance of discussing about urban acupuncture in a city like Tirana as an "option" to overcome the lack of the current urban planning process, which is making efforts to confront and deal with the difficult context but does not lead to immediate positive transformation of the territory. The essence of urban acupuncture is the design of sustainable catalysts projects, precisely located amidst a complicated context (urban pressure points) to solve a multitude of problems and to emanate renovation of the public spaces achieving maximal effect through minimal intervention.

The thesis propounded is that the worldwide best practices on urban acupuncture, applied with an intelligent and realistic prospective of the future of the

city by designers/architects/planners, can form the basis for new urban renewal practice in Tirana.

KEY WORDS: URBAN ACUPUNCTURE, PUBLIC SPACE, COLLECTIVE SPACES, REVITALIZATION, RENEWAL.

1   THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN TIRANA

"Detto questo, è inutile stabilire se Zenobia sia da classificare tra le città felici o tra quelle infelici. Non é in queste due specie che ha senso dividere la città, ma in altre due: quelle che continuano attraverso gli anni e le mutazioni a dare la loro forma ai desideri e quelle in cui i desideri o riescono a cancellare la città o ne sono cancellati."[1] (Calvino, 2003)

If we would correlate the city of Tirana to one of these two species, which one would we choose? Is there a shared vision for future development of the city? Does the rapidly changing urban structure reflect people desires? Can we identify whether common desires are transforming the city or the city itself is erasing desires?

After the collapse of communism and the beginning of land privatization the Albanian capital witnessed rapid urban expansion causing a boom of unprecedented informal settlements. People began to migrate immediately to the cities and the capital was the most sought after destination. The urban periphery and the downtown of Tirana became the focus of drastic transformations. In 1990, Tirana was a compact city of 225,000 inhabitants (Felstehausen, 1999). Nowadays, we do not refer to Tirana as a city (inside the municipal boundaries) but as a metropolitan area with almost 764,000 inhabitants in 2011 .[2]
Over the past twenty years the uncontrolled urban process have led to an uneven urban texture, mono-functional areas, improper use of building typologies etc (Aliaj et al., 2003).

In this context, harking back to Calvino, I would say that Tirana has been erased by people desire, but concurrently, it appears quite clear that this "desire" does not express the common vision of the city, it rather detects the social housing need which still persists.

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1   *"That said, it is pointless to determine whether Zenobia is to be classified among happy cities or among the unhappy. It makes no sense to divide the city into these two species, but rather into another two: those who through the years and changes continue to give shape to their desires and those in which desires either erase the city or are erased by it." (translated by the author)*

2   *Tirana Region hosted 763,634 inhabitants according to "Preliminary Results of the Population and Housing Census 2011", Institute of Statistics of Albania. http://census.al/Resources/Data/Census2011/Instat_print%20.pdf*

Despite attempts of local institutions for urban regeneration, in the last ten years, Tirana have failed to find solution to problems. The national and local government have organized different international competitions. Well-known international architecture studios were invited to come up with solutions. The question arises as whether is possible to reconstruct the city identity or consider the city as a "tabula rasa".

Tirana is trying to reinvent itself as a modern city but it does not have a clear strategy and do not know where the current choices led to.

Rem Koolhaas stated that "where there is no architecture there is much to do, where there is architecture there is nothing to do."[1] In this perspective, if in Albania there is no (or not much) architecture it is easier for the architects/urban planners to express themselves. This is what is happening now with the demolition of the existing houses and construction of some high quality private buildings, especially in the downtown. However, this do not seem to resolve any problem to the city and probably, the reason of the failure is not considering private buildings as public elements to "serve as vehicles for social meaning and values that reach beyond themselves, and is precisely in this that they are urban".[2]

2.   PUBLIC SPACES/COLLECTIVE SPACES

The importance of public spaces as vital places to urban life in the contemporary city, is shared by a number of urban theorists, from the perspective of improving life quality, enhancing urban image and encouraging economic development. Public spaces provide opportunities for social interactions, neighborhood gathering, community events and recreational activities. In order to become livable and successful, they must produce a sense of identity and attachment to users. The identity of a place fosters contacts between people.

The Albanian conception and perception of the urban public space has experienced radical transformations through decades. Nowadays, the proper term we would use to define these spaces is non-places[3] instead of public or collective spaces. The usual public spaces such as the piazza/shesh, the urban park/lulishte or the boulevard/bulevard are now replaced by shopping malls, supermarkets, computer and cash machines etc which are all the same all over the world (Augè, 1996). It seems that urban design in Albania is no longer able to realize culturally inhabitable public spaces. Even in the recent urban projects

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1   *Koolhaas, R., 1995. S, M, L, XL: small, medium, large, extra-large. New York: The Monicelli Press.*
2   *De Sola Morales, M., 2008. A matter of things. Rotterdam: NAi Publisher, pp189.*
3   *Augè distinguishes the collective spaces in places, encrusted with historical monument and creative of social life, and non-places, to which individuals are connected in a uniform manner and where no organic social life is possible.*

realized in Tirana, the attention of the designers is mostly to create privately owned collective spaces.

According to Manuel De Solà Morales "collective space is both much more and much less than public space, if by the latter we mean solely that which is publicly owned". He believes that it is pointless to discuss if an urban space is more or less public because "in our cities, the spaces of ambiguous nature are the ones that are going to play a more and more significant role in everyday social life". The project should not be evaluated for the intensity in which they are "public" and, "the good city is one that is able to give a public value to what is private" (De Sola morales, 2008). If a building follows its own internal logic without necessarily responding to the urban context, it becomes sculpture or just an object in space.

In Tirana, where there are still problems with the land ownership, the local institution must overreach the matter of properties and opt for alternative interventions in guaranteeing public/collective spaces. The city of New York offers vast models of best practices.

Paley Park in New York is a privately owned private space opened to public through the benevolence of the owner. It was realized in 1967 and since than "it has become a model for how philanthropy and design can produce a peerless public space"[4]. Paley Park is a small plaza of about 2100 square meters (30m x 70m) with a rectangular geometry and made of very simple materials. It is composed of 17 trees and other planters filled with flowers, movable wire-mesh chairs, movable tables, a rock-face 14 meter high waterfall and a food kiosk at the southeast corner. Paley Park's quality is confirmed by its unusual quantity and mix of uses and its influence extends beyond its borders, in New York city and elsewhere around the world. It attracts people who live and work nearby, also accidental and intentional foreign tourists (Kayden, 2000).

3.   TOWARD A CATALYTIC CITY 5:
URBAN ACUPUNCTURE AS A STRATEGY OF INTERVENTION

At the 1999 UIA Conference in Beijing, Kenneth Frampton presented the agenda for the architecture and planning for the new millennium. According to him, there are seven points of interest for the contemporary architecture. Point six

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4   *Kayden, S. J., 2000. Privately owned public space: the New York city experience. New York: John Wiley & Sons, pp.157*
5   *The term "catalytic city" was used by Kenneth Frampton in his paper presented in 2003: Identification and Documentation of Modern Heritage. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Center. It represent a city in which every intervention realized go beyond itself, "...the Greek word catalysis is highly ambiguous; for while in chemistry it alludes to the presence of an essential inducing substance that in a reaction undergoes no change, in its original sense it meant dissolution and destruction. On the one hand, then, it may be used metaphorically to allude to an intervention whose effects extend beyond its own corporeal boundary;..."*

highlights the need for an incremental urban strategy and is specifically entitled: Megaform as urban acupuncture.

The land speculation limits the scope of urban design and any kind of master planning remains an academic exercise. As a result, alternative strategies for urban development of the modern city are requested. Frampton points out three figures worth mentioning for their strategic approaches to urban design: Henri Ciriani for the concept of "la piece urbain", Fumihiko Maki for his concept form developed with Ohtaka and Manuel De Solà Morales, who coined and developed the notion "urban acupuncture". He argues that:

"The contemporary environment is now so conditioned by maximized technology that the possibility of creating significant urban form has become extremely limited. Restrictions imposed by the dominance of automotive distribution and the volatile play of land speculation limit the scope of urban design to such a degree that any intervention tends to be reduced either to the manipulation of elements predetermined by the imperatives of production, or to a kind of superficial masking to which modern development seems to gravitate in order to facilitate marketing while maintaining a prerequisite level of social control. It is this that makes any kind of master planning other than public transportation largely academic. And the same may also be said of large-scale urban design. Since this is an equally harsh reality in both the development and developing parts of the world, urban designers, architects and planners have tried to evolve alternative piecemeal strategies for development and/or modification of urban form....To this, I would like to add the notion of urban acupuncture as developed by my colleague, the distinguished Barcellona urbanist Manuel De Solà Morales. By this term he intends a similar strategy of making catalytic, small-scale interventions, with the condition that they should be realizable within a relatively short period of time, and capable of achieving a maximum impact with regard to the immediate surrounding."[1]

In this regard, several questions arise in our minds: what does urban acupuncture mean? How can acupuncture "heal" the city? How to determine the precise point to intervene?

The word acupuncture is derived from the Latin acus (meaning "needle") and the English puncture. Acupuncture has been in use for over two thousand years in the Chinese medicine and is one of the oldest therapies known to humanity. It is a therapy that relies on the holistic approach. (Lever Kidson, 2008) Referring to the Oxford English Dictionary [2] the word holistic means "character-

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1   Frampton, K., 1999. Seven points for the millennium: an untimely manifesto. Architectural Review, 206. 1233, pp.79

2   See the online dictionary: http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/holistic?q=holistic

ized by the belief that the parts of something are intimately interconnected and explicable only by reference to the whole." In terms of medicine the holistic approach implies the treatment of the patient as a whole.

The Spanish architect Manuel De Solà Morales explains that the skin of the human body, as in the ancient therapy of acupuncture, is the main energy transport system, with 361 sensitive points spread over the surface of the body. When the needle breaks the skin in a precise point, it triggers "sensory impressions" that are transmitted to the rest of the organism, exterior and interior, by means of twelve meridians or pathways. For acupuncturists the skin is not the covering of the organism but the main part of it[3]. He also claims that the urban skin could be treated with the acupuncture therapy: "...the location of the sensitive points is the first step in the strategic treatment of the urban skin. It is dexterity in the identification of the spots and the channels of influence in the fabric that enable us to add new qualities, adequate energy, whether cold or hot, and to empower urbanity in its various modes."[4] (De Solà Morales, 2008, pp.24)

Referring to the need of alternative strategies for urban regeneration, the architect and urbanist Jaime Lerner shares the same thoughts as Frampton about the city needing fast pinpoint interventions. Planning is a long-term process. Although it is necessary, it does not determine immediate transformations. Almost always, there is a spark that starts the action from which follows a propagation. That is what he call an acupuncture, a true acupuncture. (Lerner, 2003) If acupuncture is strongly related to times of realizations, what does "immediate" mean in urban transformations? How can a city, or a part of it, change in a short time?

In 1972, in the city of Curitiba, Brazil, it was proposed to transform and revitalize the main central street in the downtown into a pedestrian mall. At the moment of the project proposal, shop owners were up in arms and the reaction was hostile. They were afraid that the change would destroy them. Jaime Lerner, who at the time was the mayor of the city, knew that he could not force the implementation because the work would probably be interrupted by court injunctions. For this reason, he did not order the project to start unless he was sure in accomplishing, at least a part of it, in less than 72 hours. Works began on friday evening and were closed on monday. Once completed, even those who had signed the petition against the project, asked for an extension of the pedestrian zone. Rua 15 de Novembro now represent a central meeting spot and a vital artery through downtown Curitiba.

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3   *De Sola Morales, M., 2008. A matter of things. Rotterdam: NAi Publisher, pp.24*
4   *Ibid.*

In the TED conference[1] Lerner explains that in the city you have to develop a good idea and to work fast. Participation is good but you have to have a good idea to start. The "sparkle" may come from the inhabitants, the major of the city or from designers, it doesn't matter, someone has to start.

The physical change may not always occur in a short time in the city but, its revitalization may be immediate even without the need of physical transformation.

Manuel De Solà Morales and Jaime Lerner represent the two main figures who developed in practice and theory the urban acupuncture approach. De Solà Morales has designed mostly in his country, Spain but also in other countries in Europe while Lerner has always been dedicated to Curitiba and has tried to spread all over the world the successful experience in this city.

In the following, I want to describe a representative case study for each architect basing in three important questions: where to puncture? how to puncture? Which are the acupuncture benefits?

3.2   Manuel De Solà Morales: urban acupuncture in Netherlands

As to Frampton, the spanish architect Manuel De Sola Morales was the first to coin the term "urban acupuncture" in referring to small-scale catalytic interventions. He believes that, as the human body, the city is an ever changing organism and it has a skin, the urban skin. It is composed of constructions, textures and contrasts, of streets and empty spaces, of gardens and walls, of contours and voids.

In his writing on the architecture and urban design of De Sola Morales, Hans Ibelings notes that, though the medical analogy is evident, the term urban acupuncture for this approach holds to a certain extent. Indeed, while acupuncture

Project title: Winschoterkade, Groningen		
Where to puncture?	How to puncture?	Acupuncture benefits?
Groningen historic center is surrounded by a canal and most of the beautiful architectural elements of the city are faced on it. The area area of intervention is located in the street Winschoterkade where two canals intersect and it opens to a	The goal is to create an attractive public space which will serve as a window to the city without losing the sense of peace and quietness that the canal conveys. De Solà Morales use simple elements to bring out the richness of the site: a platform, a bench and a window. The water platform can have many uses: it may serve as a stage for the community events, as a sun deck or a resting place. The area is crossed by a linear wooden bench that face the	Though it was a simple intervention in a small area it attracted residents and tourist to visit it and enjoy the city's "picture". It is also a catalytic project because it encourages new initiatives to improve the panoramic view.

panoramic view.	canal. It ends with a rectangular window that focus a particular part of the city.	
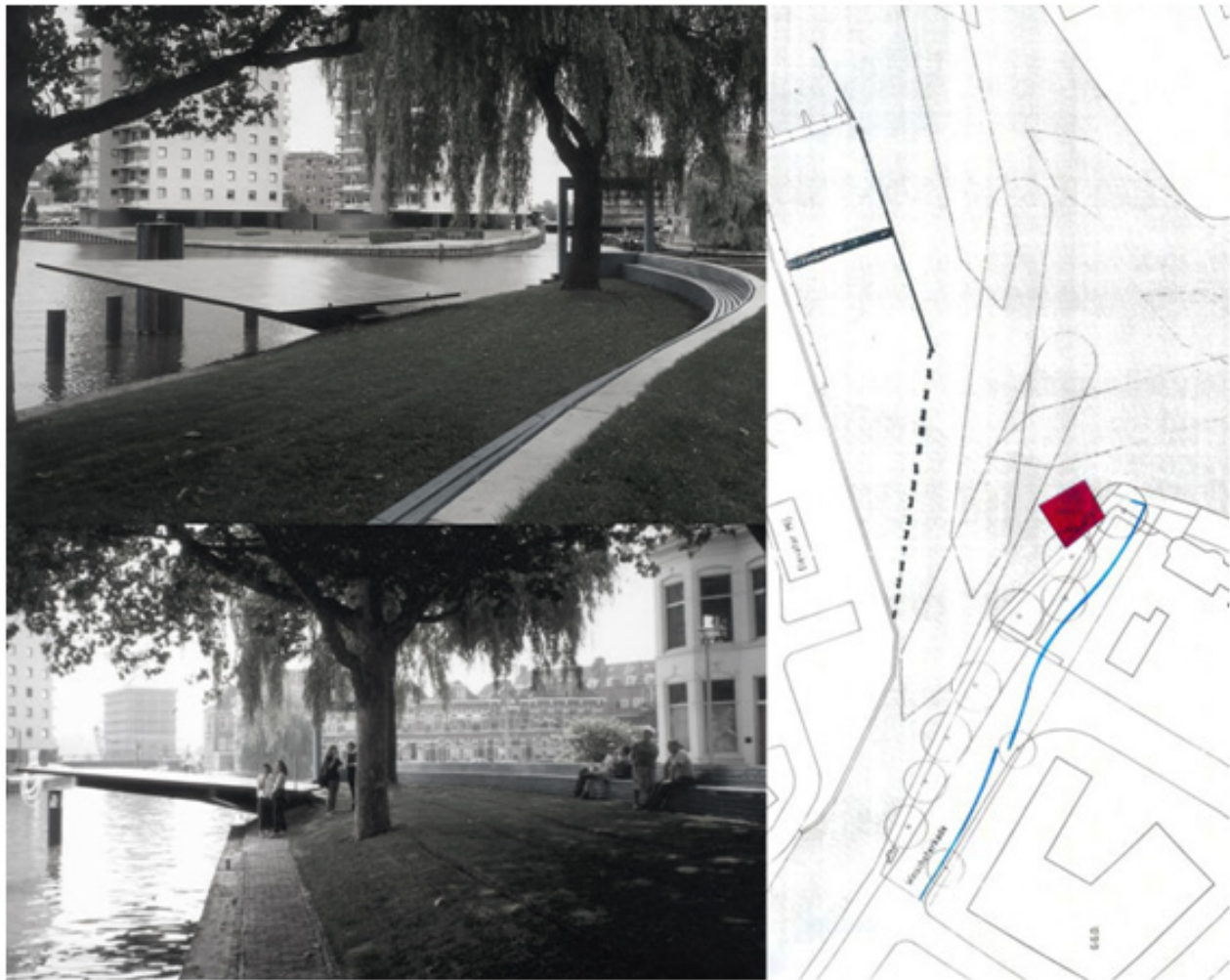
Photo from www.manueldesola.com [Retrieved June, 2012]

Jaime Lerner: urban acupuncture in Brazil

is based on the idea that a needle inserted at one sensitive point has an effect somewhere else, the effect of De Sola Morales' interventions is located precisely at the point where he intervenes, and not somewhere on the other side of the city. In contrast to acupuncture, the work of De Solà-Morales consist to a large extent of interventions at points where there is little energy, if any at all .[2]

De Solà Morales have designed a number of projects in many cities of Europe. The most simple and representative project of small scale public space acupuncture is the Winschoterkade in Groningen.

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2   *Ibelings, H., 2008. Urbanity. In: M. De Sola Morales. A matter of things. Rotterdam: NAi Publisher, pp.11*

Jaime Lerner is one of the most conspicuous defender of "urban acupuncture", which he practices for many years in urban development projects in the city of Curitiba. In 2003, he wrote the book "Acupuntura urbana" which outlines successful examples of this approach. He began stating:

"I have always had the illusion and the hope that, with a prick of the needle, it would be possible to cure illnesses. To begin recuperating the energy of a sick

Project title: Teatro Opera de Arame (Wire Opera House), Curitiba		
Where to puncture?	How to puncture?	Acupuncture benefits?
In 1992, in the north edge of Curitiba, there was a disused quarry that threatened the public use of the green area. The recovery of the urban park would produce new public spaces for the Pilarzinho neighborhood revitalization.	The aim was to create an equipped urban park with a unique character which would provide a sense of place to the neighborhood. The project should not interfere with the existing characteristic landscape and had to be in complete harmony with the natural context of the site surrounded by rock walls. It had to be also, a recovery intervention due to the presence of the quarry. Jaime Lerner decided to realize there an opera house[14] in the crater of the quarry and use the quarry itself as an artificial lake. The building was built in record time, it took only 60 days to finish it. It was made of recycled steel tube and glass with content costs. The access to auditorium is via a walkway over the water.	The project succeeded in accomplishing the goals, it revitalized not only the surrounded areas but also the entire city. The opera had such a strong iconic power that it become part of the urban imaginary of the city of Curitiba.

Photo by Arthur Lubow, published on May 2007 in The New York Times [Retrieved June, 2012]

or tired point through a simple touch, you have to deal with the revitalization of

this point as well as its surrounding area. I believe that some medicinal "magic" can and should be applied to cities, as many are sick and some nearly terminal. As well as the medicine needed in the interaction between doctor and patient, in urban planning it is also necessary to make the city react; to poke an area in such a way that it is able to help heal, improve, and create positive chain reactions. It is indispensable in revitalizing intervention, to make the organism work in a different way." (Lerner, 2003)

His theories are easily verifiable in his interventions. A significant example is the realization of the Wire Opera House.

4.   CONCLUSIONS: FOR AN URBAN ACUPUNCTURE IN TIRANA

The rehabilitation of the city of Tirana is a must. It should begin from the downtown with the realization of new iconic places and buildings and renewal of the existing, to the revitalization of the suburbs. Every neighborhood need an urban park or a piazza, a space were the social life takes place. Maintaining the public space inhabited it is possible to preserve the vitality, interest and security (Gehl, 1987).

Local institutions complain the lack of financial resources available to the municipality but there is an immediate need for transformation. Although it obstacles the regeneration process, we can not afford to stop trying. Once Jaime Lerner said that "creativity starts when you cut a zero from the budget, if you cut two zeros is much better". We have to reconstruct or to reinvent the neighborhood's identity and reflect it to their collective/public spaces through art.

The concept of urban acupuncture does not have a clear methodology. Architects and designers are free to use all the tools they need. The importance of this concept is to act strategically and to give the project the possibility to evolve.

Intervening in Tirana using urban acupuncture, the first step to take for a good puncture is to define the pressure points. We can identify them through the overlapping of the street network and the urban density of the city. They can be existing urban public spaces, urban voids, disused areas, main streets of a settlement, the space where two or more streets intersect etc.

The second step is to propose small interventions: improve accessibility of piazzas, maintenance of the green areas and of paving, realization of playgrounds for children, extension of dead-end streets, relocate the parking lots and prohibit

the car parking in certain areas, locate monuments to reinforce the identity of the place, improve lighting design, remove street vendors, connect public spaces with each other etc.

The rehabilitation of the public spaces in Tirana does not only depend on the design or the methodology of intervention but also on the good will of the inhabitants and local institutions. Probably urban acupuncture cannot "heal" the city but it is a good approach in identifying how to act in a city.

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'A FUTURE OF THE PAST'
Disjuncture between urban and cultural policy planners in the city of Skopje

ABSTRACT

In 1993, the city of Antwerp was inaugurated a European Capital of Culture, following Athens, Florence, Amsterdam, Berlin, Paris, Glasgow, Dublin and Madrid. Unlike other cities which simply sought on providing a series of cultural events, in Antwerp the intention was to challenge the use of culture as a tool for developing tourism, or for broader instrumental objectives such as urban regeneration. "A future of the past"', Antwerp`s 12 month programme emphasized the multicultural environment of the city and intended not to glorify but rather to unravel areas of tension and threat to social cohesion posed by the rise of the nationalistic political movement.

Twenty years later, within a different political and economical, but yet, multicultural context, a similar question is posed for the urban regeneration practices in the capital of Macedonia, the city of Skopje. Skopje and its main metropolitan area is subject of urban re-imagining which has articulated abundant critical discussions within the urban and cultural arena. The government-run project titled "SKOPJE 2014" aims to alter the city center by constructing administrative buildings, commercial spaces and baroque style cultural institutions, dozens of

monuments, fountains, bridges and sculptures.

What is the "future of the representational past" objectified in the public space in Skopje in economical terms? Does the spatial regeneration which have been undertaken help overcome barriers to social inclusion and combat threats to community well being? Does cultural renaissance celebrate local distinctiveness and the multicultural composition of the city?

The paper will look at these questions from a viewpoint of the economical, social and cultural facet of the project, thus challenging the pragmatic application of multiculturalism in urban policy. Finally, the paper will question whether Europe besides a Cultural Capital needs an annual example of a successful multicultural city initiative.

Key words: urban revitalization, culture, multicultural city, South-Eastern Europe

1   INTRODUCTION

In 1993, the city of Antwerp, was inaugurated a European Capital of Culture, following Athens, Florence, Amsterdam, Berlin, Paris, Glasgow, Dublin and Madrid. Unlike many other cities which simply sought to provide a series of cultural events, in Antwerp the intention was to challenge this approach of cultural events where prominence is given to political, economic or religious objectives; or as a tool for developing tourism or broader instrumental objectives such as urban regeneration. "A future of the past", Antwerp`s 12 month cultural programme emphasized the multicultural environment of the city. It intended not to glorify the city but rather sought to unravel areas of tension and threat to social cohesion posed by the rise of the extremely nationalistic Vlaams Block' and to provide a space for critical debate. While there is no inevitable link between widening access and diminishing quality, there is a link between vibrant, confident, successful communities and access to cultural expression. There is a link between democratic vitality and creative approaches to problem solving. And there is a link between urban renewal and cultural activity (Wood and Landry, 2008, pp.25-35).

The European Cultural Capital of Culture, as numerous other programmes, has largely been used as a tool for city marketing and identity renewal, executed more or less successfully by the cities inaugurated with the title. The initiative has put a strong emphasis on cities as products and their capacities to understand, develop and modify city structures, icons, myths, collective memory. Their materialization in city public spaces and neighbourhoods has been an important part of the contemporary city cultural capital (Dragičević-Šešić, 2007, p.39). De

spite many obstacles, cities have been keen to invest large sums of money and energy into organising events; to launch long-term cultural development plans; to attract visitors from inside the country and abroad; to restore, transform or build new cultural and other heritage and challenge innovative ways of thinking about their own significance and future.

Within this perspective, a conjuncture among urban development strategies and cultural development strategies holds the potential to propagate new utopias and public policies leading to prosperity. As Dragičević-Šešić (2007, p.41) notes, imagination and entrepreneurialism is all that cities need to restore the utopian myth of their creation.

Almost 20 years later, in a different political and economic but yet, similar multicultural context, the same question is posed for the urban regeneration practices of the city of Skopje. The city and its central area are subject to urban reimagining which has articulated abundant critical discussions within the urban and cultural arena. The government-run project titled "Skopje 2014" ('SK2014') deems to alter the city center building new administrative offices, commercial spaces, cultural institutions, monuments and sculptures in public space with divergent symbolic meanings.

Selective parts of the history of the Macedonian nation since ancient times are re-interpreted and re-accommodated within the public space with the intention to support two strategic elements of the process of building national identity: the appropriation of the glorified past and the distinction from the "Other". Meanwhile, the ethnic composition of the country and the city is changing compelling different urban realm and demanding representational space for other`s "right to the city".

Therefore, what is the "future of the representational past" objectified in the public space in Skopje? Does spatial regeneration which has been undertaken help overcome barriers to social inclusion, combat threats to community well being and encourage sustainability? Does the promoted cultural renaissance celebrate local distinctiveness and multicultural composition of the community? The paper argues that the monumentalization of historical narratives in the public space and culture creates new "national" ethnic identity of the city contributing to further ethnicization of community memory. If further supported, it threatens to create cultural-spatial enclaves with distinct mono-ethnical identity markers. Moreover, the economic role of culture in the current urban city policy is actually supporting the construction industry rather than the community, the citizens and cultural activities. The attempts to reconstruct specific and authentic city identity bears the danger of catalyzing the segregation and dividedness of the city while at the same time set an opportunity for academics, urbanists and cultural planners to reaffirm their critical position in the policy fora.

MAKING CAPITAL IN CULTURE

Culture and its manifestation in the public space play a key role in the city life, becoming a privileged element in promoting territorial cohesion. It thus becomes possible to think of public space and its cultural framing as an element able to promote continuity and order within the territory; but also having a natural ability to create and maintain strong local centrality, environmental quality, economic competitiveness and sense of citizenship (Borja, 2003) (Pinto et al., 2010, p.1).

Claiming social space and being seen in public becomes a way for social groups to legitimize their right to belong in a society. Because public spaces can be used by everyone, they are frequently considered contested spaces; places where opposition, confrontation, resistance and subversion can be played out over "the right to space" (Mitchell, 1995, 2003). These contestations may involve people from a range of social groups based on gender, age, ethnicity, sexuality, (dis)ability, social class and so on (Valentine, 1996; Malone, 2002). They may centre on the different meanings attached to different spaces, or draw on deeper struggles about social representations, or collective myths (Cresswell, 1996) (according to Holland et al., 2007, p.1).

The demand for equality and cultural diversity, in practice, often results in greater segregation and differentiation. These unexpected effects are combined with the dimension of antagonism in the "Us and Them". And this polarisation may be vividly observed in South-Eastern Europe's post-transitional societies. There, the role of culture is shaping the relationships between individuals and groups, in order to build common sense has many times been challenged by the construction, representation and reinterpretation of historical narratives within group identities. Although this subject has received substantial interest in the educational system and the media (Djerić, 2008; Stojanović, 2008 according to Dragičević-Šešić, 2011, p.32), it has not been adequately researched within public cultural and urban policies.

TERRITORIALITY AND NATIONALITY: CULTURAL SPACES IN (POST-) TRANSITIONAL SOCIETIES

In South-Eastern Europe, cultural spaces have usually been structured as national (or ethnic), marked with the national language, cultural values, memories, etc; and were territorially defined by a majority national culture and a number of minority ethnic cultures (Švob-Đokić, 2011, p.115). In such context, intercul

tural encounters were supported, even forced with language policies, mediatisation of culture, collaboration projects etc. Following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the new independent Balkan countries, among which Macedonia, turned towards their own collective memories, initiated internal cultural differentiation within the national cultures and national states and re-interpreted the relations among majority and minority ethnic groups. As a result, the countries faced a new reality of ethnic division, conflicts and attempts to enhance tolerance for diversity and multiculturalism (ibid).

Apart from the efforts and resources invested in building multicultural countries in the Balkan, Bauböck (2002, p.13) reminds us of important multiculturalism backlash, avoiding to deal with changing of the established dominant conceptions of nationhood which acquire minorities to be fully assimilated. Bauböck (2002) problematizes the belief of historical and often illusional depth of a national identity which emerges in a process of selective view of history as the past of a present nation state. In his view, it is questionable whether citizens must see themselves as sharing a common future and thus be willing to make sacrifices, however, it is impossible to imagine a common democratic future without also sharing the past (Bauböck, 1998) (ibid.). Hence, deconstructing national history does not provide an answer to the real problem. The past should not be a simple historical narrative of national glories from which all atrocities have been purged. On contrary, public remembrance of past crimes (or injustice, discrimination etc.), especially those committed against ethnic and religious minorities is an essential condition for tolerance and respect among diverse communities. Managing a context where minorities do not share a common past confirmed the importance of studies of memory politics in understanding the political, social, cultural and urban development of cities in SEE. The cultural policies of the cities and states in SEE refused to directly deal with issues of memory politics, and especially in their relation to urban policy. As an effect, destruction, removal or neglecting of the "memory of the other" in re-sharing collective identities (Dragičević-Šešić, 2011, p.32) have been severely supported in cities` public policies.

Dragičević-Šešić (2011) outlines the following major instruments used in this manner:

• The creation or representation of certain types of narratives, as for example: museum collections, translations, cultural production etc;

• The renaming of institutions, streets, parks and other public spaces;

• The creation of new types of festivities and celebrations;

• The re-appropriation of institutions, sites and even destruction of "dangerous" memories;

• A monument building or removing and a policy toward memory spaces;

- Burial and commemorative policies;
- Governmental decisions regarding the national symbols and other markers of national identity (ibid.).

Apparently, these policy tools are closely linked to city urban policy. Certain dramatic events in the society can galvanize group feelings and increase the level of group identification (Brubaker, 2004, p.11) and in the case of the city of Skopje, it is precisely the project SK2014 that electrified the academia and the public, and divided the citizens along ethnic and religious marker, political affiliation and social status.

CAN THE PROJECT "SK2014" BE FRAMED AND CODED TO HAVE AN ETHNIC CONFLICT DIMENSION?

A situation, process or act, becomes ethnic through the meanings attributed to it by the actors, politicians, media, researchers. In such way, a situation, process or act is framed and narratively encoded, so this act is not interpreted, but rather constituted as ethnic. This may not reflect the feelings of the actors in the specific situation, process or act but it can shape subsequent experience and increase the level of group identification. Therefore, struggles over interpretative framing and narrative encoding are present and fierce among political elites and cultural-political entrepreneurs. How conflicts are seen, interpreted and represented significantly depends on prevailing interpretative frames (Brubaker, 2004, p.17). Therefore, the use of mono-ethnic interpretative frames and symbolic meaning of SK2014 can spur mere group differentiation and identification rationalised only by ethnic codes.

Brubaker (2004, p.17) pinpoints to the cognitive dimension of ethnicity. Ethnicity, race and nationhood are ways of perceiving, interpreting and representing the social world. Therefore, they are not things in the world but perspectives on the world. It includes ethicized way of seeing (and ignoring) of construing (and misconstruing), of inferring (and mis-inferring), of remembering (and forgetting). Cynical use of ethnic framing to mask the pursuit of clique interests can alert us to the risk of over-ethicized interpretation and "elite manipulation" view of politicised ethnicity (Brubaker, 1998) (ibid.). Within these discussions, SK2014 has been contested to have the potential to spur ethnic conflict in the country and introduce new political reality in the region.

SKOPJE BEFORE "SK2014"

The city of Skopje is a multicultural hub where diverse cultural needs, habits and interest of different ethno-cultural groups intersect. As a capital, diverse political, economical and cultural interests collide. Situated along the banks of the river Vardar with an area of 1.818 square kilometres, it has a population of 506.926 inhabitants with a composition of 66.75% of Macedonians, 20.49% of Albanians, 4.63% of Roma, 2.82% of Serbs, 1.7% of Turks and the rest of Vlachs, Bosnians and others (according to the last official Census in 2002) and is divided into ten (10) Municipalities governed by the administration of the city of Skopje. The minorities are represented with more than 50% in three municipalities, in two municipalities the minority is Albanian and in the third municipality the minority population is Roma.

The city of Skopje has always been the cross-road between the West and the East. Hence, the urban planning of the city of Skopje in the beginning of the 20th century was led by the idea to create unity among the dialectic duo of the (Christian) "Occident" and the Muslim "Orient". When the state gained independence in 1991, the city of Skopje has undertaken projects which reinvested efforts in the question of the Macedonian identity. The search and the construction of such an identity become a major target for the politicians and the urbanists. Within this process, two strategic elements were used: legitimization by establishing a relation with the distant and glorious past and by clear distinction from the "Others" (Mijalkovič and Urbanek, 2011: 9). Symbols and 'identity markers' played crucial role in constructing the imaginary of the new communities (new churches and crosses on mountain peaks, new mosques and monuments), which defined and marked territories, making cultural presence being felt.

In 2001, a short inter-ethnic violent conflict occurred in Macedonia. Para-military organisation of ethnic Albanians stood up for greater rights of the ethnic minorities in the country while the Macedonian Government considered it to be an attempt for "Greater Albania" where the western part of the country including part of the territory of Skopje would belong. In 2002, after the ethnic conflict, a 77 meters high cross was erected on the mountain of Vodno (above Skopje) which can be clearly seen from each side of the city. As a reaction, several years later, the monument of Skenderbeg, an Albanian historical figure was placed in the Old Bazaar, on the left bank of the river Vardar (city area mainly inhabited by Albanians, Turks and Roma population), facing towards the Cross on Vodno.

In 2005, with the new territorial organization of the country (as required by the Ohrid Framework Agreement ("OFA") which ended the violent conflict), a rural neighbouring community was appended to the territory of Skopje inducing changes in the physical and demographic structure of the city. With the new territorial organization, the city of Skopje experienced a rise of the percentage of ethnic Albanians and having more than 20 percentages of Albanian ethnic mi-

nority group required that Albanian language is used as second official language in the capital. The territorial borders of two ethnically mixed municipalities gravitating around the urban core and the river Vardar were reorganized producing more of less ethnically divided spaces in the urban core. In the same time, OFA introduced a process of decentralization which authorized more power on local and regional level structures e.g. cities and municipalities, and in such way transferred the negotiation of ethnic and cultural differences on local level, intending to rationalize them on personal level and therefore, this process was expected to decrease the misunderstandings related to ethnic belonging. In spite of this initiative, in 2010 the state centralized and fortified its presence in the central area of the capital.

THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY OF SKOPJE – THE UTOPIA OF OPEN CITY AND NEW URBAN PLANNING

In 1963, Skopje was hit by an earthquake that destroyed 70% of the city urban core. In an international call governed by UN, a team of renowned urbanists led the plan for rebuilding of Skopje symbolizing brotherhood and unity in Cold War times and pervasive dividedness in the world. The proposed plan was an opportunity to rationalize the city structure, to develop the private sector and to create new city center as an essence of an open city. The Japanese architect Kenzo Tange focused on the river bank and intended to change its historical omnipotence as ethnic city border line. Gaining different public functions, this area was intended to be a shared space (recreational area, park, sport and cultural facilities), a unifying element on both banks of the river Vardar. Accompanied by diverse residential areas, the plan was to confront the ethnic segregation of the city. However, the different ethnic groups opposed the strategy of homogenization of residential types. While the majority of Macedonians moved to the northern part of the city, part of the Albanian and Roma population refused to move away from their places of worship. It was expected that the process of aculturalization and change of habits through education and employment, would act as integrating force, bringing the different cultures closer. However, this never happened. Relatively unimportant details, as colours, bricks and the alphabet, became ethnic markers of the residential areas and made the nucleus center a buffer zone in a divided city (Mijalkovič and Urbanek, 2011, pp.16-32). After the independence in 1991, urban planning was non-existent in the city of Skopje for almost two decades. The general urban plan of Skopje set after the earthquake was modified under the compelling forces of migration and transition, increasing fragmentation of the urban core, privatization and commercial

ization of public space, and new trends of identity politics and representation of history in public space. The nucleus center along both river banks which troubled urbanists for two decades in 2009 was a subject of a new urban planning initiated by a conservative government. Suddenly, the urban planning was about creating an identity based on a range of modern myths, as the legacy of the Alexander the Great, the discord with the Ottomans influence and under commercialization forces (ibid, p.7-9). In the view of many urbanists and professionals (among them also Mijalkovič and Urbanek), the need to create a distinct identity and fulfilment of the Europeanization of the city implied the risk of catalyzing division and inner rupture of the city.

The new central area plan includes commercial buildings and hotels, governmental administrative offices and institutions, museums and cultural spaces (celebrating Macedonian national struggle for independency and commemoration of the victims of the Communism), a triumphal arch, hundred monuments of Macedonian historical and cultural figures and public sculptures. Prominence is given to 30m high statues of Alexander the Great and his father Philip II. Immediate reactions followed, a citizen`s platform and critical discourse under the auspices of First Architectural Brigade (students in architecture) and "Ploštad Sloboda" (a civil association) was provoked. The tension culminated in public clash in March 2009 among supporters and opponents of the project exemplifying the dividedness of the society. The project was announced to cost 80 million Euro. However, according to (realistic) projections of the oppositional parties and the media, they exceed 200 million Euro .

In the current debates, it is the style and material that is disputed, rather than the vision of the geopolitical role of Skopje, the participation of the public and the functionality of the components of the plan, all of which are of secondary concern.

THE REPRESENTATIONAL PAST IN "SK2014" AND ITS FUTURE

Under the pressure of frustrations related to the national identity (the name dispute with Greece, the denied autonomy of the Macedonia church by Serbia and the dispute with Bulgaria over the specificity of the language) and the pressure toward Europeanization, the Macedonian state initiated new nationalistic ideology. In the current moment of nation-building, the national policy claims succession rights from ancient past and claims that the Macedonian nation has followed as an encounter among ancient Macedonians who have always lived in these territories and the newly Slavic tribes fully disregarding the contribution by other ethnic groups in the history-making and neglecting their current position.

Within the turmoil, the Skopje airport was renamed into "Alexander the Great", the main highway heading north-south of the country towards Greece known in socialistic times as "Brotherhood and unity" was renamed into Alexander of Macedon while the monuments and the heritage from the previous socialistic system and Ottoman times became "dissonant heritage" linked to the "memory of the other" (Dragičević-Šešić, 2011, p.35), an identity symbol of one group which instigated the dominant today to forget it, neglect or destroy.

The current debate of the role of culture, art and architecture in SK2014 can only be simplified in what Chin (1992, p.1) describes as:"...politics, power and the ways in which culture is embedded into the social matrix...representation, people`s feeling of infringement (or oppression) and exclusion". The reason why the project`s critics are so painful is that they strike at the very heart of who people think they are.

The project intervenes into a nation-state building process that itself is rooted in negotiating political realities with the neighbouring counties and an understanding of multiculturalism as constitutional category acknowledged after the events in 2001. The project promotes the past and the tradition in a way that Nebojša Vilić, an art historian, illustrates as only 'a shelter for the fearfulness, uncreative and close-minded spirit toward risky changes – a safe walk on the way over established and accepted values (Vilić, 2010, pp.17-18). Art historians, architects and citizens interpreted these ideas as a pathological resurrection of the past and creation of a new "reality and truth" which will propagate the supremacy of one ideology over another (the Demo-Christian over democratic ideology). The participants of Forum-Skopje 2009 - a meeting of architects, artists, cultural workers, sociologists, philosophers, theoreticians and city planners which took place in Skopje concluded that there is a lack of a structured institutional discussion concerning the semantics and symbolic meaning of the project`s elements. Moreover, in their view, there is unimaginative urban plan where churches and contemporary kitsch architecture are promoted as identity milestones. The conclusion of the Forum was that all ideas concerning city development and branding, hence the means used for their appropriation in public space, should be critically folded and observed in perspective of the spatial, historical and social context of the city .

In economic terms, there are concerns how the new public infrastructure which is depending on state budget can be fully maintained in the future. Macedonia in the last 20 years is persistently fighting with high levels of unemployment, impoverishment of the citizens and decrease of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). According to the State Statistical Office data, in 2011, 31.6 percent of the labour competent person was unemployed , the percentage of poor people was 30.4 while the growth rate of GDP in the first quarter of 2012 was -1.4 percent . With

in such economic context, it seems inconsistent and a paradox to allocate 9.4 million Euro for one monument and the surrounding fountain and at the same time allocate around 10 million Euro for increasing the competitiveness of the small and medium-sized enterprises in the country and 15 million Euro to build 76 local roads, 176 km long.

In contrast, the house of Mother Theresa, build as part of SK2014 and opened in January 2009 had more visitors in the first year than any other museum in Macedonia. Such figure encourages the Government to continue the paved way despite criticism and economic odds. Still, it is difficult to imagine the future of the new elements of urban and cultural life, their physical maintenance and diverse programming. The created mono-cultural landscape would need to evolve to reflect the changed social landscape in the city and the country.

CULTURAL RENAISSANCE, LOCAL DISTINCTIVENESS AND MULTICULTURAL COMMUNITIES

The project "SK2014" is conceived as an expression of amateurism, de-politization and commercialization (Mijalkovič and Urbanek, 2011, p.76). In Macedonia, as in other newly created nation states of the former Yugoslavia, the politics of memory served to destroy all traces of the socialistic past, to remove "the memory of the other" or re-contextualize it, so their original meaning was lost and new interpretation related to the glorified past of the dominant group added. Dragičević-Šešić (2011, p.35) describes this as strategy of appropriation. Besides this practice, she notes the use of annihilation strategy were through destruction of elements which are "threatening and destroying" the national identity, a "spontaneous" cleansing of the territory is achieved. Correspondingly, the cultural heritage, the identity marks from the past and the distinctiveness of the communities, especially in relation, to the multiethnic character of the country was subject to re-thinking and re-shaping within the current memory politics.

In the first years of independency, the socialistic organisation of urban and cultural life remained under the tutorship of the state where expressions incongruent with the official state politics were censored and disciplined. In 2006, the ruling conservative party made clear its intentions to break with these practices of the past. They instead introduced de-politization and amateurism in the urban planning.

De-politization was only declaratively supported. In the local couloirs, certain authors closely linked to the ruling party were awarded with opportunity to take part in the project and their honoraria were never transparently published.

A mere example of the amateurism in the thematic layout is the "Sculpture proj-

ect". Commissioned by the Ministry of Culture in 2008, it intends to situate more than 50 bronze and stone sculptures in the city center in 500 meters radius, giving space to each citizen who wanted to express his/her talent, ability and creativity to propose a theme, a figure and a location, so to participate in the new outlook of the city. Such decision was welcomed by critics as code noise and disorientation of cultural messages of the city center.

The current ideological and instrumental view on culture, the domination of the ethnic majority and the exclusion of different minorities from the public sphere, the aggressive surveillance and expected congruity and subjugation to the governing parties will have strong cultural and psycho-social effects on the new image of Skopje; a new image build upon the conservative ideology that the current government promotes (Vilić, 2010, p.19). He further elaborates that the cultural practice in Skopje is a "schizophrenic wandering between an instrumentalized past, a politicized present and a future which is lacking creative ideas".

Regrettably, this element of SK2014 was the only opportunity for citizens to participate in negotiating public space design. Despite the empowering participatory democracy it strived to promote, it only endowed declaratory citizen`s participation.

Within the project, the public functions are subjected to consumerism by citizens or visitors and commercialization of the city as a product and spectacle encouraged. The city branding approach for increased visibility on the regional and/or global scene is promoted by imitation, rather than by its authentic renaissance look, local contemporary creativity and celebrating multiculturalism. Today, the urban center reconstruction would need to testify for the European, Christian and bourgeois city Skopje had never been and repudiate his oriental, Islamic past, neglecting the local distinctiveness and oriental charm, missing the opportunity to build an image of inclusive city of difference.

URBAN SPACE AS INTERCULTURAL ENCOUNTER OR CULTURAL-SPATIAL ENCLAVE

One of the crucial questions concerning the impact of SK2014 relates to the future of the city. Therefore, does the undertaken spatial regeneration help local urban governance and citizens to overcome barriers to social inclusion, combat threats to community well-being and encourage sustainability of the city? Within the social dimension of the project, arguments related to Skopje as an "ethno-nationally divided city" or those related to spacialisations of ethnical conflict are gaining importance.

In the ethnic segregation of Skopje, language and religion have been the main "ethnic" markers. There are city areas where concentration of single ethnic

group is persistent, as there are mainly Macedonian and mainly Albanian parts of the city, but not an ethnically-divided city per se.

Cities and the public space are observed as "the best places where mechanisms and practices leading toward multicultural society in the context of liberal democracy can be developed" (Tatjer, 2004, p.248-249). Tatjer (2004) assigns such an important role to the cities in the prospect of their capacity to accommodate cultural difference and facilitating coexistence among different ethno-cultural groups, both posing a driving force for cities` social and economical development. Moreover, in her views, cities can create opportunities and mechanisms for minority groups to address difficulties that the state has not foreseen and allow existence of sense of belonging that does not clash with different cultural identities, while the state can provide civil political norms unrelated to cultural identity. However, she argues and reminds us not to idealise the capacity or to propose a panacea for the conflicts that the presence of ethnical diversity can create in the society (ibid).

As in other cases, the re-imagining of the city of Skopje rooted in mono-cultural symbols is an expression of fear and aversion, fear of change, particularly, of the changing ethnic composition of the neighbourhood. Sandercock (2000, p.15) argues such tendencies in the world would only grow, increasingly becoming constitutive elements of planning practice in cities of difference.

If minority ethnic groups feel under-represented in SK2014 and interpret it as marking territories within the shared public space, while there is a tendency for spatial clustering, can the process escalate in development of cultural-spatial enclaves within Skopje?

Peter Marcuse (2001, p.3) defines enclave as "an area of spatial concentration in which members of a particular population group, self-defined by ethnicity or religion or otherwise, congregate (meaning voluntary coming together) as a means of protecting and enhancing their economic, social, political and/or cultural development". In further, he makes a clear distinction among three ideal types of divisions - by culture, by functional economic role, and by position in the hierarchy of power. Cultural divisions are based on ethnicity, by country or nationality or tribe of origin or parentage or descent, by religion or belief, by lifestyle and not on differences in relationship to economic production or on relationships of power. Divisions by functional role are the result of economic logic, are essentially independent of cultural differences, and do not (at least essentially--status differentiates may of course arise out of functional differences) denote relations of superiority or inferiority to other functions, simply differences. Differences in hierarchical status reflect and reinforce relationships of power, of domination, exploitation, state service. These three divisions both overlap and contradict each other; their intertwining is one of the fascinations of the history

of cities. He suggests that: "Divisions, clustering, by status, reflecting and reinforcing hierarchical relationships of power are unacceptable from a public policy point of view, and the appropriate targets of state prohibition; cultural or social clusters that do not reinforce such relationships of power are not".

Within this spirit, claiming citizen's right to preserve their group content based on territorial autonomy (cultural-spatial enclave) are being rationalized. The establishment of cultural-spatial enclaves assigned to particular ethno-cultural groups within the cities if encouraged is challenging the social cohesion and questioning the trust among citizens and communities. Therefore can we foresee the aftermaths of such actions, moreover, can we foresee if such circumstances can later induce clustering by status, reflecting and reinforcing hierarchical relationships of power.

According to the concept of continuum among culture-ethnicity-territory, other authors (Margulies, NA) suggest that for the sake of the preservation of cultural diversity, urban theory must either acquiesce or straightforwardly encourage the establishment of carved-out-enclave territories assigned to particular ethnic-cultural groupings within the cities. Disturbing a culture from its ethnic and territorial basis may risk the dismantling and abolition of that culture. Ethical dilemmas boldly emerge from this analysis, as where do we draw the line between diversity and segregation, between particularism and racialism?

Territorial strategies of cultural imprinting of public space can result in enhancing divisions of "Us and Them" and create fundament of mono-ethnical identity, strengthening the dividedness of the city. Creating of shared space with integrative focus can dismantle stereotypical notions that Macedonians and Albanians cannot live in the same building, go to same schools, share cultural events and do something jointly for community benefit.

In a city of difference, majority groups need to re-think their past so that it includes the divergent past of all groups who share a common space and therefore, a common future. Shared identity can emerge from a public culture that transforms itself in response to diversity. Shared identities cannot be fixed in their cultural and historical content but should be self-transformative. In Brubaker's (2004, pp.5-11) view, the process of self-transformation of collective identities toward a more pluralistic outlook is needed because national identity if connected with majority historical glories cannot be shared. He further argues that it is essential to replace identity with less congested terms, as: identification and categorization, self-understanding and social location, commonality and connectedness if shared future among different ethnic groups is negotiated. Furthermore, he calls social analysts to rethink the concept of ethnicity, race and nation in processual, relational, eventful, dynamic terms rather in discrete, concrete, tangible and bounded groups; in practical categories, cultural idioms,

discursive frames, organisational routines, institutional forms and political projects. Ethnicitization and nationalization should therefore be viewed as political, sociological, cultural and psychological processes.

The development of spatial-cultural enclaves in Skopje, if strengthened by ethnic borders, would intensify the internal cultural differentiation among the ethnic groups and would embed them in their own cultural and historical content. In such context, ethnicity would be the only politically relevant identity; ethnicity would be all that counts while other interests, as: civic citizenship, cultural rights would no longer be relevant and legitimate.

LESSONS FROM THE "RIGHT TO THE CITY" MOVEMENT

The city of Skopje with its multifaceted image and multi-layered symbolic spaces is a true inspiration for urbanists and analysts. The national history and the urban image of the city and their appropriation into public space are too important to only be guided by politicians. Although it is obvious that SK2014 is more a political, than an urban revitalization and cultural project, its implications to the cultural, social and urban conceptualization of city are evident. Hence posing questions that relate to the basis of the fragmented urban planning of Skopje, the role of conflict into shaping public space and the power of citizens to be active interpreters rather than passive consumers are needed, although not welcome in the current policy discourse.

In similar contexts, the struggle over spatial justice and/or right to the city inspired urban-based socio-spatial movement. Henri Lefebvre coined the slogan "right to the city" in the 1968 student`s protests as: right to information, the right to use multiple services, the right of users to make known their ideas on the space, the right to use the center (Lefebvre, 1991, p.34 according to Marcuse, 2009, pp.189-192). It is a claim that provokes on who should have the benefit of the city and what kind of a city it would be (ibid.). It is a moral claim based on the fundamental principles "of justice, of ethics, of morality, of virtue, of the good". "Right to" should not be understood as a legal concept, and not just right to public space or right to public information and access; but collectivity of rights, a right to totality, a complexity, a belonging to a single whole. Conceiving the city, Lefebvre thinks not of the conventional city, but rather of a place in urban society where full development of human potential and capabilities is endorsed, where justice, equity, and diversity is recognized.

Soja (2010) rightly pointed to the importance of spatial justice. This is a new critical discourse on geography of social justice which has begun beyond academic realm and into social and political practice, influencing the identity, cohesion

and strategic determinants of the urban movements. Within the concept, justice is specifically and inherently special, and not mere geographical dimension for social justice, a material dimension; "a generative, explanatory and causal force in and of itself." However, spatial strategies should not remain within the monopoly of progressive forces as they can be used to reinforce spatial structures of social control, cultural oppression and political-economic advantage.

CONCLUSION

In cities of differences, a strategy for integrated urban and cultural development is an essential learning mechanism. Facilitation of integration at city level, development of politics of linkage among cultural resources, economic potential, educational infrastructure and urban sites is vital so to improve social interaction and intercultural sociability and to have multiplying effects.

The following is important learning experience from the urban revitalization practices of the city of Skopje, largely noted by Mijalkovič and Urbanek (2011, pp.99-103):

• There is a need to consider the functional, spatial and aesthetic needs of contemporary city life, despite the fact that important landmarks of the past have been destroyed. It is naive to believe that their reconstruction would bring back the authenticity of the city;

• The re-imaged reconstruction should not be a shallow copy of the original but rather a visionary approach toward function, style, and contemporary needs of citizens raised from development of urban life;

• The inclusion of the public and the expert opinion is essential in a magna project of revitalization, as per creating a balance among the dominant narratives impelled by the structures of power and the different marginal voices on the question - which and how historical and cultural narratives should be represented in public space?;

• Urban design in a divided city has to be flexible and open to different connotations. It has to make people to be aware of and be confronted with the presence of "others" and then search for new ways of joined communication;

• There should be established practices of construction based on research and discussion. In the case of cities of difference this must include debate on national identity building process, geo-political development of the city, rethinking of planning practices, implementation of new public functions and residential areas;

• Openness and uncertainty to be encouraged rather than fixed meanings and the power of last word to prevail in relation to interpretation of historical

and cultural narratives;

•   Academic input into the debate of national narratives of the city and contribution by other sectors, as performing arts, visual arts, cultural policy into situating history in public space should not only be supported declaratory, but critically included in the strategic design of urban revitalization projects;

•   Decision on the role of the city in the regional and European context (under the migration forces, the changing city borders, advantages in cultural sense) should be made as part of the project, consciously and mature;

•   In cities of difference, the use of conflict and places of inevitable cultural encounter should be a strategy to counter-fight the strategy of avoidance (for example: create space with mix of buildings with different functions) where transformation in the public space can be achieved crossing fix borders of "Us and Them".

Urban planning is still possible and needed in the case of the city of Skopje. It should be re-conceptualized to be transparent, systematic and inter-related as well as open to the critical public and to input from international opinions on the future of the city and its developmental potentials, all which are constitutive elements of urban policy based on integration.

The application of diversity in urban management requires development of a model of positive urban vision of diversity within unity that resolves ethical dilemmas. Expanding leadership grouping who share common goals helps developing leadership and builds civic capacity.

Within the context, Multicultural Initiative Price can be inspiring tool for cities as Skopje (divided cities in Europe as still are Mostar, Mitrovica, Nicozia). It can stimulate a process of city profiling based on contemporary values and resources which in this region is based on multiculturalism (multicultural city where the main "identity mark" of the city is its multiculturalism, as Leicester, Marseille).

According to Bloomfield and Bianchini (2004: 79), socially and culturally mixed areas require innovative and balanced planning to tackle ethnic segregation in the cities. The strategy of creating "soft boundaries" is a policy tool used by several cities in Europe (as Barcelona in the second half of the 1980s) where displacement from regular segregated experience into shared common space within social and cultural interactions happen. In their view, this could be achieved only if at the central of the urban planning and design strategies, a notion of the city as a "network of public spaces and as a system of interconnected parts" exists. Similarly, Amin (2002) stresses the importance of "repeated social encounters of a routine kind" and of alternative spaces of "banal transgression" offering new cultural experiences which unsettle fixed identities and relationships (ibid: 80).

How to transform the mono-cultural atmosphere of the city center in Skopje? By using cultural infrastructure as meeting places; through place marketing, media

campaigning which does not undermining the needs of local residents and by creating intercultural civic identity and culture which require reshaping of collective memory to include the "Other". The memory of the cities is regularly selective and shaped by personal and group experience, but also by public institution, displays and symbols embodied in monuments, sculptures, architectural heritage. Building local plural civic identity and public spheres require reconnecting the presence of outsiders to the dominant history of the city. According to Bloomfield and Bianchini (2004: 98), the public symbols need to reflect on this double history of the city, not only in pluralistic additions to the dominant paradigm but also by juxtaposing symbols through montage and parody, performing arts and installations which interact and comment on the multiplicity of the stories. These suggestions could inspire innovative use of culture in re-imagining the central area of Skopje and instigate further researches on this topic.

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ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN FABRIC IN TIRANA

ABSTRACT

In 2012 Albanians celebrate the 100th anniversary of Independence from the Ottoman Empire and the formation of the first state in modern history. Every subsequent political system, including Monarchy, Fascism, Communism and Democracy has left a significant mark on Albania's architectural heritage. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the influence of political systems and respective governments in the urban fabric of Tirana. This document is organized in three parts: The first part provides background on Tirana's urban development focused on the last century. The second part provides an evaluation of the role professionals in this process. The third part concludes with some reflections and evaluates the role of professionals vs. politicians in architecture and urban design.

INTRODUCTION

In one hundred years of independent government, Albania has undergone many different stages of development. Each form of government has significantly influenced this age-old journey of the country. These influences are reflected and can be easily seen in the urban shape. The paper provides an overview of the main stages, where the influence has been crucial and has significantly marked the city's urban shape. The focus is the city of Tirana, the capital of the country. The role of professionals is also of importance despite the fact that in certain periods it has been considerably diminished. However, the new nowadays challenges can be seen as a responsibility associated with the opportunity in finding long-term solutions towards a sustainable way of development.

URBAN CAVALCADE OF TIRANA

Albania has been under the ottoman regime settled from 15 century until the Balkan wars started. It was under this regime the time when first settlements of Tirana were traced. The foundation of the city dates

ig.1: Aerial view of the old Tirana

in seventeenth century. It is said that Sulejman Pasha from Mulleti, established a typical Islamic composition of settlements by building a mosque, a bathhouse, a bakery and his own residence 'saray'. The geographical position near Egnantia route and coastal areas was later to benefit the growth of the city (F.W. Carter, 1986). During 18th century, the construction of typical Islamic buildings such as Theological school and several mosques gave Tirana the shape of an Islamic urban center slightly distinguished by its rural surroundings.

In November 28, 1912 Albania was declared independent. In 1913 the frontiers were officially drown by the Great Powers - Treaty of London. In February 11th, 1920, Tirana was proclaimed the capital of the country. This decision was of a great importance for the city which previously was a provincial centre were local and ottoman influence melted in a hybrid Balkan-Oriental architectural and urbanism (K. Miho, 2003). City's infrastructure was week. There were no suitable buildings for government, administrative offices, foreign embassies and officials. There was lack of electricity and water supply. Tirana got transformed into an administrative center, between two World Wars period. In 1926 a pact Italo-Albanian placed the country under Italian influence. With it, it began a fourteen year period of Italian companies pouring wealth and resources in Albania, to reconstruct this poor agrarian country. (P.Tese, 2012)

In September 1928 Albania was proclaimed democratic parliament monarchy and Ahmet Zog was declared Albanians King Zogu the First. Under monarchy regime Tirana became residence of the king. This is the first time in history of Tirana, when architects design the core traces of the city. Every

thing was rebuilt in the central area except Ethem Bey Mosque, bazaar and some low buildings.

In 1925 the Italian architect Armando Brasini was invited by the government to develop a plan for the city centre. He was known as archetype of Italian colonial architects for several urban plans in African colonies, such as the project of the coast line of Tripoli. The main element of his proposal was the north-south axis incorporating all administrative buildings. The projects were never implemented, due to expensive architectural elements and the far distance from social background. This project was the first of the series of projects for the capital city.

Fig.2: Drawing of the Skënderbej Square by Florestano di Fausto

The subsequent road plan is made by, Florestano di Fausto and a group of engineers. Here, Armando Brasini's idea of the main north-south boulevard was respected. The plan was also partially implemented. Instead of vast squares of Armando Brasini's, it represented a more human scale of the main square. Di Fausto's projects must also be seen as a counterpoint to other European modernists of the period, including Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier, who seem to reconfigure and sometimes erase symbolic identities in their plans, façades, and interiors. Florestano Di Fausto prodigious output in the colonies provides a corollary to such architects, including those working for the regime on the Italian peninsula, by intensifying the circuit of European modernism to the colonial context (A.Sean, 2010).

In 1928, King Zog invited another foreign engineer, this time with Austrian nationality, named Köhler. His plan was mainly a regulatory plan of streets and plot compositions in a Hippodamic system applied in the new opened areas in the south of the Skënderbej Square.

Finally a fourth new plan was prepared in 1929. The documents do not provide the full information, but it is more likely that Köhler is the author of the regulatory plan of 1929. The tree previous projects are taken into consideration. The main elements of the plan were: The Brasini's axis, Di Fausto's square of ministries and Hypodamic layout of new Tirana. The extension of the boulevard in northern part ending by a stadium was the new feature of this project.

During 10 years of kingdom rule in Albania several buildings of high quality have been built by Italian architects. The date September 9th, 1929 marks the beginning of the works for this part of the boulevard which was named "Zog 1st" (Aliaj, Lulo, and Myftiu, 2003). This period coincides with the construction of the ministries complex, which opened their doors on July 31st, 1931. They represented a contemporary complex compelling to the capital, being elevated enough from the ground, with brick and granule stone facades, and decorated with neoclassical architectural elements. (Aliaj, Lulo, Myftiu, 2003). Another important building is the National Bank, located in main Skanderbeg square and inaugurated in October 30th, 1938. The building is an example of rational monumentality solved by fine architectural details. The use of terracotta covering and several bas-relieves keep this effect at a reasonable scale.

In April 7th, 1939 Albania became an Italian colony. All possible propaganda was used, saying that it was

not an occupation but just a depending relationship between two countries and that all the investment were to be done for the benefit of Albanians. The capital was the main city to benefit from these works and surely was considered the place where the glory of fascism was to be showed. Italians settled the 'Central Office of Construction and Urban Planning of Albania'. Professionals of the architecture and urban design, leaded by arch. Gherardo Bosio, were assigned the duty to cover all Albania territory with the needed projects.

Fig.3: The traffic scheme of Tirana from the master-plan of 1940

The subsequent regulatory plan of Tirana seems to be the one of 1940. The project was designed by the office and was approved by the authorities on March 7, 1940 (Aliaj, Lulo, and Myftiu, 2003). Although diagnosed with tumor Gherardo Bosio didn't leave Tirana. According to the plan, the residential area would expand on the northern part of the city. The industrial zone was to be expanded toward northwest and south west with a residential zone in between. The aim was to create a 'garden city' by preserving the existing greenery and expanding it in new zones too. The main inheritance from Bosio and fascist regime seems to be the southern part of boulevard at that time named piazza Littoria (actual Mother Teresa square). This is the arena where fascism architectural elements were adopted and were would be settled the fascist military administration. The occupation ideology is very clearly shown through architectural expression and all the elements of grandiosity. The square is conceptualized like an ancient theatre surrounded by the so called casa Littoria (actually the Polytechnic University) in the south, Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro Albanese (actual Art University) in the west and the Gioventù Littoria Albanese, (the actual Rectorat). The architectural details are different, but monumentality that each of them represent is the unifying element. Monumentality, along with the sculptures and monuments representing symbols of ancient Rome and Skanderbeg used by architect, give to the square the expression of grandiosity so much desired from the fascist system.

Another important element standing behind the arcades of the Gioventù Littoria Albanese is the Olympic stadium which is also a Gherardo Bosio's work. Dajti Hotel situated at the crossing of the boulevard with the riverside boulevard built along the Lana River, is the last design of Gherardo Bosio. He couldn't live long enough to see the completion of his exemplar of 'rationalist' architecture in Albania.

In 1943 after the capitulation of the fascist regime, Italian forces were replaced by the Nazi German army. During this period Albanian economic support worsened.

In November 1944 communist forces, leaded by Mehmet Shehu took over the governing of the country. Tirana was the capital of a country that was coming out from struggle, very poor and frail. The
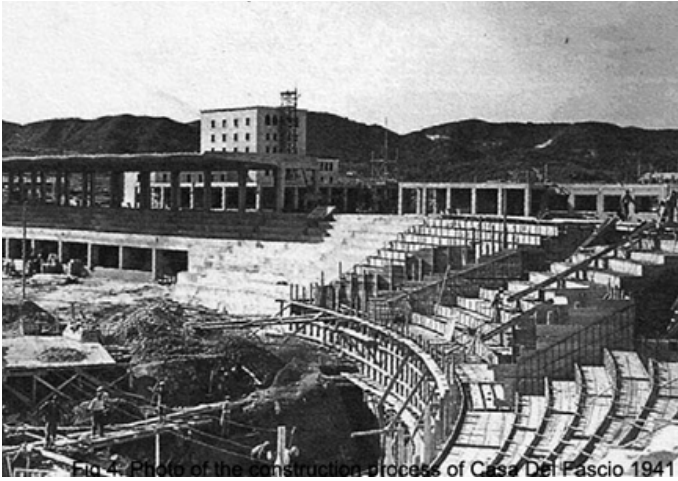
Fig.1. Photo of the construction process of Casa Dei Fascio 1941

economic basis was agriculture which was very primitive. The manufacturing industry was almost nonexistent. The first years of the communist era were characterized by a drastic development. The maximum economic growth was laid in two main pillars: (based on Stalinist directives), first the population increase and second self-sufficiency. Rapid urbanization, economic growth and social changes based on the principle of social equity were the main actions to create the new "socialist citizen". The development of the country was based on five year plans. The focus was on building industries in order to fulfill the self sufficiency principle. These actions brought the concentration of the industry in the capital city. This (apart from natural birth rate that was very high) brought a dramatic population increase. Tirana's role as the main industrial centre of the country started to fade, after 1970, due to the construction of other industrial sites in other cities of the country. Urban elements were used as main tools to develop and influence the ideology of the masses. The housing quarters and public spaces conceptualizations were promoting this ideology. The inherited buildings from monarchy and fascist era were reused for the socialist state accommodation. The state influence over planning and urban design was dominant. The aim was to cultivate "the cult of the individual". The future planning directives were given by the commission near Politic Bureau, the main central state organism that controlled every aspect of country life.

The first urban plan prepared by the commission of the politic bureau dates in 1957. The aim of the plan was the provider of the allocation space of the Palace of Culture which was a gift from the Soviet Union. The plan also provided further housing zones, improvement of the road liability and the treatment of the central area of the city as a historic and socio cultural zone. The palace of culture was the symbol of fraternity from soviets and for its establishment was to be destroyed the old bazaar, one of the core and most dynamic zone of Tirana's center. The project was designed by soviet architects. The city now had a marble-faced Palace of Culture, containing 240 halls and rooms, among them; the largest was the Opera and Ballet Theatre. (F.W. Carter, 1986)

The subsequent plan of this period is the plan of 1965 prepared by the Institute of Planning and Project. During this time the regime decided to build hotels. According to this goal the plan proposed a reformulation of the city center. It provided the allocation of a 15 story hotel and the further elaboration of the urban development of the other part of the city. The hotel was the highest object ever built in Albania and it changed drastically the silhouette of the square.

 The following plan of 1976 proposes a ring road around the city center. It relieved the center from the vehicles, although very low in number. The plan also, decided the allocation of the new national museum. The project of the museum is also designed by Albanian architects. The initial project provided three units, but the architects were told "from above" that "the struggle of the Albanian people is a single thorough one", so the architects had to make changes and design it as a single unit (P.Kolevica,

Fig 5: Perspective drawing of the project for the monument of Enver Hoxha, 1986
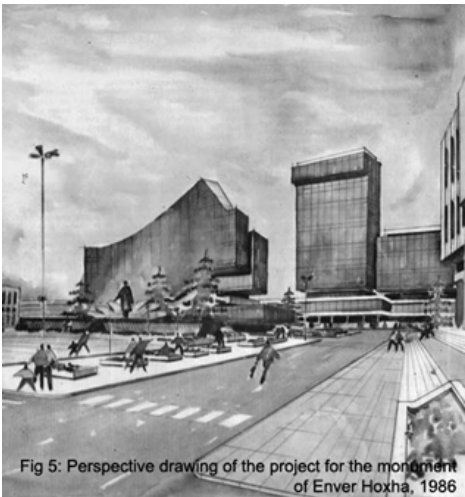
2004) For implementation of this project one of the closing square building, work of Di Fausto the old municipality, was to be demolished.

April 11th, 1985 Enver Hoxha dies after 40 years of oppressing the country in isolation.

The space in front of national museum would be later used for the pedestal of his gigantic statue. Three years later the museum "Enver Hoxha" was inaugurated. This museum, which cost three and a half million dollars, was built at the time when the Albanian population was facing an extreme poverty.

The last urban plan of the communist regime is prepared in 1985 with the purpose of providing a layout for a 20 year city development (fig.7). The project provided the further expansion of the city, the proposal for an outer ring road and the stretching of the boulevard axis toward airport directions. The plan was approved in 1989 and it's the last comprehensive regulatory plan that has been approved. Tirana, after 40 years under totalitarian regime, looks like a socialist city. The city center remains mono functional, mainly with administrative and cultural buildings, educational establishments and public monuments. The residential quarters are developed around this area distinguishing two types of housing: the old ones close to the old bazaar and the new apartment blocks in periphery mainly constructed by voluntary work. Interesting is the fact that from 1945 till 1974 a number of 25 000 new

Fig 6: The falling dictator monument

apartments were build, housing 80% of Tirana's inhabitants (F.W. Carter, 1986).

On the night of November 9th, 1989, the Berlin Wall, the most potent symbol of the Cold War division of Europe, came down. The falling domino effect involved all Northeastern Europe to further proceed in Balkan area and to reach in Albania in 1990. This is the year that marks the beginning a new democratic era and a total change.

The following would be a long lasting transitional period, starting with the great Albanian's exodus of 1991, the pyramid schemes crises of 1997-98, Kosovo crisis of 1999, and irrational relations between government and opposition. The architecture and urban shape will be the most appropriate taboo to display this transition.

Architecture, in post-communist Albania and in Tirana also felt in a deep crisis of identity, especially in the early years of change. The architecture was not a priority compared to other crucial problems the country was facing. The state role was almost inexistent in the first years. Moreover, the wind of changes found architects unprepared to respond to the new standards. Architecture created in most cases is modest with simple material and rational functions, solving the immediate problem rather than a creative and sensitive process. In years 1996-97 we see an improvement in architectural treatments of

the new dwellings, always compared to the beginning of the 90s. The fake economic prosperity of the pyramid system, brought investments in projects that required architectonic composition. The lack of a consolidated banking system, served as an incentive to orient the investors in the real estate, mainly in construction of multistory residential buildings. This period is characterized by an urban densification especially in the inner ring road area, but not only. Developments are not lacking in the outer ring road and in the periphery of Tirana in its informal forms.

Fig 7: The zoning layout of the master-plan of Tirana, 1989
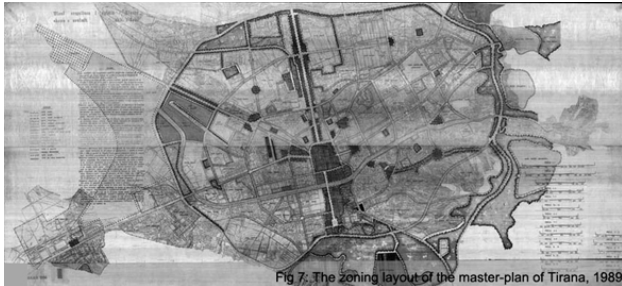
The last Regulatory Plan of Tirana started its investigation process in 1986, and adopted in 1989, just when the urban planning culture of the country completed its most advanced tool. The plan seems infantile, considering the tremendous changes that the city experienced in two subsequent decades. Four elements of the plan, industry, housing, public space and nature, transmit an image of consistency and homogeneity. What really happened to these elements in many cases was the reverse. The city is in a dynamic change. Comprehending and integrating its urban patterns in a sustainable mechanism is a really tough challenge. Many projects and international researching work is done through these years for Tirana;

In 1995, Regional Consulting, a Vienna-based urban planning firm, funded by the Austrian government, prepared a master plan for Tirana.

In 1997-1999, with support from the Government of Albania; from the Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin–Madison, from the European Union's PHARE and from the Terra Institute, was designed the draft for Urban Growth and Land Use Changes in Tirana, Albania.

In 2005, AlbanianTech Project (an Italian-Albanian cooperation) funded by the United Nations Development Program prepared an urban development strategy, which also included a number of transport recommendations for Tirana. (D.Pojani, 2010)

In 2005 The World Bank and the Dutch government provided financial support for the preparation of the Tirana Regulatory Plan. This plan was prepared by a Swiss company, Urbaplan and CoPlan. It lacks the National Adjustment Territorial Council approval. (D.Pojani, 2010)

Fig 8: Zoning map proposed by the master plan of 2005
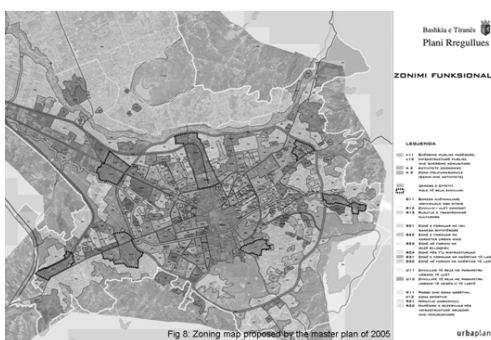
International Urban competitions are becoming frequent in Tirana. City Center Master Plan designed by Architecture Studio, which addresses mainly areas around the main boulevard, is one of the main projects proposed and approved in 2004. In May 26th, 2012 Grimshaw Architecture Studio wins the international competition for the extension of the boulevard and the rehabilitation of the river.

THE ALBANIAN ARCHITECT

There were few Albanian architects, before the World War II, mainly educated in western countries. This is the generation that pursued the work of Italian architects. They tried to bring the changing wave of architectural style that was spreading across Europe. But later, under the totalitarian system, this generation was forced to work under severe pressure and surveillance. After war, many new architects graduated in Eastern Europe. The first university in Albania was founded only in October 1957. The department of architecture was detached from the civil engineering in 1968. The new generation of architects and their professionalism would become at a high importance for the built environment in the country. Albania, unlike the other East Bloc countries was not inheriting a rich architectural environment. In Tirana, except for the administrative building coming from monarchy and fascism periods, the other part of urban shape was housing mainly built by owners without any project. 1959 dates the creation of the Institute of Planning and Project Nr-1, an institution where professionals worked together in teams for different projects covering all country territories. Under the central directives they could work enjoying a limited freedom. The fourth Party Plenum of 1974 gave end to any kind of liberalization implementing a strong control over every form of art including architecture. Due to financial restrictive directives, the housing standardization became the main design issue. The new architects coming from Albanian school had to face a very strict discipline and standardization in their work. The privilege for contributing in the design of important buildings, where the creative process could be displayed (obviously under party control) was only for a few of them. So working in such environment for years, architects found themselves, unprepared for the new democratic era. In the first years architect's role was overshadowed in front of many other emergent economic, social and political problems. Its role started to regain reputation after the pyramid crisis. Nowadays, the world is moving further in 21st century and the themes of urban planning, environmental sustainability and economic development are becoming leading issues. The city is facing environmental and social challenges. A special attention is required starting from professionals to national and international organizations. In the meantime, city's shape reflects a lack of the visual identify where new architectural shapes, contemporary or not are sitting next to fascist or communist ones, competing each other and making us think.
Is this reflection representing architect's vision?

CONCLUSION

"All humanity is one undivided and indivisible family, and each one of us is responsible for the misdeeds of all the others. I cannot detach myself from the wickedest soul."   Mahatma Gandhi
Cities are a display of man's ability to dominate over nature. City form is a reflection of all human activity that whirs inside it. Since human activity is guided by government and the systems by which government is organized, it derives that city form reflects government too. Past political legacies, societal makeup, and architectural talent are also meaningful elements of urban form. This is true for Tirana, as well as other cities.
Since Albania's independence from the Ottoman empire, three are the main political systems that have

profoundly influenced Tirana's architecture and urban shape: Ahmet Zog's rchy and the Italian fascist influence (1924-1939), the communist regime (1944-1990), and the transition to a market economy and democratic government (1990-present).

The first period set the foundation for Tirana's future development. The grandiose architectural elements used in the center and the main boulevard represented the ideology of city rulers. The influence of this era still persists in Tirana. The role of the architectural visions of powerful individuals, be they architects or the king himself, was crucial in this period. However, residential areas remained modest, with an Oriental character.

During the communist dictatorship the urban shape underwent another drastic transformation. Class equality and erasure of individual freedom were the leading principles of communism. They were ubiquitously reflected in the built environment. Standardization and rationality were the keywords of communist urban planning and architecture. In an creative environment obfuscated by political system directives, individual architects had limited scope for artistic expression,

Everything was reversed during the transition. In two decades the city tripled in population and size. The weakened government was unable to maintain control of urban development. Personal paybacks between central and local government leaders led to chaos. Informal construction, peri-urban sprawl, poor infrastructure and services, and degradation of the environment were the cornerstones of post-communist development.

Initially, the role of architects faded I front of influx of migrants who sought to fulfill their housing needs through self-help efforts. This "architecture without architects" displays an assortment of styles and quality levels and has added layers of visual potpourri to an already eclectic city. Now, professional architects are slowly regaining footing. While the design of the majority of new buildings is led by the short term profit interests of investors, a few high-quality landmarks have also been built. However, the city still suffers from a serious lack of urban management. The role of professionals in guiding city development is crucial in Tirana's context. While recognizing that public participation is a major theme of contemporary planning, the author argues that in the case of Tirana change must be led by professionals, because the public is exceptionally passive and the politicians have not presented viable growth alternatives. Today, in an era of rising sustainability concerns, Albanian professional urban planners and architects bear an increased responsibility, but are also in a unique position, to find long term solutions that can lead to environmentally-friendly development.

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- Fig 1: Aerial view of the Old Bazaar (Source: Giusti, Maria Adriana. Albania - architettura e citta: 1925 – 1943., pp18), Indrit Bleta. Available at: http://etd. lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12612184/index.pdf
- Fig 2: Drawing of the Skënderbej Square by Florestano di Fausto, 1926-31. (Source: Miano, Giuseppe. "Florestano di Fausto - from Rhodes to Libya.", 59), Courtesy of Indrit Bleta. Available at: http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12612184/index.pdf
- Fig 3: The traffic scheme of Tirana from the master-plan of 1940 (Source: Digital Archive of the Municipality of Tirana).
- Fig 4: Photo of the construction process of Casa Del Fascio, 1941 (Source: Inviato Del Duce in Albania: la visita Del Conte Ciano in Albania), Courtesy of Indrit Bleta. Available at: http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12612184/index. pdf
- Fig 5: Perspective drawing of the project for the monument of Enver Hoxha, 1986 (Source: Kolaneci, Klement, and Ilir Fico. Shkenca dhe Jeta, no. 03, pp. 4-7), Courtesy of Indrit Bleta. Available at: http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12612184/index.pdf
- Fig 6: The falling dictator monument. (Source: Armando Babani, foto).
- Fig 7: The zoning layout of the master-plan of Tirana of the year 1989 (Source: Courtesy of Indrit Bleta). Available at: http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12612184/index.pdf
- Fig 8: Zoning map proposed by the master plan of 2005. (Source: courtesy of the municipality of Tirana).

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SOCIAL HOUSING AND SÃO PAULO CITY CENTER. PUBLIC POLICIES FROM 2001 TO 2004.

ABSTRACT

Since the beginning of the XIX century, São Paulo's urbanization practices were structured and implemented aiming to create new and separated social zones. In this process, the central area witnessed the emptying while the periphery has become the main area of interest for social housing programs. This practice has brought a huge amount of problems for the city, since these dwellings have created demand for basic services and public transport (and generated poles of urban violence). However, the central area, which has a complete urban infrastructure, was being abandoned. Since the 1940s, the area began to experience a decline that would last decades. Due to this, between 2001 and 2004, public policies were developed with the clear intention to reorganize the city towards a more equitable social distribution, emphasizing the re-urbanization of the central area of São Paulo. This research aims to study the main theoretical underpinnings of urban policies implemented in the city of São Paulo from 2001 to 2004, and to understand their possible effects on the present moment.

Key Words:São Paulo, Public policies, Urban centers, Social housing, Brazil.

¬1. Reurbanisation of Urban Centers

The rehabilitation of urban centres, principally those of big cities, has been a widely discussed subject in the last few decades – if the real city used to be a constraint on "modern" ideals of planning, it is today a fundamental instrument in post-industrial (or post-modern) urban strategies. The historically, physically and socially constituted network augments the data of a formerly simplified equation. In the understanding of contemporary cities an urban form or urban landscape isolated from its representations in time no longer exists. Moreover, the optimisation of the existing urban infrastructure and the incentive for the configuration of more compact and efficient cities, are fundamental instruments in the sustainable development of today's cities, especially the big cities and megacities of countries in development.

From the Second World War onward, the great world metropolises underwent continuous and predatory processes of rise and fall in the value of their centres that fragmented and dissolved the existing urban network, altering their symbolic referential character and gradually dissolving their sentimental value. Urban expansion, which took place with greater intensity after the fifties, intensified the process of degradation and neglect of the central areas, replacing commercial functions with less profitable activities and their inhabitants with a population of lesser purchasing power. In the 1960s, in reaction to developmentalism post World War II, was intensified, mainly in Europe, the actions of planners, architects and theorists regarding the preservation of historic centers and the consolidated city.

Afters 60"s, "modernist" urban theories have been the target of a series of criticisms, marked by the ill success of ideas of social reconstruction, that have culminated in the decline of the modern movement in theory and in practice. Such criticisms have been aimed at the resulting lack of urban dynamics and have exposed the negative results of the achievements: the new buildings remain empty and the expulsion of residents from the central areas has led to what was subsequently called gentrification (GLASS, 1963; SMITH, 1979; BIDOU-ZACHARIASEN, 2003). The dissolution of urban centres has had consequences in various world metropolises: the abandonment of housing in central areas, the degradation and deterioration of public spaces and historic heritage, urban violence, social and spatial marginalisation, building speculation and significant damage to the environment.

Also from the sixties onward, certain theses prepared by critics of the Modern Movement have sought to alter the principal current architectonic and urban paradigms. Outstanding among them are the well-known books "Death and life of big cities" (JACOBS, 1961) and "Architecture of the city" (ROSSI, 1966). In spite

of the new ideas of Jacobs and Rossi, the direct result of these interventions did not succeed in configuring more democratic cities. The principal interventions deriving from these theories were isolated and controlled by an elite minority, which emphasised the importance of historical and architectonic patrimony as a symbol of collective identity and civic pride (SMITH, 1996; ARANTES, 2000; HARVEY, 2004). The implantation of these interventions focused on different results: the realisation of major undertakings that allied culture to consumption and were frequently financed by private initiatives; the concept of urban policies to contain the advance of deterioration by means of the insertion of housing; the improvement of transport and public places; the encouragement of small businesses and of shared management (or what is called public-private partnership) (ARANTES, 1998; VARGAS, CASTILHO, 2006; HARVEY, 2004). Nevertheless, the result of this process was the creation of scenarios of an urban rehabilitation that never took place. The main consequences were the privatisation of public spaces and the slow expulsion of commerce and local occupants.

To understand the Brazilian case, it is important to remember the importance of "modern movement" in the local culture. The Modern Architecture produced between the years 1930 to 1950 (whose apex is the construction of "Brasilia"), published and recognized around the world, remained in the 60s and 70s as the main paradigm for architects and urban planners in Brazil. During this period, criticisms of the "modernism" had no significant influence to the national context.This singularity theory in the field of architecture and urbanism, together with the rapid industrial and economic development current in the period, became renewal policies of the historic centers not priority (MEDRANO, RECAMAN, 2006).Thus, the redevelopment projects of the central areas of the main cities in Brazil have more evidence from the 1990s.

1.1 Re-urbanization of urban centers in Brazil

Since the end of last century, it is a consensus of opinion that strategies of intervention cannot accompany a single pre-determined model. The so-called local conditionings have already been mentioned by various authors as being fundamental for success in today's urban interventions (ASCHER, 2001; BORJA, 2001, 2001b; CASTELLS, 1983; ARANTES, 2000; MEYER, 2001), an idea that runs counter to modernistic planning theories ("tabula rasa", plan theory, international style etc.) and is based on the pressing questions of contemporary cities. According to authors such as Ascher (2001) or Borja (2001), although similarities may be found is various urban centres – brought about by an emerging modernity influenced by parameters of attractiveness of world metropolises – it is on the basis of their differences that a sustainable intervention project should be founded and developed. To this end, the importance stands out of recognising the real city, the fruit of the disparity between town planning and modernisa-

tion, utilising for this purpose projects that confer urban quality and infrastructure on it, as well as city planning instruments for its legalisation (GRIMBERG, 1994).

In Brazil, one of the best-known alternatives to predominant modernistic planning is found in the projects for requalification of the historical centralities that propose to encourage local social diversity. Starting from the perception of the degradation of urban centres and their structural possibilities, various projects have been undertaken in cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre and Salvador, focusing on questions such as tourism, cultural facilities, historical patrimony, public spaces and housing. In São Paulo, the city that constitutes the object of this study, an important process of re-urbanization was begun in the nineties, its main basis being the reorganisation of the social geography of the central region by means of public policies of inclusion, such as the building of Social Housing (SH). From this period onward, certain public administrations have prepared initiatives created for the benefit of the low income populations that live, circulate or work in the central region.

Until the current days, as I will demonstrate in this study, the most important initiatives related to the historic city center of Sao Paulo, occurred between the years 2001 to 2004.

2. Social interest housing in the São Paulo downtown area

In the central region of the city o Sao Paulo, the aggravation of the articulation among the real estate market, urban transformation and the exclusion areas became more evident after the 60s, when there was transference of elite commerce and services to the Paulista Avenue, which had already been happening gradually for homes (Villaça, 2001). The "modern" Paulista Avenue was the perfect spot for the desires of the tertiary sector and its immediate needs, that is, the new forms of the "international style" present in the buildings under construction and in the transport system for individual automobiles. This original flow in which elite homes and commerce left the downtown area accelerated more in the following decades, which created an fast process of decadence in the area, both regarding public spaces and buildings as well as private homes and commercial buildings.

In the actions for the reversion of the degradation process and emptying of the Sao Paulo Historical Center, more intense in the 90s, we can highlight: on one side, the desire of establishing a cultural and historical downtown area; on another, the re-organization of its public and democratic role on the implementation of housing and social programs to low-income population.

The initiatives directed at valuing the historical and cultural heritage of the central areas of the city of São Paulo, which include the association "Viva o Centro" (Viva the Centre) as one its main sponsor entities, invest in the value of cultural activities, squares and monuments, accessibility to personal transportation, touristic potential, commercial growth and safety through constant presence of the police (COMARU, et all. 2005). In relation to Social Interest Housing, the model now supports a distancing of these areas from the now "re-urbanized" downtown area (consequently more valued) as a clear example of gentrification. This attitude in relation to the role of the central area in large contemporary cities could be analyzed in the "SeminárioInternacional Centro XXI", organized by the Association "Viva o Centro" in 2000, where intellectuals such as Borja, Ascher, Solá-Morales, Gosling and Huet emphasized the necessity of an ample socio-spatial process for the strengthening of the central areas, yet highlighting the preoccupation with the lower-income classes, which could make the whole process a lot more difficult. In the case of Brazil, in specific of the city of São Paulo, where the difference between social classes is a key element in the equation, the idea of a "downtown-monument" serving the elite, exclusively, worried about "global cities", seems to be a mistake. The hypothesis that this aggravates the difference between social classes has unfortunately already become a characteristic of our urbanization and development process (ARANTES; MARICATO, 2002).

Another hypothesis that is more focused on the heterotrophic reality of contemporary metropolis supports multi-cultural and multi-functional values of historic centers. This hypothesis is based on theories that value the importance of the socio-spatial definitions in the configuration of a system of popular and pluralist actions, as describes by Santos (1982, 1996) or Harvey (2004), for example. It supports the role of the downtown area to supply the demand for social housing, one of its earliest attributions, marked by the presence of slum tenement-houses. This demand was reinforced since the late 80s by groups of people who fight for right of living downtown. and, after the mid 90s, the great number of empty real estate in the central area awakens the interest of these movements fighting for dwelling, which start demanding new public politics to solve the problem (COMARU, et all. 2005). As a common point, the re-vindication of these groups make it evident the urgency of a Urban Reform in the cities of Brazil in order to offer the population decent and democratically distributed dwelling in urban territories. The occupation of abandoned buildings in the central area has been studied as a promising alternative to the existing housing problems, although there is constant conflict between sectors with opposing interests. This is the research theme of ample research projects such as the "Reabilita" (ZMI-

TROWICZ, et all. 2006), which analyzes the technical viability of transforming these buildings in low-income housing.. Most of these studies show a necessity of better use of the vast number of empty real estate, making use of the public power as a necessary instrument for such.

Between 2001 and 2004, with the maturing (national and international) of the theoretical debate about re-urbanization processes of central areas, some initiatives were organized for the creation of adequate public policies to the viability of balanced re-occupation of the downtown area. Such initiatives accept the clear role of the central area as cultural and historical heritage, motivate its occupation by sectors of city and state governments (including the transference of public offices and even the city hall to central areas), but consider the necessity of adequating the area to the housing sector for several social classes. In relation to Social Interest Housing, the program Living Downtown is one of the most significant of the period– it tries to integrate in one only set of strategies several technical and political mechanisms for the low-income population. The program is subdivided in three sub-programs: Home Leasing (PAR), Social Rent and the program of Integrated Habitat Re-habilitation (PRIH), all of them using the mortgage system of "CaixaEconômica Federal" (a federal bank). In the program of Social Rent, an innovation in the city scenario, we highlight the project Parque do Gato (previous Gato Slum), theVila dos Idosos (Housing for Elders) and the reformulation of the Hotel São Paulo. Having the same goal, several other lands in central areas were bought by the City Hall for the construction of housing destined for Social Rent.

3. Social housing in São Paulo central area
Still during the administration that occupied the town hall between 2001 and 2004, the new Strategic Master Plan for the Municipality of São Paulo (Plano DiretorEstratégicopara o Município de São Paulo - PDEM) was approved, having in its content, among other objectives, the clear intention of a re-organization of the city, aiming at a more egalitarian social distribution in its urban form. The central area has, among the guidelines presented by the directing plan its re-urbanization as a priority. The new plan divides the city into two macro-zones: the "Environment Protection" and "Urban Structuring and Qualification"; the latter is sub-divided into four macro-areas: "Urban Re-structuring and Re-qualification", "Urbanization and Qualification", "Consolidation of Urbanization" and "Consolidated Urbanization".
The downtown area, which is part of the macro-area of Urban Re-structuring and Re-qualification, is identified as a region with decreasing population numbers that has its urban infra-structure underused, although it still has as a char

acteristic a high employment rate. As its main goal, the Directing Plan, tries to reverse the situation of this macro-area. In order to do this, it tries to stimulate the implantation of Social Housing (SH) and intensify the real-estate promotion through Popular Market Housing (PMH). In parallel actions, it also has as objectives to improve its collective public spaces and the environment; to promote commerce and services; to value the preservation of the architectural patrimony; and reorganize the structure of collective transportation (Plano DiretorEstratégico do Município de São Paulo – Lei 13.430, de 13 de setembro de 2002, art. 155).

Therefore, the urban regularization in the city has suffered significant modifications since 2001 on its SIH policy. The homologation of the "Statute of the City" ("Estatuto da Cidade", federal law 10257, July 2001), the approval of the PDEM and a series of funding programs (including the ones carried by federal and state agencies) strengthened the debate and practice of SH in the city's central area, opening space of academic and population participation (which started to represent its own interests).

According to Nakano (2004), the Statute of the City aims to soften the picture of socio-territorial inequality, making regulation systems more effective in order to fulfill the city social purpose. Maricato (2003) reveals the collective adverse possession as a new tool for guarantee a quick and effective regularization of beehives and illegal zoning, especially when counting with Public Prosecution and free juridical assistance. He also highlights the importance of ally juridical intervention with technical and urban follow up of the projects, therefore improving overall housing quality.

The PDEM has showed three aspects that could fundamentals difference it from the previous Director Plans: the "social propose of property", compensation regarding intensive land use and tools to regularize informal habitation. The central region is located in the Restructuration and Requalification macro-area, where highlights the Mist Zone (MZ) and the Special Zones: Social Interest Special Zone (SISZ) and Cultural Preservation Special Zone (CPSZ). It institute tools in order to raise resources as the onerous grant of the right to construct, which are "financial counterpart from the real state investors who wish to built beyond the basic usage coefficient until the maximum coefficient"[NAKANO, 2004] or the Improvement Contribution – established in the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1934 and repeated in the Statute of the City – where there is a resource capitation from the capital gain in real states nearby regions that are going to receive public investments.

General criterions are established for the use of no utilized or underutilized real state and introduce the Real State Consortium (ConsórcioImobiliário, in Portuguese) as a solution to many buildings that have received a notice about non-/

underutilization. And at last, legalize the urban requalification in a public-private partnership with the Urban Operation Intercropped and the Pre-emption Right. The MZ is characterized by the residential and no residential use, including for cases within the same zone or building. The intention is to increase regional micro-economies and balance the population density inside the central areas. The coexistence between distinct uses will be established after the new Municipal Law on Land Usage, Occupation and Division. The neighborhood impact, such as over urban infrastructure and local economy, will be analyzed before the approval of the venture, according to Nakano (2004). The CPSZ is "destined to the preservation, recovery and maintenance of the historical, artistic and archeological heritage". The SISZs are "portion of the territory destined, primarily, for urban renewal, land regularization and SIH or Popular Market (PM) production". Inside each of the 4 SISZs established in the city, the central area has received the SISZ-3, which regards the underutilized and lands or buildings located in areas with infrastructure, urban services and jobs offers. According to Nakano (2004), all the SISZs have by goal reverse the depopulation process of the central areas, helping the poor population and demanding health and education sites, as well as childcare institution (those very insufficient in the central zones).

The PDEM also delimits the basic usage coefficient to the majority of the city as being 1.0. As an incentive to production, the same coefficient can reach the value of 4.0 inside the SISZ-3, both for SIH projects and overall buildings. The goal here is to make those areas attractive for real state business, making the public-private partnerships easier.

The center area of São Paulo has always historically been the one with the higher usage coefficient for construction, averagely the double allowed for the majority of the city [NAKANO, CAMPOS NETO et ROLNIK, 2004, p.141]. The adopted concept was that the SISZs are applicable only to few constructions, it was intended to avoid that it could be more interesting to build in other grounds not under the SISZs [TSUKUMO, 2007].

The associated use of the Onerous Grant and the SISZ in the region, provide many combinations of actions uniting public power and private sectors, inside which the production of SHs van be greatly favored (all that being technically followed up). For example, the BomRetiro region, where there is a big interest for real state investments, can use the Onerous Grant to capture resources and direct them to the production of adequate housing for the population there that lives in beehives [NAKANO, 2004; PICCINI, 2004].

At last, on the property underutilized, the City Hall applies the rule of the Progressive Taxation for 5 years, after notification (there is a deadline for readjustment of one year). After that time, public power can expropriate the real state with the payment of the public debt. However, within the PDEM, there is not

a formal identification of which would be the no utilized or underutilized real states. Nakano (2004) highlights, once again, the importance of assembling a register of such real state. The alternative of the Real State Consortium allows the public authorities to intervene in some areas, promoting other uses in areas noticed as underutilized. This Consortium involves distinct owners, what can difficult its deployment. The Urban Consortial Operations aims the restructuring of the lands by the train lines, such as the ones of north Santa Cecília, BomRetiro, Pari, Brás and Cambuci in the central areas. They are all areas with a big building potential, non residential and with mainly poor population [PICCINI, 2004].

The debate over the SIH in central areas since the 1980's has originated several programs and an insufficient funding, according to Maricato (2006), compared the housing deficit present in the cit. The local resources for housing highly depends on convenats with the CaixaEconomica Federal and the Companhia de DesenvolvimentoHabitacional (CDHU), both Brazilian agencies, the first financial and the second destined to build housing for poor people. Caixa works with the Residential Fund-Raising Program (Programa de ArrendamentoResidencial – PAR) destined to fund low-income families. CDHU, by itself, has made a covenant with the BID in the year 2000 [SILVA, 2000, 2001].

4. Social Housing in São Paulo central area.

Between the years 2001 and 2004, the central region was presented as one of the political priorities of the municipal authorities of the city. A plan, known as "Reconstructing the Centre", was displayed for the area that received support from the private sector of the state government. Among its guidelines was that of expanding residential use and guaranteeing the diversity of functions, as well as encouraging town planning actions with social inclusion.

Within the period some initiatives were taken for the adoption of public policies suitable for making the balanced reoccupation of the centre feasible: such initiatives respect the undeniable vocation of the central region, as historical and cultural patrimony encourages its occupation by sectors of municipal and state administration, including the transfer to the centre of various secretariats, as well as the city hall itself, but take into consideration the need of its consonance with the residential sector of different social classes. With this in mind, the "Live in the Centre" programme is one of the most comprehensive actions in the period – it seeks to integrate in one and the same set of strategies diverse technical and political mechanisms directed towards housing facilities of social interest. Live in the Centre is subdivided into three sub-programmes: the Residential Rental Programme (RRP), the Social Location Programme and the Integrated Habitat Rehabilitation Programme (IHRP), all of them making use of the public financing system. According to the data of the City Hall, by January 2004 more than 1,200

families had already been benefited by this set of programmes (Urbs, 2004, p. 24). Were proposed eight basic plans which are: Walking in the Centre, Living in the Center, Working in the Center, Finding the Centre, the Centre Preserving, Investing in the Center, Care Center and Govern the Center. The aim was to resume action in the districts that made up the historic socio-referencing the whole space, the existing population and quality of life through changes in legislation, analysis of proposals, disseminating information, provision of technical services to the community and investors.

4.1. Program "Living in the Center "

One of the most important actions of the period on study is the program Living in the Center, which has as main objective to encourage residential use in the city center,while preserving the existing housing.

The Living in the Center was presented by the city as an articulated set of programs and interventions, supported by tax and urban planning instruments, serving the whole of the housing problems of the region and achieving a sustainable performance and medium term. His fundamentals were proposed or defined before the start of negotiations with the BID, although there have been some changes by the end of the administration of Marta Suplicy (2001-2004).

The main feature of the program Living in the Center is well defined in the official publications of the Municipality in the period 2001/2004:

General Objectives:
- Improve the living conditions of residents of the Centre;
- Facilitate the center housing for people working in the region (restocking);
- Avoid to deportation, often linked to political rehabilitation of urban centers

Major guidelines:
- Prioritizing the reform of empty buildings;
- Combine with housing solutions for income generation initiatives;
- Seek the social diversity in the central districts.

Arrangements for housing assistance:

A) - Federal Resources: Residential Leasing Program (PAR)

In May 2001 an agreement was signed between the Municipality of São Paulo and Federal Savings Bank to implement the Residential Leasing Program (PAR). In this partnership, the City was responsible for:
•   Proposing a set of measures to facilitate the acquisition of property, reduce costs and deadlines for licensing;

- Improving the quality of projects and an indication of priority families.

The CAIXA (governmental bank) was responsible for:
- Ensure that new developments are made possible for the demand and indicated that the subsidies given by the city are passed on to borrowers
- Meet a set of criteria relating to quality of design and urban integration of the businesses.

B) - Resources Municipal (Municipal Housing Fund)
Social Renting.
Program approved in 2002, aimed at expanding the supply of rental units compatible with the needs of families and their ability to pay. It also intends to meet the conditions of people without income to be included in programs for the acquisition or leasing available, ensuring that they can stay downtown, where are your sources of income or networks of solidarity. (Silva H.M.M, 2007)

C) - Letters of Municipal Credit
Aims to expand the forms of financing to low-income population. The feature works with funds from the Municipal Housing Fund.
Subprogram Tenement.
Involves the construction of new units for families who are currently living in huts or buildings deteriorated, and the land had been expropriated.

D) - Transitional Housing
This program aims to lease of property by the Municipal Housing Fund for families in areas of risk or unhealthy, and that buildings will be renovated for lease or Social PAR programs. The beneficiaries, especially those living in the vain of the bridges and buildings with high degradation local properties directly from owners or hotel rooms for a period of one year and may be renewed for another year. In another embodiment, the lease of property is made by COHAB, for use as transitional housing for the demands of enterprises of the Municipal Housing Fund, the PAC / CDHU or PAR. In the latter case, the recipient families must contribute up to 17% of family income. The term of service is 1 year and may be renewed for one year. It is therefore a program of support for other programs; it allows the rotation of the population benefited by it.

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Since 2003, the redevelopment of the center is now coordinated by the "Empresa Municipal de Urbanização"(Emurb), responsible for the great works of the city. The Emurb launched, still in 2003, the Rehabilitation Program of the Central

Area called "Action Center" (EMURB, 2004b).
The "Action Center" program proposed five lines of action:

1.transformation of economic and social profiles of the central area;
2. Recovery of the urban environment;
3. Improving the movement and transport;
4. Institutional Strengthening of the municipality
5. Reversal of property devaluation and recovery of the residential function, where the program is embedded in the Living Center as a sub-component.

To meet the proposed transformation of the central social and economic profile of actions were proposed that make possible such improvements and to meet also the issue of social inclusion, taking into account the classes that coexist at the central area.

5. Discussion

Since the end of the administration that governed the city of São Paulo between 2001 and 2004, the urban policies and actions directed at SH downtown declined. As it can be seen on the official website of the program "Living in the Center" (SÃO PAULO, 2012), from 2004 to 2012, almost no new project was undertaken for the area.

After 2004, the government has the option to prioritize the calls "urban operations" (public-private partnerships based on the theories of "strategic urbanism" and neoliberalism) and projects to areas occupied by slums (squatter settlements). These programs are organized and disseminated with great media participation - architecture competitions, publications and the hiring of star architects, are used in this strategy (eg "Renova São Paulo" competition, the architect RuyOhtak projects, international workshops, Web sites " São Paulo 2040", etc.). However, few results are presented effectively in relation to housing problems of central area and urban-social structure of the city. The "urban operations", as the project " Nova Luz" and "Operação Urbana ÁguaBranca" , resulted in actions that significantly increased the value of the property, which benefited the real estate market, but it impaired the construction of SH (SILVA, 2007). For the low-income population, are designed dwellings on land far from the city Center.The public spaces, fundamental to the social dynamics of the city and urban, are ignored. As pointed out by the recent UN report (UN, 2012), cities like São Paulo, although they decreased the amount of slums, expanded their private spaces, such as gated communities and "shopping centers", and diminish their experience of public spaces such as public squares, parks, driveways etc. This paper intends to demonstrate that the theoretical fundaments that structured urban initiatives related to HS in central areas, developed in the second

half of the twentieth century, still into effect today - especially in the city of São Paulo. The formation of natural and unequal urban territory of this city reinforces the need for public policies that mitigate social conflicts and not just reduce, "numerically", the data from your housing deficit. The advances made in programs such as "Living in the Center" should remain on the agenda of the town of São Paulo, as there is in contemporary literature, hypotheses capable of overcoming the theories and achievements engendered in the disciplinary field of architecture and urbanism from the 1960s. On the contrary, after the 2008 crisis and the general questioning of some practices of neoliberalism, authors like Tony Judt (2010) and David Harvey (2004, 2011), reaffirm the necessity of organizing a social agenda that contemplates social problems arising out of the market unregulated. Nevertheless, the city of São Paulo insists on using the Urban Planning as a basis for generating resources whose benefits are concentrated in a small portion of the population (elite) and real estate. In this scheme, the architecture or urban design, have reduced participation because are restricted to satisfy the market interest (profit), and not the population. In this sense, the creation of technical mechanisms, theoretical, and political project that enable low-income people access to the city center (and its history, culture and infrastructure), can be a great contribution of architects, urban planners and rulers.

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GREEN LIVING: WITH OR WITHOUT GREEN BUILDINGS? EXAMPLES OF ECO- ARCHITECTURE IN UK

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to question, to what extent is eco-architecture really a key to „green"
or sustainable living? Are the cutting edge marvels of zero-carbon architecture successful
in reducing our global ecological footprint? Are they capable of inspiring people to choose more sustainable lifestyles in addition to cutting carbon? Or on the contrary, is rejection of modern technology a more sustainable option? Isn't the obssesion of energy-efficiency resulting in even more complicated, less affordable architecture?
In search for an answer for such questions, author visits several different examples
of sustainable architecture. Among others, the following examples from Great Britain are briefly presented and contrasted: BedZED (eco-neighbourhood), Tinkers Bubble (radical eco-village), Earthships in Brighton and Kinghorn (off-grid community centres), strawbale social housing
in Waddington (affordable low-carbon homes).

The analysis is undertaken from an architects point of view, yet the focus is on relation between architecture and the green living taking place within it's frame. Eco-villages, low impact developements and developer-led eco-neighbourhoods might share some ideas, yet they differ very much, in terms of architecture and their overall „ecological footprint".

Author assumes, that even the best eco-tech solutions in architecture are, on their own, not enough to create sustainable settlements, if the inhabitants themselves do not wish to follow sustainability principles. On the contrary, there are examples off very low impact communities, which hardly use any advanced building solutions. Therefore, a search for architecture that is not only eco-efficient but actually inspires and enables sustainable lifestyles is treated as a priority in the paper.

KEY WORDS: ECOLOGICAL ARCHITECTURE, ECO-VILLAGE, ECO-CITY, ECO-NEIGHBOURHOOD.

1   INTRODUCTION

This paper eximines the role of architecture in enabling or creating sustainable communities and lifestyles. Examples chosen come from Great Britain, and have been visited by the author during study tours in 2011 and 2012. This study tours have been undertaken to seek answers for questions about relevance of architectural responses to the challanges of sustainable developement.

2   MANY MEANINGS OF THE WORD "GREEN".

Terms like "green", "ecological", "sustainable" or simply "eco" are often used to describe (without great precision) architecture that is either designed with respect for the natural environment, "environmentaly responsive" (Steele, 2005, p.6), or just energy-efficient. So they have been in this article, although the author has chosen only such examples, in which the idea of sustainability (or sustainable growth, especially in it's eco-centric definition) is the main design principle.

As the experts from The Why Factory write "Green is no longer a trend, but simply the way things are done" (Maas et al., 2009, p.128). Or rather, should be done, as in reality the green-design ideals are much talked about, but only partialy adopted by the mainstream construction. While the principles of sutain

able design are well known, the actual performance of eco-buildings and their role in improving sustailnability of their inhabitants' lives is less obvious.

To be able to distinquish the real achievements in this field from the designers' wishes, concepts of carbon and ecological footprints need to be reffered to.

2.2 FOOTPRINT REDUCTION, ENERGY EFFICIENCY, "ONE PLANET LIVING" AND OTHER DESIGN GOALS

Zero-carbon footprint seems to be the "holy grail" of ecological architecture. Carbon footprintin has important adventages: it can be clearly defined, mesured and compared. It adresses directly the need to act against the climate change. It fits very well into the "technical optymism" approach and it might be used to legitimise the idea that increasing energy-effency and swithing to renewable power can solve the ecological crisis.

It is, however, quite often used selectively. In most cases it is the use of a building that is calculated to be carbon-neutral and the embodied energy (that is "all the energy needed to extract and process, transport and assemble a material or resource" (Steele, 2005, p.7)

of materials and construction is quite often overlooked. This is unfortunate, as with the improved energy efficiency of buildings use this initial imput of energy will be in propotion more significant. Also, improved energy-efficiency means quite often that more materials (for ex. thermal isolation, thermaly massive building elements etc.) are needed in construction, resulting

in possibility of buildings embodied energy increase.

Using ecological footprint is a much more complex way of assesing the influence of a building (or indeed any human product or action) on environment. „Ecological footprint analysis is

an accounting tool that enables us to estimate the resource consumption and waste assimilation requirements of a defined human population or economy in terms of a corresponding productive land area." (Wackernagel and Rees, 1996, p.9) The frightening conclusion from such calculations is that the global population is imposing an excessive "load" on nature, that it is already beyond it's capacity to regenerate. Especially the developed countries, where consumption is highest, are the ones to blame. For example, calculations reveal, that if all people on the planet lived at British level of consumption, 2,5 or 3 times more productive land would be required than actually exists on Earth (Dunster, 2008, pp.50-55). Using terms adopted by ZED Factory and BioRegional, it means that we are living "3 planets lives". "1 planet living" is the ultimate design goal, if ecological footprint is used as a guideline (that has been the case with BedZED for example).

No matter which footprint is being measured, author believes that a holistic approach in which every step of building process and life is considered, should be used. Although "Buildings are
a key element in process of decarbonisation" (Kemp et al., 2010, p.82), common sense is also necessary not to fall in a carbon-cutting obsession at a cost of human well-being. That means, that buildings should never be analyzed without the social, urban and geographical context. "Building design should give real regard to occupant behaviour, energy use and the interaction of those two" (Kemp et al., 2010, p.82).

2.3   RURAL ECO-VILLAGES vs. URBAN ECO-NEIGHBOURHOODS

With both types of footprint calculations as a tool, comparing ecological relevance of different sort of developements should be possible. It would be especially important to check the performance of newbuild rural eco-villages and urban eco-neighbourhoods versus one other, and versus traditional developements, to see which examples should be followed.
At the time of writing, author has not been able to obtain such figures for all examples, so full comparision is not possible. Wherever data is avalible it is cited in the examples section. Anecdotal evidence suggests however, that some of the rural eco-villages are very effective
at reducing carbon footprint, mostly because their inhabitants are very dedicated to that goal and are willing to make lifestyle changes to achieve it. On the contary, the data from the report "BedZED seven years on" (BioRegional, 2007) shows, that while the buildings are very energy-efficient, the inhabitants continue to live quite carbon-intensive livestyles.

2.4   ECOLOGICAL EDUCATION

During the research and site-visits a common feature of the examined developements has became obvious: their educational role. Some of them are so polpular, that they can be cosidered tourist attractions. This situation is uniqe, especially for newly-build residential buildings. It is clear, that places like BedZED or Brighton Earthship attract visitors because of their eco-pioneers fame. Although this is probably an adventage from an ecological-activist point of view, for residents it can be more of a liability than an asset.
To protect the residents from eco-tourists and to make the most of the educational potential, many of the residential eco-developements run guided tours (ex. BedZED, Hockerton Housing Project). Eco-villages are often even more education-orientated, offering guided tours, voluteering opportunities, seminars,

holidays and other events (ex. Findhorn Ecovillage). Center For Alternative Technology (CAT) in Wales is an example of an eco-village which has turned into an educational and research centre (up to university level).

Except tours and courses ecological architecture has a huge potential of inspiring change by setting an example, and providing a symbol which can be spread by the media. Impressive world-wide media coverage of BedZED is an excelent example. Another one (on propotianaly smaller scale) is perhaps Simon Dale's simple woodland house which has been viewed online by an astonishing number of over 2mln visitors (Pickerill and Maxey, 2009, p.15,16).

Fig.1. Left: Simon Dale's house (photo cortuesy Simon Dale)
Right: CAT eco-village: wind turbines exposition.

3   EXAMPLES

The examples described below have been chosen to illustrate different roles that architecture can play in the quest for green-living on the level of individuals and (more importantly) whole communities. The focus is therefore mostly on eco-settlements and buildings, which are at least partially residential.

Revealing the contrast between various concepts hidden behind the word "eco" was the first principle. That is the reason for mixing different scales and types of developments: from single autonomous buildings to complete neighbourhoods.

It is also, why there is a strong representation of '"alternative" or "low-tech" communities instead of multiplying descriptions
of the more mainstream developer-led eco-settlements .

The second main theme, which links most of the described projects, is their educational
and symbolic significance and potential to inspire change.

3.2   BEDZED. QUEST FOR "ONE PLANET LIVING".

Fig.2. Left: BedZED general view (photo cortuesy BioRegional).
Right: Bed ZED visitors centre (photo cortuesy BioRegional).

BedZED, designed by Bill Dunster Architects (now called The ZED Factory) is probably the most famous eco-development in UK. The information (which can be found for instance in: Dunster at al., 2008) that it is UK "largest mixed use, carbon-neutral development" and that it is "one-planet-living" community has been repeated by media all over the world, again and again, but unfortunately both statements are misleading in light of the "BedZED seven years on" report by BioRegional (2007) - a charity, that worked on the environmental strategies for the neighbourhood. It seems clear from this publication, that carbon-neutrality and "one-planet living" were ambitious design goals for the buildings and (more importantly) their inhabitants, but have not been reached in real life. Although the buildings perform very well In terms of energy-efficiency, they are still dependent on fossil-fuels energy because the on-site renewable sources have not performed as expected (for ex. the CHP plant has been uneconomical and it was shut down).

Quite obviously the construction of the buildings was also not carbon-neutral. A genuine effort to lower the carbon footprint of materials (by sourcing locally and using recycled elements) resulted in 20 to 30% embodied energy reduction. However, the final carbon per square meter figure of 675kg/m2 is not lower than industry standard for this size of development (BioRegional, 2002, p.4). This is due to the fact, that the thermally-massive and super-insulated building shell required more materials to construct.

As the report (BioRegional, 2007) admits "one-planet living" as a goal for the community of BedZED, was not achievable in a "3 planets living" society. Therefore, BioRegional calculates, residents of BedZED could reach „1,7 planets" level,

if only they were „taking advantage of all the green lifestyle features" (BioRegional, 2007, p.8). Unfortunately those "features" include lifestyle changes like not flying to holidays, less shopping, adopting vegetarian diet...

Not surprisingly residents haven't stood up to such expectations. So, the figure achieved is

"2,6 planets" in comparison to the local borough average of "2,9 planets" meaning only an 11% reduction. That illustrates clearly, that even the most advanced, energy-efficient architecture designed (as BedZED is) together with strategies for car sharing, recycling, water saving etc. will not change our impact on earth significantly if we keep to our actual levels of consumption.

3.3   TINKERS BUBBLE. REDUCING NEEDS, REDUCING CARBON.

Fig.3. Left: Tinkers Bubble: Village community building.
Right:Tinkers Bubble: Sawmill's steam engine.

Bubble is a small self-build, off-grid settlement in woods near Yeovil, Somerset. There are about 10 people living there on 40 acres of woodland, orchards, gardens and pastures. The main rule of the community is "no fossil fuels on site", and it seems that it followed quite strictly. All the work in the gardens an woods is done by human and horse-power, sawmill's steam engine is powered with wood, water is pumped with a ram-pump, electricity (very limited) for the households use is generated by PV panels plus a wind turbine and wood stoves are the only source of heat in winter. Although there is no scientific research data available to the author, one can assume that the carbon footprint of everyday life within the village is very close to zero. That is achieved solely by dedication of inhabitants to simple, Thoreau'vian life and use of sustainable sources of energy (assuming, that the woods are managed in a sustainable way). Surprisingly, the buildings are not at all energy-efficient and indeed offer little comfort, as some of them are simply half-permanent shacks. They are, however, very low-carbon in construction, as they are build using human labour, mainly with recycled and local materials.

This example shows an extreme strategy for creation of a highly sustainable settlement. It is only possible, if there is a community willing to part with most of thr comforts taken for granted in developed countries, and if enough land is available, as it relies heavily on availability of wood for fuel.

Another interesting point about the settlement is that it is one of "low impact developments" (LID) meaning according to Simon Fairlie a "development, which by virtue of its low or benign environmental impact, may be allowed in locations where conventional development is not permitted" (Pickerill and Maxey, 2009, p.2). There are several LID's in UK that have been build on agricultural land, and than, after going to appeal, have been granted temporary permission, due to their outstanding level of sustainability (Pickerill and Maxey, 2009, pp.67-70). In this way people involved in creation of LID have challenged the fundamental idea of British post-war planning, namely the assumption that the countryside needs to be protected from humans.

A thought, that humans can live in the countryside and actually enrich it, following the principles of sustainability and permaculture is promoted by LID supporters as a new paradigm in planning.

3.4   EARTHSHIP BRIGHTON / EARTHSHIP FIFE. FULL OFF-GRID AUTONOMY.

Fig.4. Left: Earthship Brighton. Right: Earthship Fife.

The fully off-grid Earthships designed by Mike Raynolds are widely acclaimed icons of eco-archiecture. They are presented as "survival kits", a kind of modern Noah's Ark. Yet, both visually and functionally they were first designed for the desert of New Mexico, and only later exported to different places all over the globe. Mike Reynolds' Earthship Biotecture sell construction drawings and kits, offering a "global model" - one design which, as they claim on their website (<http://earthship.com/designs>) "can be built in any part of the world, in any climate and still provide you with what you need to survive". This advertising

slogan and one-fits-all design approach is an antithesis of what was defined at the beginning of this article as ecological, so environmentally responsive architecture. The concept, that one design could be used without modification in climates so different as New Mexico and UK is questionable, and obviously against traditional knowledge.

Nevertheless, the idea was brought to life in two places in UK in Kinghorn (Scotland) and Brighton (England). Even though there are publications available about both Earthships (Cowie and Kemp, 2006; Hewitt and Tefler, 2007), there is little data about their real-life performance. The research by Professor Andrew Miller (Hewitt and Tefler, 2007), regarding the thermal mass behaviour, was conducted in an unoccupied building. It is not conclusive, whether Earthship in Brighton would perform as promised by the designers. Anecdotal evidence from research by Earthship Europe (<http://earthshipeurope.org/index.php/earthships/performance>) suggests however, that in Europe only one Earthship in Spain performs as expected. It is not surprising, as Earthship design relies very much on passive solar gains, which are much smaller in northern Europe than in New Mexico. Also the temperature of earth at the level of foundations varies in different regions, so for. ex. the idea of an un-insulated floor is not suited to the UK climate, especially in winter.

Both British Earthships serve as community centres (both are located in areas of organic gardens), although they are designed in the same way as residential Earthships, and they were build to test the design as a possible sustainable housing solution for the future. As community centres they take advantage of their original appearance and attract a lot of attention.

For ex. till 2007 4.500 people were given a tour at Earthship Brighton, and it was the National Gold Winner of the "Green Apple Award" for the build environment and architectural heritage in the new build tourism category (Hewitt and Tefler, 2007, p. 103). Many people find the Earthship idea fascinating, and perhaps, with some climate adaptations, they will be successful as low-impact dwellings, also in UK. With their characteristic form, and legend surrounding Mike Reynolds (the "Garbage Warrior") they can also play a role in advertising use of recycled materials in building, acting "as provocative agents of change" (Hewitt and Tefler, 2007, p. 107

3.5   WADDINGTON - STRAWBALE SOCIAL HOUSING. SUSTAINABILITY WITHIN COUNCIL HOUSING BUDGET.

Fig.5.Left & Right: Social housing in Waddington.

This project (designed by Jakub Wihan and Barbara Jones from Amazon Nails) is an attempt to provide sustainable housing for people, who would not be able to pay an "extra" for the "green features". In the words of Barbara Jones "these buildings are leading the way in bringing the cost of desirable home ownership within the reach of the ordinary person" (Jones, 2009, p.17). The design is obviously less avantgarde, than the ones described above, but it is one that addresses also the social aspect of sustainability, in a way that might be replicable on a wider scale.

Those semi detached houses might not make a big impression at a first glance, but they are remarkable, as they are build mostly with "natural", not much processed materials (including strawbales, wood and lime), greatly reducing the amount of embodied energy. The cement use has been designed out and 85% of materials are low carbon (Jones,2009, p.78). The strawbale walls are loadbering, cutting down the amount of timber used, and consequently lowering both environmental and financial cost. The modest form of the houses is a result of a tight budget, and corresponds to the surroundings.

The houses are very energy-efficient, being super-insulated, as a rendered strawbale wall of 40cm width has an U value ca. 0,12W/m2 (Minke and Mahlke, 2005, p.29). Therefore, they can potentially be upgraded to be carbon-neutral by addition of renewable sources of energy. As for the carbon footprint of the inhabitants and their actions there is no data available. It would be interesting to research, whether their attitude towards reducing-carbon is somehow affected by the fact that they live in a house which distinguishes itself from the surrounding typical council houses by its natural materials and energy performance.

4 SUMMARY: THE ROLE OF ARCHITECTURE FOR GREEN LIVING

Eco-architecture alone will not make our civilization sustainable, it is, however, the most physical manifestation of change taking place. As such, it is also an important tool for ecological education – a process which make a real difference in reducing our ecological footprints.

The phrase sustainable architecture is itself a paradox, as is the whole concept of sustainable growth but "the point of the concept is to avoid polarized options and to seek solutions that successfully marry human welfare with ecological robustness" (Barton, 2000, p.6).

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CIVIC ARCHITECTURE AND PUBLIC SPACE
Comparing two provincial Legislatures in Kimberley and Nelspruit, South Africa

ABSTRACT

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Public spaces in South African urban environments consist of different typologies and character such as public squares, the streetscape and civic buildings. According to Henaff and Strong (2001) these spaces represent the public sphere of life, being the point of social connection, a stage for political activity and judicial practices. However, public spaces in South Africa are drastically decreasing due to regulated or exclusive accessibility, high security measures and non-public public space. Regulated or exclusive accessibility restrict a community to demonstrate their democratic voice in society which is controlled by security protocols in order to prevent unwanted behaviour. Initially, when public space is designed it is done within the given cultural context to be used by the community for the overall benefit of society but these spaces have become inaccessible, being the playground of the elite and privileged delegates. The re-appropriation of these spaces needs to be considered to ensure the existence of public space in a Democratic society. This paper will investigate Provincial Legislature buildings in two South African provinces, the Northern Cape and

Mpumalanga. A case study will be used to analyse the true public character of public spaces, how accessible these places are and the relationship between the community and space instigated by civic structures. The Production of Space written by Henri Lefebvre forms the theoretical basis for the investigation. In conclusion ways of re-appropriating these public spaces within the community will be highlighted.

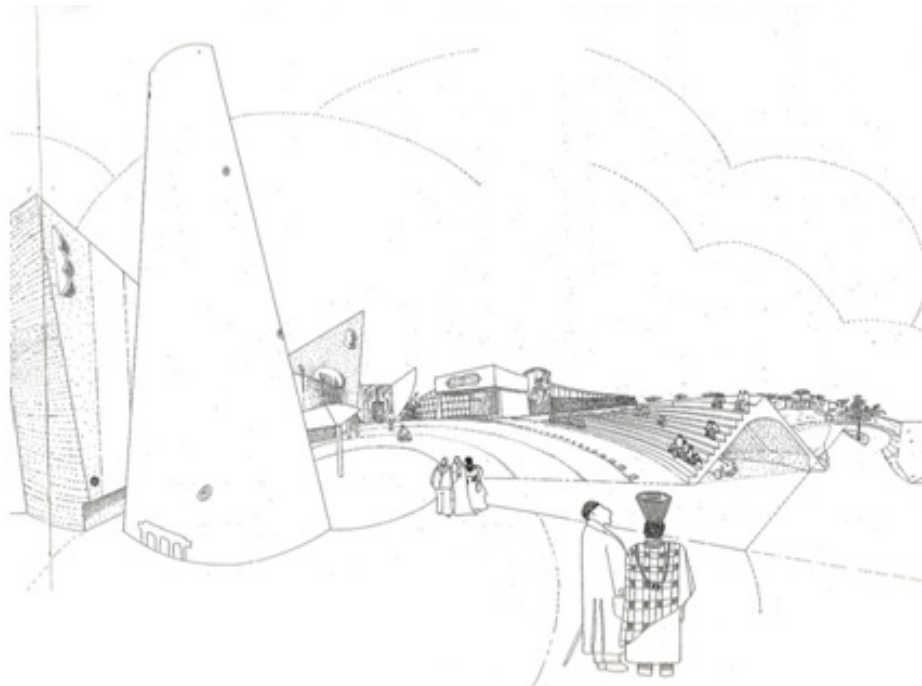 Key words: public space, access, civic buildings, community, context.

Figure 1. Sketch of the public area in front of the Northern Cape Legislature. Sketch drawn by project architect Luis Ferreira da Silva

In South Africa, after becoming a democratic society in 1994, the government has instigated the design and construction of civic buildings to portray the democratic image of ubuntu [1]. Two of these new government complexes are the Mpumalanga Legislature, in Nelspruit, the capital city of Mpumalanga, and the Northern Cape Legislature, in Kimberley, the capital city of the North Cape. The Mpumalanga Legislature originated as a design competition; the brief asking for an appropriate consortium that will advance and empower Previously Disadvantaged Individuals (PDI's) and Affirmable Business Enterprises (ABE's) and a building that makes reference to the diverse cultures of the new democratic society. MPTS Architects were appointed as the Principle Agents. Construction commenced in April 2008 and was completed at the end of August 2001 by contractors Sivukile Stocks joint venture (Malan & McInerey, 2001). For the design of the Northern Cape Legislature a competition was launched again in order to find the appropriate architectural paradigm for an emerging African democ

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1   [The word 'ubuntu' is philosophical term for a certain world view or way of living. Liberian peace activist Leyman Gbowee described it as "I am what I am because of who we all are."

racy. The winning team was Luis Ferreira da Silva Architects. Construction commenced in March 2001 and the building was completed in February 2003 by contractors Murray & Roberts (Malan & McInerey, 2003). After seventeen years of democratic rule, one has to question whether these buildings portray a truly democratic space, and how these spaces are utilized by the community.

According to Margaret Kohn, the public sphere within our cities are gradually disappearing because of privatization, therefore public space provided by the government is of utmost importance to ensure the continuation of democratic activities (Kohn, 2004). Because property owned by the government has the same rights to apply rules and regulations regarding access and security as that of privately owned property, the design intent and utilization of public space need to be safeguarded to provide a platform for public activities such as leafleting, demonstrations and social activities. This paper will focus on the definition of public space in South Africa, how public spaces are currently used referring to accessibility, boundaries and the body in space. Lefebvre's theory on space in the seminal book 'the production of space' will provide a theoretical foundation in the investigating on how people use these spaces. This knowledge will then be tested against two case studies in Kimberley and Nelspruit. Lastly ways of re-appropriating these spaces back to the community will be discussed in terms of addressing accessibility, liminal space and the contextual integration within the community.

Public space is a widely contested topic amongst academics, geographers and architects therefore the term needs to be defined as it will be used by the author within the South African context r (Mitchell, Kohn, Hajer &Reijndorp). According to Hajer and Reijndorp(2001) the most basic element of public space is the free accessibility thereof. Hajer and Reijndorp further states that public space should rather be seen a public domain providing a place for exchange between different social groups and is not necessarily publicly owned, but could be privately owned. This paper will only focus on government owned property where the initial intent to provide space for the public. It is debatable whether a privately owned property can be public as the owner still has control over the people who have access, and the activities that are allowed.

For Kohn(2004) ownership, accessibility and inter subjectivity serve as key aspects of a public space, referring to unplanned contact between people but still considering the level of publicness with ownership in mind. Henaff and Strong (2001) support human contact in public space, stating that it should be a human construct and a artefact, where a person can be visible and where one can be part of time and happenings in space. For the purpose of this paper, public

space shall be defined as publicly owned property with unrestricted access for all social and racial groups, allowing activities associated with a democratic society such as informal trade, demonstrations by all political groups and freedom of speech, thus bringing people into contact with each other. Public space is a place where ideas and beliefs can be exchanged between people of different ethnic groups and backgrounds.

Considering the above mentioned, one would expect a dramatic change in the experience of public spaces after 1994. Lefebvre summarised this change in the following quote;... has state socialism (in this case a new democratic society) produced a space of its own? A revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential; indeed it has failed in that it has not changed life itself, but has merely changed ideological superstructures, institutions or political apparatuses. A social transformation, to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language and on space- though its impact need not occur at the same rate, or with equal force, in each of these areas. ..the period of intense change, merely establishes the preconditions for a rather longer period of calm. (Lefebvre,1991)

Landman (2006) found that numerous townships [1]in South Africa have grown around the peripheries of cities and in turn informal settlements [2]developed around the townships. This phenomena is drastically changing as civic structures are built in these marginal spaces. One such example is the Department of Home Affairs built in Heidedal, Bloemfontein. This insurgent gesture contributed to positive growth such as the development of small businesses, job creation within the district and improved infrastructure. Another example of development in marginal space is the newly proposed legislature building next to the old Ramskraal jail in Bloemfontein, South Africa (Gericke, 2012). This site lies between Batho, and the railroad which previously divided the black and white community. Both mentioned Legislature buildings were erected on or in the periphery of the respective cities, but within a different cultural context. The Northern Cape Legislature was built in a township called Galeshewe, on the northern periphery of Kimberley (figure2), whereas the Nelspruit Legislature was built on the edge of a low density business district, dissolving between thorn trees, becoming part of nature and not man (figure3).

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1   *[township refers to a area that has been set aside for Black occupancy during the apartheid era, usually at the outskirts of the city or town]*

2   *[informal setlements refer to unplanned low income residential areas developing without any municipal services or allocation of land]*

Figure 2. A Google Earth, aerial photograph indicating the location of the Mpumalanga Legislature. The Riverside Shopping mall and Emnotweni Casino is situated on the left thereof.

Figure 3. A Google Earth, aerial photograph indicating the location of the Northern Cape Legislature next to the township Galeshewe.

Figure 4. An aerial photograph indicating the location and context of the Northern Cape Legislature next to the township, Galeshewe. Photographed by Kimco Studio Kimberley

Habermas (1989) is of the opinion that the public sphere and formal state should be separated. In the center one should find the institutional complex, and on the periphery the public sphere. The problem arises when the institutional core overwhelms the public periphery, transforming it into a private no man's land. In order to ensure the politically correct functioning of a democratic society, the periphery has to influence the center, thus informing and steering the decisions made in the center. Berendzen (2008) argues that the regulation and exclusive accessibility of public space limits the diversity of social and racial groups and the issues raised by them, thus limiting the steering power. According to Whyte (1980), for a space to be accessible the same rules and regulations as for any other public space should apply. Taking Whyte's theory into consideration, one should examine the existing restrictions at both the Kimberley- and Nelspruit Legislatures, and what restraints are placed on uncontrolled activities.

One of these restrictions is boundaries. Kohn (2004) states that boundaries between zones undermine the sense of citizenship, creating places for the privileged with rules and services for those inside the gates, negatively affecting those outside. In the competition brief the Premier of the Northern Cape Province, Manne Dipico, described the communities objective for the building as follows: 'The legislature will be a symbol of their struggle for freedom and recognition. The Legislature will celebrate the leaders, artists, poets, prophets and philosophers who have originated in the Northern Cape and who have contributed to its cultural heritage. In addition, the building complex and its ground will

be open to the public, who will be encouraged to visit for relaxation, information, celebration and even demonstration. It will certainly become one of the key tourist attractions in Kimberley'.[1]

This space is definitely not a key tourist attraction as the public is no longer allowed unrestricted access and taking of photo's is prohibited. The complex is fenced, becoming an island of isolated elite, protected and patrolled by security guards. These fences serve as symbolic ordering of society, a harsh seclusion and a proclamation of 'us' and the 'others'- definitely not a symbol of democracy.

Analysis of the public space provided in front of the Mpumalanga Legislature confirms that the area is not fenced in, but forms the periphery, the transitional space between the city and the formal civic structure. Although a transitional space is provided, this space is not connected to the city or other public activities, limiting public activities. The site borders a privately owned shopping mall and casino which is not connected to the public space of the Legislature but with the staff parking (figure 3). Consequently, it is only used for organised riots and deliberations because of the isolation of the space and hence does not allow for informal interaction between people or everyday activities such as lunch breaks, a place for meetings and taking part in other social activities.

 "In the southern portion of the site the Legislature would, in similar fashion to the office pavilions of the Executive, interact with nature along the riverside edges, with the opposite facade also shaped as a sweeping walkway, its tighter curve here, however, defining a civic square, a place of gathering on axis with the newly constructed boulevard."(Malan & McInerey, 2001). However, limited seating, alcoves or detail on the facade is provided in order to create a pause space or a way for people to engage with the interior of the building (figure 4). Thus the wall becomes a boundary, providing no connection between the public and the inner functioning of the building. Madanipour (1996) argues that if space allows movement to occur, place provide a pause, a connection with the context and structure. This case study is evident that something more than movement is needed to promote interaction and debate. Attention to detail, contextual connections and a relationship with the structure itself are needed to present a sound democratic space accentuated by the structure itself. The notion to focus on detail is supported by Gehl (1987) who states that "at the small scale- in the design of outdoor spaces and adjacent facades- it is necessary to

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1   Quote extracted from the Premier of the Province, Mr. E.M. Dipico's, preface to the competition document for the Northern Cape legislature: The new Legislature Buildings for the Province of the Northern Cape; Architectural Competition Brief- Format, Rules and Information (Anonymous, 1998).
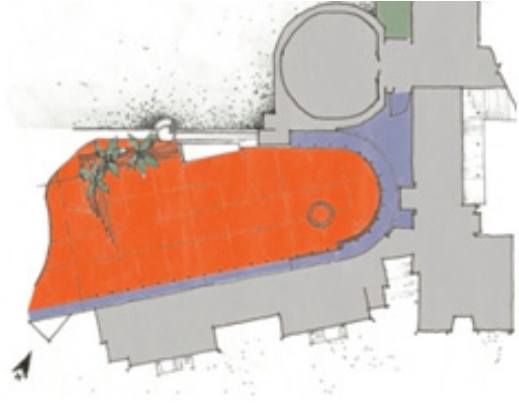
Figure 5. (left).The dome of the Mpumalanga Legislature, forming the central gathering area, adjacent to the open public space. Photographed by Richard Wilson.

Figure 6. (right). Sketch indicating the different spaces. The following spaces are signified by different colours; orange-the public space in front of the Legislature building, blue-the covered walkway and the grey-the physical building. Sketch by the author.

work with detailed and careful planning of the elements that generates and support life between buildings".

The body in context

In the previous paragraph it became clear that more than movement is needed to activate public space: a connection with the environment and with the structure is crucial. This connection must move beyond architecture in order to form a link with the community, contributing to the public character of the macro context. Lefebvre wrote on the conceptual triad of three different types of spaces; spatial practice, representations of space and representational space. In order to define and clarify the three spatial concepts, a direct quote will be used after which each concept will be discussed and applied to the two case studies.

Spatial practice, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance. Representations of space, which are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to'frontal' relations.

Representational space, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces). (Lefebvre, 1991)

Spatial practice can be seen as the social realm created by space itself, revealed through the deciphering of the actual space allowing a glimpse into the daily-

and urban reality, the cyclical routine of the everyday mundane for time shapes space, allowing the body certain relationships, connecting to the global and local. "Therefore the (social) space of order is hidden in the order of space "(Lefebvre, 1991). This order needs to be experienced and defined, following two approaches described by Bernard Tschumi (1990); making space distinct through architecture and to state the nature of space through description and mathematics. When experiencing a space, it is from the body as central point, becoming the reference to the external environment, situated within the flux of activity and not segregated. Within this activity public space should form part of the context and rich textures of society, and not only be part of a spectacle. Three external spaces is created by the structures of the Mpumalanga Legislature (figure 6); the public space in front of the entrance(1), the parking space for staff members (2), and the garden edged by the river (3). The first space is created for man, the second for the machine and the latter for nature. To diffuse these three spaces can possibly create a better connection with the community, nature and the body in relation to its environment. The boundaries of the Northern Cape Legislature doesn't allow for a spatial encounter, to measure and associate with the space and architecture, thus nullifying the public aspects of the complex. When viewing the site plan (Figure 3 and Figure 8), it is clear that the original intention of the design is for the structure to form the central point of the area, radiating towards the outer edges of the community. Without the bodily experience thereof it becomes part of the monotonous city grid with no public space other than the street.

The 'spatial code' of representational space can construct a system of space, 'bringing various kinds of spaces together' in order to break the disconnection between the civic structure and the community; codes can be described as 'a practical relationship, an interaction between subjects and their space and surroundings (Lefebvre, 1991). This interaction requires a connection between different spaces. One such element could be the connection between transitional spaces, allowing the body into a space, even if only visually, or stairs, creating movement, encoding certain modes of accessibility. The public space in front of the Mpumalanga Legislature uses stairs to provide different degrees of access to different spaces. One ventures down the stairs onto the public plain, crossing a paved area and again up the stairs, making the public space the lowest, most intimate part of the complex (figure 7). Upon entering the Northern Cape Legislature complex one is confronted with two man- made hills forming a barrier between the external and internal outdoor spaces(figure 8).
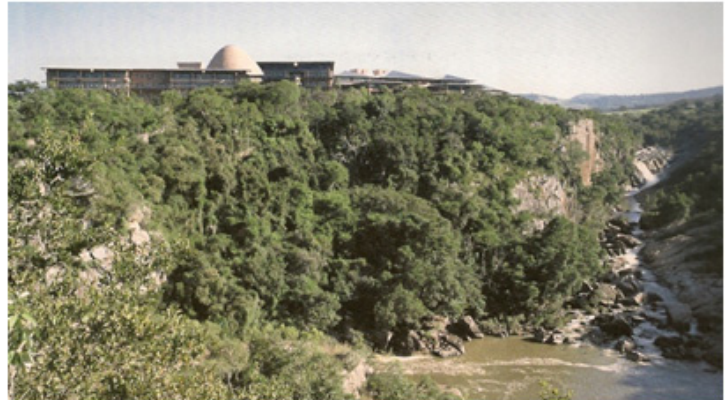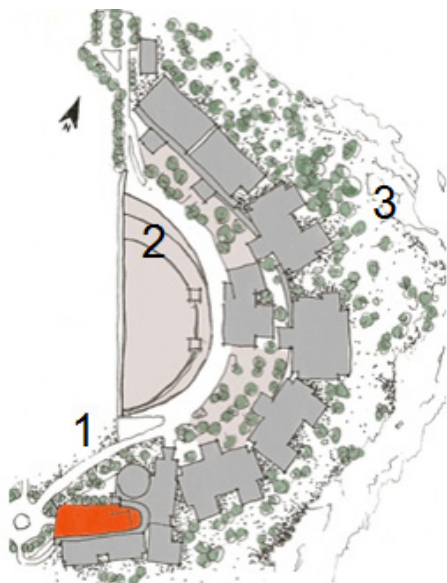
Figure 7. (left).Site plan of the Mpumalanga Legislative complex. Note the public space in front of the Legislature(1), the staff parking area(2) and the green space edged by the river. Sketch by the author.
Figure 8. (right). The Legislature overlooking the Nels and Crocodile river. Photographed by Christoph Malan.
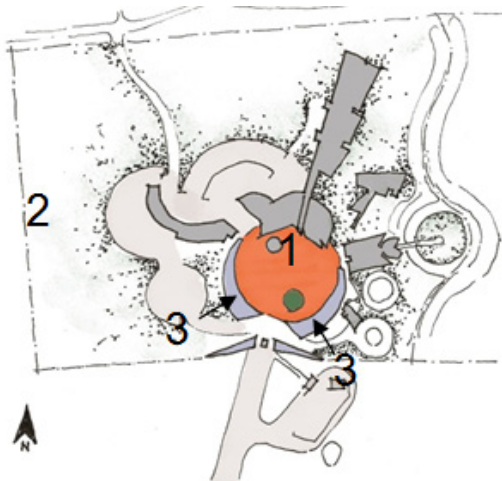
Figure 9. (left).Site plan of the Northern Cape Legislative complex. Note the public space (1) and the boundary around the building(2). Sketch by the author.
Figure 10. (right). Slanted wall forming seating around the public area (3). Photographed by Christoph Malan.

On the axis of the building entrance, the wall mount opens up onto the gathering space (figure 9). A transitional space, from the visitors parking onto the gathering space, is provided. This system of transitional spaces allows for a relationship between the body, the external environment and the inner core. Furthermore, it has coded meaning, that of a barrier, only allowing the fortunate to walk over the threshold, past security into the public forum.

Representational space prove to be an even more complex matter than representations of space, as it is more subjective, relying on the interpretation and meaning of each individual. As soon as meaning is ascribed to a space it becomes a place. Augè (2008) associates place with identity, social relations and

history, while non-places are difficult to define. Indirect symbols and codes directly implied which is read in the text or compositions can provide these representational spaces.

The Northern Cape Legislature is rich in symbols as twelve artists had the opportunity to create artwork for the external- and internal spaces. A training program ran in conjunction with the building program, enabling local artists to develop their skills and to make a noteworthy contribution to the representation of the culture and history of the Northern Cape (van den Berg, 2003). The Premier's building facade forms parts of the art collection created by project artist Clive van den Berg. The entrance is flanked by two dotted mosaic figures welcoming visitors (figure 10). Emblems of governance are 'carried' by the two figures representing objects of celebration and commemoration (figure 11). These figures are more than artwork; they represent culture, freedom of speech, accessibility and the land that lay beyond.

Figure 11. (left).Premiers building facade with tow figures welcoming its visitors. Photographed by Charl Geldenhuys.
Figure 12. (right). Emblems of governance carried by the two figures representing objects of celebration and commemoration. Photo-

The dome represents the residential thatch beehive hut, which were historically found in a traditional villages (Malan & McInerey, 2001). Adjacent to the dome a gathering crescent encircles a public space, representing the traditional gathering of African people. The dome, a symbol of a residential hut, is now a judicial space thus more private and inclusive and cut off from the actual public forum. These two symbols are contradicting representations of space, not true to traditional memory and culture.

Reappropriating Space

After investigating the different spatial encounters found at the two Legislatures a conclusion has to be drawn to reappropriate these spaces. Mitchell (2003) states that a democracy requires public visibility and public visibility relies on ac-

tual space, this space and composition of places is not only the stage upon which rights is challenged but public space is created by action, steering and structuring rights. For the space to be utilized, unrestricted access must be granted, allowing all South African citizens on the 'stage'. Access therefore implies no visual boundaries. Edges and borders differ from boundaries; they define space, demarcating different areas without restricting human activity. Public space should be a catalyst, connecting the formal state structure with community activities (Kohn, 2004). The quality of outdoor spaces can further be improved if opportunities for activities are offered. Within transitional zones different degrees of public and semi-public spaces should be provided, allowing space for both the spectator and participant. Gehl (1987) notes the importance of detail within these different space through the following statement; " If spaces are to desolate and empty- without benches, columns, plants, trees, and so forth- and if the facades lack interesting details- niches, holes, gateways, stairs, and so on- it can be very difficult to find places to stop. Or said in another way: Good cities for staying out in have irregular facades and a variety of support in their outdoor spaces."

For the spatial code and relationship between different structures to be realised, the 'whole' design of places must be considered and not only individual structures (Banerjee, 2001). What is evident from this study is that space is not stagnant, it cannot be prescribed, it is in constant flux, changing according to the external forces working in on it. After construction, the complex is not complete, it needs to be re-evaluated to guide the influences, informing the different spaces. only then a space can be truly democratic, when changing according to the steering power of the community.

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- Figure 3. A Google Earth, aerial photograph indicating the location of the Northern Cape Legislature next to the township Galeshewe.
- Figure 4. An aerial photograph indicating the location and context of the Northern Cape Legislature next to the township, Galeshewe. Photographed by Kimco Studio Kimberley. In Malan, C. & McInerey, P., (eds.) 2003. Building an African Icon; The Northern Cape Provincial Government Complex. Johannesburg: MPTS Architectural Library.
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Post-trauma urban laboratories: tales of Bogota and Prague

"Since the end of the nineteenth century the distinction between public and private space has been a theoretical centre of the urban-planning thinking […]. The expansion plans, the laws of expropriation, the metropolitan parks, or the large civil works have been admirable examples of clear distinction of the public domain with regard to the private one. And to reinforce this distinction was desirable as long as it was allowing precisely to increase and to improve the public as superior to the private.
This motivation […] has its roots in the utopian thought of the last century, where the ideal models of a balanced city (as target) and the municipalization (as instrument) were the ideological pillars of all progressive city-planning policy" (Manuel de Sola-Morales 1992).i

Introduction

Besides their eye catching differences, Bogota and Prague share the fact that their historically built up 'pillars of progressive city planning policy' were dismantled during the second half of the 20th century; in Bogota as a consequence of national violence and mafia related problems, resulting in the col-

lapse of regular institutions and collectively shared urban rules and practices; in Prague as the outcome of dictatorial politics and a collectively organized society in which new, socialist cities and citizens were supposed to be created, but regular politics and urban society stopped functioning.

Josef Koudelka
Invalidská třída, z cyklu Invaze, Praha, 21.-8. 1968, Magnum Photos, Paříž

Not only did these episodes weakened urban policies, they also resulted in traumas that for both cities can be summarized as: experiences of physical and mental exclusion, a disappearing of the city as a public and accessible domain, an extreme low degree of urban identifying capacities among citizens, the absence of public debate, and non-transparent or paralyzed and therefore mistrusted urban policies and institutions stimulating non-formal or non-legal behavior at all levels of society.

Referring to the above cited words of De Sola-Morales, these urban decay processes can be understood as tangible consequences of a broken balance between public and private atmospheres in urban policies as well as in urban society.

Both Bogota and Prague are trying to come over with these traumas since the early 1990s. Their resurrection scenarios differ, but can be compared through such parameters as the

balance between the collective and the individual, the role of architecture and the research on their urban histories as conditions for endurable change.

The remarkable re-appropriation process of the Colombian capital is now quite famous, and interviews with its most imaginative initiators, former mayors Mockos and Penelosa, figure in documentaries, publications and on international congresses. Prague's post-socialist urban adventures are less known, and seem only recently to have successfully opened ways to a public urban debate enabling researchers as well to look at it in a more detailed way.

In this paper we will describe both cities, starting with their specific urban and social-political backgrounds, then focusing on their periods of urban decay, and finally explaining strategies and priorities that figure in their actual re-appropri

ation processes.

In the conclusion we will try to compare theses re-appropriation processes by questioning the roles of –among others- architecture, social contracts and urban history.

Bogota

Bogotese citizens used to be proud of their city and managed to build a strong tradition of public urban life. Bogota's fate after decolonization (1820) however, was also marked by sometimes violent frictions on nation building strategies (nationalist vs. federalist); frictions that – in the course of the 20th century- stimulated serious trouble in such fields as legitimacy, good governance and national interior security; them –on their turn- affecting the functioning of urban society. Colombia's differentiated landscape proved favorable for the activities of illegally armed groups and cocaine laboratories, whereas the long coast line facilitated arms and drugs traffic. Cities on their turn, especially Bogota, were to become the spots of bloody events, with an alarming height between the late-1970s and early 1990s as the combined consequence of the so-called 'cocaine boom', the presence of illegally armed groups and mafia related practices.

Also, and due to the combination of growing rural-urban migration (for economic and safety reasons) and weak urban policies, Bogota has been characterized, since the late-19th century, by an ever sharper social-spatial segregation dividing urban society into a formal and non-formal dimension.ii The last one is best recognizable in the spontaneous an non-legal housing settlements, deprived of basic urban facilities until recently, and mostly situated on the eastern and southern outskirts of the city. The first (formal) one is the built result of sometimes successful and embellishing, but more often purely rational and infrastructure orientated interventions that lacked integral urban scenarios. It is of importance therefore, that Bogota's resurrection process – from the early 1990s onwards- went together with a re-activation of collective memories concerning periods of good governance and institution building; periods that had resulted in professional urban interventions, underlining the urban landscape's public dimension and the city as a whole: the 1930-1940s and the 1960s are key moments in these memories.

Highdays of urban society building

From the 1930s onwards, Bogota did successful efforts to install modern planning institutions resulting –among others- in the creation of an urban planning department and the first urban extension plan (1936). Bogota's recent re-appro-

priation process stimulated thorough research into this partly realized plan by the Viennese expat architect Karl Brunner: publications,

exhibitions and seminars of the mid 1990s are a retrospective manifest for an almost mythical tradition of public urban life that seemed lost and had to be regained.

Effectively, Brunner conceived Bogota as a differentiated urban landscape, playing tribute to international planning tendencies as well as to the existing map and a local tradition of public urban life: a tradition that since the colonial Plaza Mayor, and especially since the late 19th century was visible in a series of parks, squares, avenues and passages that functioned as the bearers of urban community life. Brunner's extension plan resulted in the realization of some high quality neighborhoods, parks and parkways, new public buildings and urban ensembles like the national university campus, the last one as an outstanding example of modernist architecture.

The qualities of city, architecture, public space and facilities were discussed and written about, and citizens behaved as intrinsic parts of it. In 1938 Bogota was "una ciudad grande y generosa, noble y leal, bella y progresista"; its recently laid out and well paved streets being admired for their magnificent amplitude, producing sensations of real recreation.iii

Between 1934 and 1948, Brunner helped initiating a debate on the city as a physical, public space and on the importance of active public intervention in planning and building tasks. The 1947 law obliging every larger Colombian city to conceive a 'Plan Regulador' was one of the outcomes, as was the research on building systems to resolve the alarming housing shortage.

However, political interest in these topics was negatively affected –on both national and local levels- by heated confrontations between liberals and conservatives. The civil war that immediately broke out after the murdering, in the center of Bogota, of the Liberal presidents' candidate in 1948 would paralyze the coun

try for four years.

And even when the soft 'back to normal' military regime (1953-57) managed to realize some auto-mobile infrastructural plans and public works in Bogota, the persistent discontinuity in local politics (mayors lasting for an average of one year) was one of the causes behind the stagnation in sound, institutionalized urban policies. The effects worsened by a growing influx of migrants to Bogota, extending the spontaneous settlements, stimulating informal economies (street vendors) and intensifying sentiments of physical and mental exclusion.

The National Front –Frente- agreement (1958-1972) in which the two main political parties were supposed to share power on national and local levels, and to each deliver a president candidate every other four years, was meant to re-install political and institutional stability. In this context the so called "first period of excellent urban policy"iv in Bogota got shape, with heroic roles for
the successive mayors Jorge Gaitán Cortès (1962-66) and Virgilio Barco (1967-69). Their politics resulted - among others - in the planning and (sometimes) realization of lower income housing, parks in poor neighborhoods, research on the social-economic and spatial urban realities, professionalization and institutionalization of urban planning, and stimulation of knowledge and affinity with the city. Their plans got financial support from the so called US good neighborhood politics, resulting in one of the largest planified, social housing neighborhoods of Bogota: ciudad Kennedy. Barco highly invested in the strengthening of self consciousness among more than two million citizens of which at least 50% did not originate from Bogota and lived in the non-formal parts of the city. In order to encourage citizen participation a system of democratically chosen neighborhood societies (Juntas d'Accion Communal) was installed; these JAC's were to become crucial instigators of regained and collectively shared urban responsibilities during the resurrection process since the 1990s.

Even if few of their visions and plans were realized, due to (among others) fiscal problems, political obstacles and growing interior violence problems in Colombia, Gaitan and Barco happened to be the first local politicians to invest in

scientifically based urban policies, building on Brunner's interest in the city's public dimension. During Barco's presidency (1986-1990) anti drugs and urban reform measures went hand in hand, the last ones mirrored in his interest for the preservation of national history and resulting in renovation and restoration works in the historical heart of Bogota.v Giving the 16th century colonial center its heritage status would largely stimulate the creation of an official urban heritage center around 1985.

These 'mythical' politicians have recently been put forward, especially by mayor Enrique Penelosa (1998-2001), as inspirers for the re-appropriation process. Research on their work and thoughts has resulted in interesting publications, and in the re-activating of a public commitment with the city's history and potentials.

Urbicide

The relatively stable Frente period came to an end, in the early 1970s, by the growing effects of violence and drugs traffic related interior problems, causing steady disintegration of the political field. When it comes to urban policies, a whole series of short standing, corrupt and hardly capable mayors and functionaries helped to re-install ad-hoc practices, and worse: public institutions as the urban planning department or the Juntas d'Accion Communal were soon to adopt political-clientelist working methods in which the need for a sound balance between the collective and the individual was easily put aside. As weak institutions facilitated the survival of

guerilla and other illegally armed groups, it was of no surprise that these same groups would radicalize in the context of the cocaine boom, from the late 1970s onwards. The rapid boost in cocaine production within Colombia's borders gave way to corrupt, mafia related practices of guerillas, drugs barons and paramilitaries that were soon to infiltrate all layers of Colombian (urban) society.

It goes without saying that cities were among the most tragic victims. Bogota soon transformed into a city without authority, institutions or any plan whatsoever; an urban jungle with a fatal lack of 'normal' laws and rules housing more than 3 million inhabitants, half of them concentrated in non-formal, non-mapped neighborhoods whereas higher social strata tended to withdraw into the northern 'gated' city parts. During this period squat settlements took over large parts of the historic center; parks were claimed by gangs, drugs and arms traffickers; squares and sidewalks annexed by vagabonds and innumerable street vendors; streets transformed into permanently clogged, smoky arteries for (relatively few) private cars and thousands of privately exploited mini-buses organizing the (nonexistent) public transport and negating regular traffic and safety rules.vi At the same time, Bogota became the prime scene for murders, car bombs, bus

explosions, and kidnappings. Homicide rates in both Colombia and its capital raise to an extreme height. Within this failing (urban) state, citizens adopted individual survival strategies, tending to take the illegal and violent use of their city for granted and finally as normal. Around 1990 some 90% of the Bogotese population preferred to leave the city if it were possible.

During that same period, and under the presidency of the above mentioned Barco, serious and internationally supported efforts were made to fight mafia practices, discourage hard drugs production and traffic, strengthen justice and ameliorate public order. The amnesty granted, in the early 1990s, to eight gue-rilla groups was one of the remarkable results. Recent anti-terrorist and nation building measures were and still are supported by the US-financed Colombia Program (1998), focusing on institutional strengthening, especially on the level of law and order.

Paradoxically enough, in these same years urban research and (anti-auto mobile orientated) urban design projects delivered some scenarios that would prove suitable for the rehabilitation projects that were to be started from the early 1990s onwards.

Urban resurrection: citizenship and mobility

Opportunities for a positive change in urban policies appeared with the law on chosen and monitored mayors (1988), and the new constitution (1991), denom-inating the capital as an autonomous district and decentralizing fiscal, juridical and political-administrative responsibilities. The extremely well organized street vendors, for instance, had played a significant role in the illegal appropriation and degradation of Bogota's public space, at the same time as representing an electoral potential, for which reason their practices used to be tolerated and encouraged. The new situation of chosen – independent- mayors and their pol-icy of 'aggressive public space recuperation', was now able to dismantle these 'mobile shopping malls' and to formalize and relocate them.vii The most out-standing example surely is Plaza San Victorino, which housed more than two thousand margins with unclear economic activities in tent-like spaces where no police officer dared to enter. This historic spot has now been re-appropriated and re-designed as large public square, close to the colonial center.

Such non compromising urban strategies were to have similar effects on other non formal, but gradually 'accepted' practices like the extreme unsafe urban traffic, and the habit of newly arrived 'citizens' to install themselves in illegal settlements. Legalization (cadastral mapping and connecting them to basic facilities) of these settlements from the late 1990s onwards, was meant to stimulate urban inclusion and equity, but also to introduce a notion of citizens as having rights and (taxpaying) duties.

These kind of public values however, could not be installed overnight; the new mayors realized that better governance, rebuilt institutions and clear laws and rules represented one side of the urban rebuilding process, and that the other side – to have citizens obey and respect these rules, to re-install feelings of belonging and to re-activate a proper, legal use of the city as a public domain – needed a learning process for private citizens as well as for public functionaries.

Succeeding a first period of re-building institutions and district finances (new tax paying systems, privatization), new mayor Antanias Mockus (1995-1998; 2001-2004) defined 'citizenship' as a minimum set of rules and habits that facilitate the living together in urban society, help respect collective goods, and acknowledge citizens' rights and duties. Every individual citizen (public or private) was supposed to be capable of internalizing and putting into practice such rules.

To introduce and get used to them, numerous and highly original publicity campaigns and urban acts soon spread over Bogota's streets and squares, combining more or less forgotten cultural habits (pantomime, theater, music, public life) and modern media (city tv, cinema, internet, television, press): pantomime players crossed overcrowded streets as tightrope walkers to dramatize the extreme dangerous traffic situations in which pedestrians were not able to cross over; citizen cards with 'thumbs down' and 'thumbs up' symbols were distributed, stimulating

citizens to correctly (non violent, without speaking) behave towards others in case of disapproval or respect; Mockos, himself trained as a pedagogue, made public appearances, wearing bullet free jackets out of which

the heart had been cut, to personalize urban braveness and safety, and the importance of life over death; taxi drivers were invited to get a 'caballero de los zebras' license respecting regular traffic rules; spots of traffic accidents were symbolically marked with the victims' silhouettes; open air concerts, films and other festivals were organized in re-appropriated, cleaned up parks to re-activate notions of public life and safety; exhibitions, publications and documentaries initiated awareness of the city's history, culture and potentials.viii

parallel to demilitarization and re-socialization programs, former youth gangs were schooled as public guides, showing fellow citizens how to properly use collective urban spaces; the JAC neighborhood committees were rebuilt as podiums for democratic debate and citizen participation activities in a city that counts almost 7 million inhabitants in more than 5000 neighborhoods;

The new politicians realized that without such basic commitment between city and citizens, every larger physical urban intervention would risk to fail before it got off the ground. Thus, when Penalosa (1998-2001) succeeded Mockos, the necessary public support did exist for the building excavation into which Bogota was to be transformed.

Urban mobility, in Penalosa's eyes, represented the logical pendant of citizen culture, and had to be considered as the intertwinement of technical and societal dimensions. The new bus lanes, together with hundreds of kilometers new sidewalks and bicycle roads offered a cheap, layered networks through which inner city and periphery were connected and through which every citizen was able to reach the rehabilitated parks, squares and avenues. The fact that the bus system managed to short cut the city on itself, both literally and metaphorically, meant that every urban spot was now accessible for every citizen, and that every new physical intervention could obtain a significance that went beyond its place bound character. Such multi-functional interpretation of urban mobility, and in which every urban spot was supposed to have the same potentials, stimulated the notion of (new) public buildings as catalysts of social inclusion and exchange. The first outcome was that three district libraries and a new National Archives


building were constructed in Bogota's marginal outskirts, inviting and obliging citizens to move through the city and to meet its 'unknown' parts and 'other'

citizens. All these buildings were designed by Colombian architects, in a modest architecture, respecting site characteristics and place bound design traditions with references to the above mentioned Modernist period and the revival of local brick building traditions (1980s). Eminence grise architect Regilio Salmona draw the plans for the El Tintal library, the precise rehabilitation of a former waste incinerator in the above mentioned Ciudad Kennedy neighborhood.

In this context, architecture proved capable of functioning as a democratic medium, stimulating the notion of locus (to be proud of), accessibility (part of the disclosed urban landscape) and inclusion (turning upside down the levels of center and periphery). To do so, lessons had been learned from the postmodern European city debate, more specifically from Barcelona's post-Franco experience, in which acupunctural urban interventions were meant to re-activate adjacent neighborhoods and in which infrastructure was considered as a connecting network on which both traffic and residuary functions could be combined.

The Bogota model unmistakably put forward the city itself (memories, potentials, good governance, neighborhood level, public sphere, collective needs) as a generator for resurrection. This was only possible through the brave and original initiatives of some charismatic mayors and public functionaries, and the necessary support of a resilient citizen population.ix The common goal was to transform Bogota from one of the ugliest and most dangerous spots on earth into an attractive, safe city which citizens could be proud of again: intervention strategies were not based on spectacular master plans, but on modest scenarios in which the rediscovery, reparation and reactivation of long forgotten structures, images and rituals were the prime focus of interest, together with a reactivated public urban debate. The need for an overall regulatory plan, which had never been put into place, figured on the background of this whole process. The Plan d'Ordinamente Territorial (POT) that was finally adopted in 1998 thus was nothing more than a collage of urban plans that had been worked out for different parts of the city.
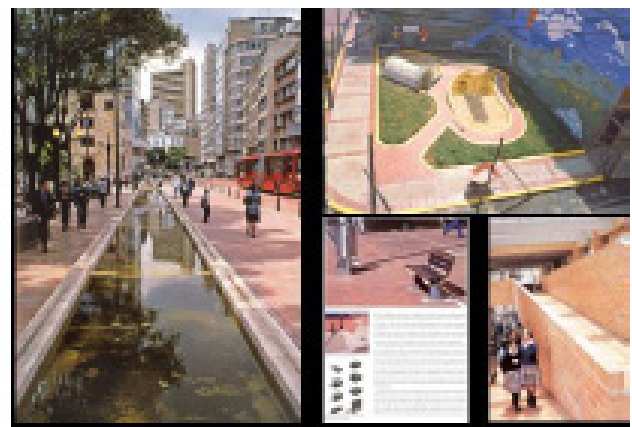
The long-term success of Bogota's strategy depends on the degree of continuity on the levels of public administration and urban policies. Until now, and even when the different mayors' priorities did vary, the shared ambition to re-appropriate the city seems able to compensate for short-term political issues.

Prague

Prague's history offered little opportunity for the building of progressive city planning, which may explain how an already precarious relation between city and citizens was easily and semi-definitively destroyed during communist period. Also, a latent disinterest in (urban) politics and a low affinity with the city had been prepared during long periods of foreign rule. Following earlier invasions, the actual Czech Republic was officially incorporated in the Austrian Empire in 1620 to only become an independent state in 1918. During that whole period the exposure of the nation's own language and culture was not, or only marginally tolerated, and built interventions

mirrored the visions and taste of external powers. Prague's characteristic baroque heritage, for instance, represents the Austrian presence as no other. The tearing down and rebuilding of large parts of Prague's Jewish quarter, at the end of the 19th century, was one of the last and most dramatic imperial urban projects, its racial-related motives packaged as enlightened urban policies in which sanitation measures were combined with 'Parisian grandeur' embellishments. The Czech question, formulated at the end of the 19th century in order to know if and how Czech identity, nation and culture should be defined, has not entirely lost its actuality since. At that time is mainly pointed to a situation in which Austrians, Germans and Czechs were the largest populations groups in the city, whereas a remarkable part of them where Jewish.

National Renaissance and proud capital ambitions

Being the second most important city of the Austrian empire, Prague kept up with international urban and architectural developments. From the second half of the 19th century this resulted in the dismantling of the fortifications, the layout of suburbs, and the realization of sanitation projects, infrastructural works, hospitals, universities, passages, parks and sports facilities.x

During that same period, emperor Franz Joseph II allowed the city to manifest some of the growing Czech nationalist ambitions on an urban scale. This national Renaissance and its search for an appropriate style, stimulating research on Bohemia's (pre-Austrian) cultural and building traditions, can be deduced from some key (public) buildings from the last quarter of the 19th century onwards like the National Theater, the National Museum, the Central Station, the Obecni Dum community house or the typical 'Czech' Cubist villas that were built just

before the First World War. Some authors state that common people, in Prague and in other comparable East-Middle European regions assign higher value to the architectural-programmatic symbols of these national Renaissance periods then to the negative effects of later socialist building activities.xi
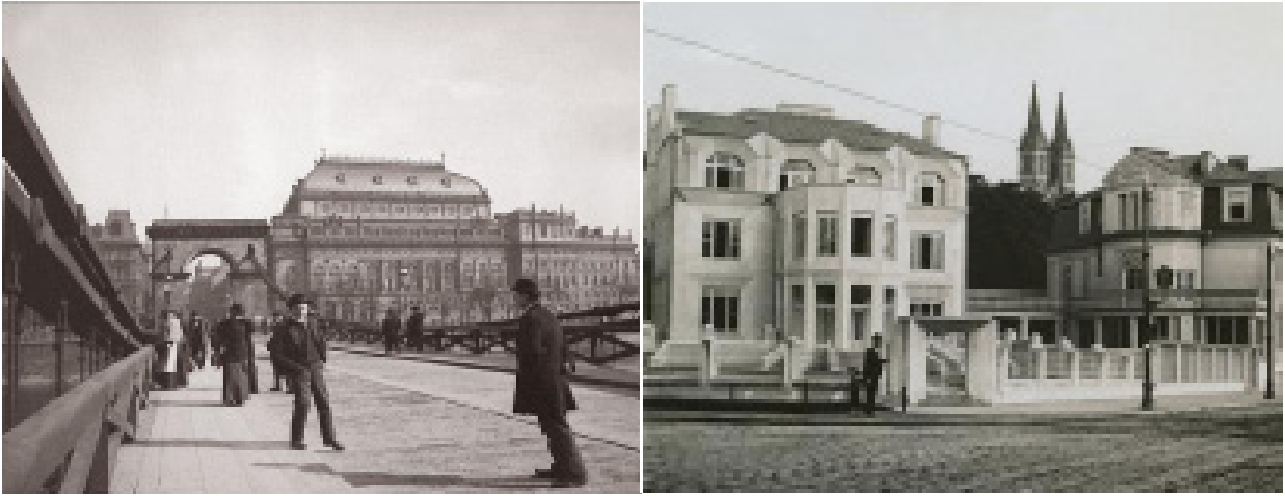
Around 1900, Prague was probably well described as being "a complex, cosmopolitan city embracing people of varied background, skills, religions and nationalities […].The city […] was the cultural and geographical heart of the Czech lands and had about half a million inhabitants […] The Czechs always took pride in their own traditions, their country and their language and strove for their own cultural emancipation, and the intriguing Prague milieu provided a backdrop for the competing ethnic, social, cultural and political trends of the time".xii Recent publications

underline this cosmopolitan character as well as the cherishing of national Czech traditions, and their relevance for a collective urban memory.xiii

The Czechoslovak interwar experiment "to be democratic in the best sense of the word, being based upon the unselfishness, the honesty, collective responsibility and the determination of its citizens and aiming at the development of creative labor within its frontiers and at a democratic solution of social problems without any violent upheaval whatsoever"xiv would last 20 years only, but had crucial effects on the building of a collective tradition of good governance, sound urban policies and high quality architecture. During Masaryk's presidency, the new capital installed an urban planning department, worked on its first extension plans and realized some remarkable new urban neighborhoods and garden cities in which internationally renowned architects participated. During these years, the existing city was equipped with nicely designed departments stores, shops, apartment buildings, villas, cinemas, office and faculty buildings, water plants, hotels and so on, using different styles of which the modernist and neo-cubist ones are now considered as exemplary points of reference.

Socialist urban myths

Disrespecting the Munich agreements of 1938, Hitler's soldiers walked over the Bohemian Lands a few months later, transforming them into a Nazi protectorate. At the end of the second World War, though the city of Prague was hardly damaged, its former cosmopolitan character was heavily undermined by the loss of the Jewish and German population groups.xv Both the subsequent exodus of the historic city quarters and the social-demographic homogenization process would further be stimulated by the communist myths that were preached from 1948 onwards.

The communist coupe rapidly changed Czech (urban) society into a totalitarian one, putting accents on the needs of the collective as one of the essential goals of socialist ideology. Especially during the first episode (and prepared during the prevailing after war years), Prague became the subject of urban utopias in which existing physical structures, urban rituals and daily habits were dramatically reshuffled. Recent anthropological research explains how the fulfillment of the myth of transforming Prague into a 'beautiful socialist city of the future', meant its "factual and symbolic occupation" via the introduction and/or socialization of all kind of -built- symbols and cultural phenomena including festivities, celebrations, and leisure.xvi

The socialist discourse made clear distinction between the historic –bourgeois, dangerous and inhospitable- city and the new communist workers paradises that were planned on the city's outskirts; more than 1 million houses, constructed as pre-fabricated panel apartments in high slabs, would be realized in new neighborhoods and towns resulting in "one of the most depressing collections of banality in the history of Czech architecture"xvii. The mythologized 'paradise' character of these housing estates, to be fulfilled by constructing ample social, collective and transport facilities was soon dismantled by harsh realities: stagnation in the centrally planned economy, shortage of money, extreme long waiting lists for - and a growing nepotism in the distribution of new apartments were some of the causes. The fact that the film 'Panel Story' (1979) succeeded to

escape censorship, was surely because of the humoristic and surrealist way in which it depicted the problematic construction and living in one of Prague's socialist settlements. Other films, mostly realized after 1989, have reconstructed communist

everyday life, fictionalizing the mental traumas of living in a top-down organized society and being ruled by extreme collective pressure, fearing every possible individual initiative.

Despite all official myths about the benefits of collective urban life, citizens withdraw from public scenery to retract themselves into the 'safe' micro cosmos of their private house or dacha.This schizophrenic urban society has been described by Heda Margolius, remembering her life in Prague during the late1950s: "Society became polarized between those who wielded power – a power that had become self-sufficient and independent of the will of the people – and all other mortals. A similar split ran through every other aspect of life. Even the thoughts of most individuals became divided into private and public compartments, and the two often had nothing in common. During the day, people put in their hours at work and fulfilling their Party obligations; then they went home, removed their masks, and began to live for a few hours. Lying and play acting became a way of life; indifference and apathy became its essence. Even small children knew not to repeat in school what had been said at home; they learned not to display interest in anything, to become involved with nothing".xviii

The loss of citizens' affinity with the city was stimulated by the nationalization of the existing building stock, wiping out feelings of individual responsibility and care. It was further enhanced by the communist bi-polar city model in which the historic town (including its 19th and 20th century extension belt) was conceived as a relic of bourgeois power in which no relevant investments should be made. Brothels, pubs and other 'capitalist' rudiments for instance, were transformed into collective housing units, students accommodations, collective laundries and workers canteens, whereas other existing and some newly constructed buildings were used for political and public functions. Most of the historical fabric was left without any care whatsoever, housing citizens in a 'temporary' way as they were supposed to move to the new 'paradises' as soon as possible.

The remarkable thing is that Prague is an exception within communist building habits: the fact, actually, that only tiny parts of the old town were demolished and that no typifying socialist urban landscape (culture palaces, monuments, ceremonial boulevards) was built to replace it, has been explained as the consequences of the city's unharmed postwar condition and the communists' awareness of its historic value. Important, but selectively prioritized restoration activities were initiated from the seventies onwards, and in the last Communist years a World Heritage status was prepared for the complete historical town of Prague

(awarded in 1992).

And thus, instead of transforming the old Prague, it was decided to build a new communist urban heart on the opposite river bank, where a thirty meters high, empty plain offered space and impressive vistas. It is on this Letna plain that the gigantesque Stalin monument arose

(1953), situated in the exact axis of the late-19th century Parisian boulevard and offering a symbolic counterpart to the old town square at the other end of that axis. Due to bureaucratic and financial complications, interventions on Letna were limited to the facilitating of collective recreation/sports activities and political manifestations; their mental impact however was undeniable.

Regulatory plans of the period affirm that urban policies in socialist Prague mainly focused on new satellite towns and on infrastructures that would interlink them and connecting them with the existing city. Between 1974 and 1990 a three-line underground system and large parts of a heavy road network were constructed. One crucial part of this last topic, the six-lane Magistral (1978) is without doubt the most visible heritage of communist myths in the historic fabric. This highway was constructed in a north-south direction (literary connecting Dresden and Brno) on the former fortification zone, irreparably separating some of the most beautiful 19th century quarters from the city center, and isolating precious 'national renaissance' buildings as the central station and the national museum from their original urban environment until today. It is this Magistral that now figures prominently in a recent, but ever more strengthening urban debate.

The citizens' lack of belonging and their internalized conviction that the city and its public space are not theirs, are some of the mental outcomes of 40 years of socialism in Prague. Also, and as Soukupova has recently put forward "the socialist city was created as a city without a plurality". This absence of plurality does not so much point at the fact that until today hardly no foreign or ethnical minorities life in Czech Republic, as to the (communist) societal reality in which every out-of-normal behavior, foreign influences or individual initiatives were treated with suspicion and fear.xix This reality has exerted deep pshychological effects, until today.

Dirty notes in Prague's post socialist symphony

In a recent publication, showing post socialist urban transformations in Prague with the help of 'before and after' pictures, Lord Mayor Pavel Bem refers to Norberg Schultz's famous Genuis Loci study (1978) in which Prague was presented as an outstanding example of the 'spirit of place'. Bem however, mainly points at Prague's 'novelty' as the most important of its genius loci features, stating that "political emancipation, the return of genuine local government and the subsequent modernization of Prague are crucial steps to ensure the city's transition from history to the present".xx But reality —especially during Bem's own days- was quite different, the notion of novelty being interpreted as a vehicle for rapid programmatic and design exercises, and far

less as a structural behavior. The citizen population was more or less idly submitted to the selling out of the city, used as it was to top-down policies without public consultation and to the fact that the city was not supposed to be theirs.

Instead of a platform for the fulfilling of Genius Loci and emancipation myths, Prague's post socialist urban landscape risked to become a playground for easy gain and fancy programs, symbolized by constantly adapted, hardly documented urban plans and non-descript architecture. This was the quasi-logical outcome of a complex, often unclear restitution process, privatization, nepotistic political habits, persistent bureaucratic institutional and decision making rituals, and the need of foreign investments on the one side; and a practically neglected historical city with large vacant lots and non functioning former harbor, industrial zones, and non involved citizens on the other.

We can illustrate the effects with some specific issues.

Heavily indebted with the communist bi-polar urban myth, Prague still seems divided into two cities. The first is the consumers paradise of the 'World Heritage' old town, the monuments of which are trampled down by millions of tourists, and where urban intervention margins are used for the realization of shopping malls, fancy hotels and beer palaces. The second city coincides with the (partly rehabilitated) communist housing estates where large parts of the population are (still) living. There is little physical or mental relation between these two urban entities. In between however, lie some of the most interesting parts of Prague like the 19th and early 20th neighborhoods. As a consequence of the communist infrastructure measures, most of them are separated from the old town, as well as cut through themselves, by heavy, sometimes extremely large train and automobile infrastructures.

The beautiful 19th century Karlin is one of the neighborhoods that became separated from the old town by the Magistral; the only one, however, that can relatively easy be reached by foot from that same old town. Being an old harbor

district, Karlin was one of the worst damaged areas during the Vltava floods of 2002. The rebuilding activities that started soon afterwards, stimulated some
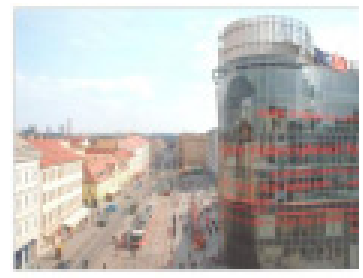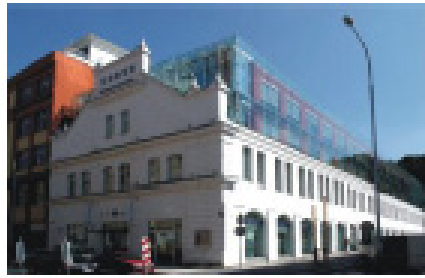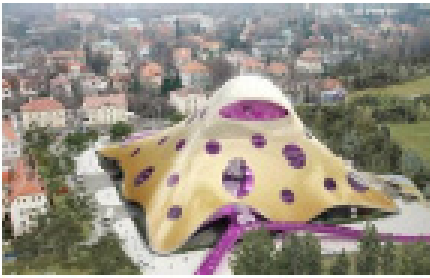
high quality restorations of former industrial buildings (by architects as Bofill and Baumschlager), and introduced new, cultural and commercial programs. The effect is that Karlin seems now to become one of Prague's fanciest spots, be it out of sight of most tourist and common citizens.

Karlin's former harbor zone offered outstanding opportunities to re-connect the city and the river. The small, but extremely long strip of land was neglected during communism and separated from the neighborhood's center by a busy traffic road. During the restitution and privatization period it was sold to private investigators. Unfortunately its actual rehabilitation is the result of unclear, constantly adapted plans that pay little tribute to historic morphologies and typologies, let alone to some kind of 'genius locus'. The first phase of this 'River gardens' project resulted in the replacing of old industrial buildings by a row of non-descript office and

apartments buildings, fulfilling Koolhaas' prophecy that the generic city would

consist of 'atrium buildings' in which public life should retract. The Karlin atrium buildings act as dense screens between historic Karlin and the imperceptible river, whereas the small slots between them has been designed as high entrances of underground parking garages, instead of offering broad vistas and easy accesses to the river behind.

The combination of an omni present communist infrastructural heritage and a post communist conviction that car ownership is a capitalist achievement per se, is surely one explanation for the actual car minded urban policies. The fact that infrastructure policies are still marked by technocratic, non transparent and sometimes clandestine practices might be another one.xxi Some five years ago, when construction of the highly expensive Blanka tunnel was started (as a continuation of the communist ring road system) no information on its motivations, trajectory, costs or investment strategies was available, whereas buildings and facades risked to collapse through its heavy underground works. It is partly through this, that things now start to change positively: when it comes to the Blanka tunnel, an information center has been inaugurated, and public debates on the pros and contras of it are being organized.

As a young generation of planners, engineers and functionaries is slowly taking over positions in urban administrations, planning offices and on universities, old strategies and decision methods are not taken for granted anymore. Enforced by the press and a growing number of grass roots and citizen groups, common people as well start realizing now that Prague's extreme unhealthy, car-orientated and unsafe urban conditions can and have to be changed, and that urban interventions and planning strategies should be discussed about. It proved of crucial importance for the re-gain of public trust in (urban) policies) and for a minimum of urban involvement, that the unclear financing of the Blanka tunnel is now figuring in one of the first thorough researches on large scale corruption in Czech Republic since 1989.

In the upcoming urban debate the Magistral figures as a key issue. And it is through its perception that we can understand something of the dilemmas in which cities like Prague are trapped. Because, even if we consider this urban monster, with more than 100.000 cars driving over it each day, as an obstacle for re-appropriation, both citizens and professionals do accept it

as the necessary backbone of their city; a dirty note in the city's non perfect harmony. Hence, the option of cutting it out of the urban fabric is hardly seriously put forward, except by some of the ecologist and anti-car action groups, and even if the almost finished ring road system will lower its traffic intensity. Referring to experiences in cities as Barcelona, actual scenarios focus on the rehabilitation of the Magistral by interweaving it with other –slow traffic and public- urban functions. Professionals working at the urban planning department or

the technical university, confirm that the Magistral is accepted as an unmistakable part of everyday habits; the urban defeat is not situated in its demolition, but in its re-design as a multifunctional ensemble, linking, instead of separating different city parts, thus denominating it as a generator for urban inclusion. In other words: the only way out seems to find just balances between things that exist and are part of Prague's permanencies; even the dirty notes are unmistakable parts of both the city and its architecture, and should be accepted as such: some persons involved go as far as stating that politicians and citizens should be encouraged to brave behavior in order to have the city used by cars as well as by cyclists and pedestrians, each in its own, provisory manner ('Let things be dangerous!'). We might understand this attitude as an original and collectively meant form of 'do it yourself urbanism'. Last years, the number of cyclist in Prague's busy streets has augmented; armed with helmets and fluorescent jackets they face ridiculous traffic obstacles as if it were there daily habits. The recent 'zazit mesto jenak' (experience your city in a different way) weekend was co-organized by Auto*Mat, one of the most influent anti-car citizens groups. It resulted in a highly original, temporary use of busy streets and squares as public terraces, open air podia and playgrounds. Also, a collective cycle tour was organized on the busiest traffic arteries, the Magistral included, as a critical call for change: the relatively low number of merely young cyclists-participants in this tour might explain something of Prague's true urban nature.

Some conclusions

'Re-appropriating the city' presumes a loss; it refers to the supposed annexation of spatial and mental dimensions in the (pre-existing) city by social, economic and/or political forces; forces that were not able or willing to respect a necessary social contract between the individual and the collective, resulting in non-functioning and mistrusted institutions and in the absence of urban commitment on the public and private levels. The most pregnant effects can be described as deteriorating urban societies, the neglect of classic urban habits and qualities, and physical urban decay. The mental loss can best be described by the fact that common citizens turned their backs on the city and withdraw from public life to entrench in the quasi safe and non political atmosphere of the individual micro cosmos.

The different strategies that has been chosen to compensate for these losses and to re-appropriate the city give insight in the effects of historically grown urban societal characteristics. In Prague for instance, tendencies towards political mistrust and a latent urban disinterest had been stimulated by a complicated history and turned out to not only be easily re-activated during communism,

but also to be persistent in the post-1989 area. In this context post-communist bureaucratic and nepotistic habits on the level of public administration, decision making and urban planning topics have until recently been quasi-facilitated and hardly protested against by the population. In Bogota, even when half of the population does not originate from it, a strong and relatively recent tradition of citizen participation (neighborhood units created during the
1970s) and public debate could quite fast and successfully be reactivated during the first years of the post-traumatic period. Together with a new system of chosen mayors and a largely decentralized, up cleaned political and institutional urban framework, this context proved fruitful for the introduction of large scale urban interventions. We could interpret these processes the other way around, supposing that the pluralistic, socially differentiated Colombian urban society required at least some re-installed feelings of belonging in order to support rehabilitation politics and physical urban interventions, whereas the extreme homogeneous and non political character of Prague's inhabitants was a factor that had not so much to be counted with.

City, programs, architecture

The specific backgrounds of both cities lead to different planning strategies, and to different programmatic and architectural choices.
Rooted in personal gain and financial profit habits, and eager to attract foreign investors and architects, Prague's decision makers tended to use restitution and privatization processes for the facilitating of private, commercial programs that were hardly imbedded in long term urban scenarios, and of which the architecture is of a sometimes astonishing mediocrity.
In Bogota, architecture was considered as part of the larger urban fabric, and connected by a basic network of infrastructural and social mobility favoring alternative traffics methods by the construction of bus lanes, cycle roads, sidewalks and treed avenues. Until very recently Prague urban policies continued to prioritize an ever growing, often still bad quality car mobility on a far insufficient communist road network. It is only recently that the layout of (be it extreme small) cycle paths have started, undoubtedly stimulated by ongoing requests and cycle manifestations on Prague's most heavy infrastructures.
In Bogota the privatization of public enterprises, tax-paying measures and private investments (for instance in the rapid bus system) were important aspects of the resurrection process, but when it came to urban interventions priority was first given to the rebuilding of the city as a public realm; the first urban interventions consisted of the re-introduction of some 'lieux de memoires' as the La Rebecca fountain or the up cleaned, highly beloved colonial center. Prague's

lieu de memoire par excellence, its longtime neglected old town center, not only fell victim of facilities given to private investors and commercial chains, but also and very soon got transformed into an overcrowded touristic spot that most Prague citizens now tend to avoid.

Bogota's integral choreography resulted in public buildings in poor and far neighborhoods; buildings that were meant and function now as urban generators in a somehow recognizable architecture by well known Colombian architects that respect the nation's important building tradition. The first building projects in Prague, like the Dancing House or the Angel court were a combination of foreign private investment and foreign architecture on non related spots. Even if some high qualified buildings have been delivered since, the lack of a detailed zoning plan, the non transparent and car-orientated urban policies can be blamed for some crucial missed chances: the riverbanks of the above mentioned Karlin neighborhood offered an outstanding opportunity to re-connect the city and the river, but were offered instead to mono-functional programs and global architectures in which a sound balance between collective (urban) and individual (private) needs is lacking. Without a urban master plans that go beyond the scope of individual building plots or construction sites, projects easily risk to become isolated exercises. In such context, architecture is only of minor importance.

The social contract perspective

The path of cities' histories seems paved with the tension between individual and collective needs; urban societies on their turn have been and are marked by the degree to which social contracts allow citizens to live together, experience some kind of collective identity at the same time as to feel free and safe (in a literal and an ethic-political way) to use and cross the city, and to consider it as a platform for individual (counter)initiatives. The absence or the not being respected of such basis contracts is what characterizes failing states; the effect being cities that risk to fall apart, and citizens that lose affinity with them as can be illustrated by the experiences of Bogota (absence of a collective dimension without any respect of urban rules) and Prague (absence of individual dimension for the sake of an over-regulated collective society model).

To overcome these effects and start urban re-appropriation processes, new contracts need to be installed, get accepted and ultimately internalized by both the public and the private atmospheres. It is on this basis only, as it seems now, that a relevant and shared set of urban needs and design tools can be possibly formulated and agreed upon. If not, physical urban interventions will hardly go beyond the scope of constructing square meters and fancy architecture, doubtlessly to

be perceived by citizens as renewed, easily recognizable signs of negation.

The role of urban history

Finally, to stimulate feelings of belonging and urban commitment among citizens, a reset of the mental urban map seems necessary, both from an individual and a collective perspective.

This is of importance as it points to the potentials of an actualized historical framework. It goes without saying that we refer to the responsibilities of the professional disciplinary fields of (architectural) history, and of witch results common citizens can profit in a more indirect way.

Bogota and Prague have illustrated that decaying, non-beloved cities fell behind with the resembling of detailed, scientific knowledge about their architectural and urban pasts.

At the same time it seems logic that an adequate, long term re-appropriation can profit from a renewed insight in that same past; insights in the periods of so called good urban governance, in the myths and ideologies that figured behind urban planning and/or architectural initiatives, and in the institutional and decision-making context in which the city building process has taken shape so far.

In both Bogota and Prague the transition periods finally gave way to such renewed interest in the own urban and architectural pasts, culminating in publications, exhibitions, excursions, documentaries and research projects. Both were initially tended to prioritize their so called golden periods and to focus on well known plans and architects, but even Prague's communist 'panelak' neighborhoods are now the subject of exhibitions and guided excursions, whereas Bogota is doing research on the mechanisms and functioning of its non-formal settlements constructions.

A positive by effect of this phenomenon is the disclosing of the current canon of Architectural History towards 'neglected' regions. More specifically, it is within the broader discipline of Urban History that interest in non-western – including former communist - and until recently quite inaccessible regions has become a challenging research topic for anthropologists, sociologists, architectural and planning historians and social geographers.

Over viewing the results in the Urban History field so far, and trying to define new accurate research methods, former Dutch state professor Ed Taverne recently pleaded for analyses that compare periods of urban neglect and those that came after. Effectively, if a whole range of urban monographs and mono disciplinary studies has been published recently -including Prague and Bogota-, comparing studies are still rare, especially when it comes to the provable continuities between trauma and post trauma periods; the examples of Bogota and

Prague might illustrate that detailed knowledge of city's earlier urban histories can contribute to a better understanding of the specific re-appropriation strategies, their reception among citizens, and their degree of success.

Detailed insight in forgotten urban practices seems necessary, from a pure scientific urban history point of view, but also to unravel and understand the city in its actual conditions, and to consider it as part of a broader urban history. Finally, and as urban research has been and still is frustrated by the non-accessibility or manipulated character of historic sources, documents and facts, it is worthwhile to stimulate the use of research sources that lie beyond the mono-disciplinary scope of architecture, favoring other forms of representation (cartography, literature, film), knowledge of daily practices (street names, public rituals) and oral history instead.xxii

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ILOUNGE
INTERIM I INSTANT I INTERACTIVE

Abstract

Public social space is all around us and permanently changing. iLOUNGE - a design built intervention in public space for Northern Spark in Minneapolis and for the ZERO1 San Jose Biennial in 2012 - offers an instant social stage to create a temporary community for a minute, an hour or an evening. iLOUNGE operates as a social catalyst for place-making by creating new connections with the existing city while engaging information technology to augment or alter social interactions in public space.

As defined by spatial sociologist Martina Loew (Spacing, Raumsoziologie, 2001) and Margaret Crawford (Everyday Urbanism, 1999), the user of iLOUNGE is an active part of the spatial production. iLOUNGE has the ambition of being an urban space that interacts with its inhabitants: a space that adapts to the needs of the citizens but also a space that stimulates citizens to look, listen, exchange, reflect, and to relax. iLOUNGE is instant, interim and interactive and predominately refers to "I" am.

The design suggests a dynamic and adaptive carpet, a topography that em-

braces and stimulates exchange as well as interaction. The configuration is intended to change the speed and the direction of its inhabitants, to get them to interact, slow down, look in different directions, and generate informal interactions to promote different types of urban life. The architectural modules offer a surface that supports the occupation of the human body in multiple ways: lounging, standing, resting, socializing, exchanging, playing, observing, and being observed.

The inhabitable sculpture motivates the creation of a temporary community in flux. Analog and Digitally mediated narratives that trigger interaction and are embedded in the spatial construct provide a new context for social and physical exchange; they create a new set of potential for the social and sensorial relations, as well as space atmospheres. iLOUNGE is a public furniture, but more so we consider it as living, behavioral matter. They encourage the creation of interim communities that coexist in the physical and digital space. The full paper submission of iLOUNGE will offer a description of the construction and urban strategies for the activation of the interim social space to assess its potential as urban catalyst.

KEY WORDS: MEDIA TECHNOLOGY, INSTANT URBANISM, PUBLIC SPACE

1. INTRO

In regard to architecture's ephemeral practice, Rifkind writes: "While Vitruvius maintained that firmitatis - strength and durability- was a key condition of architecture, it may well be that our discipline's most enduring moments are its least permanent" (Rifkind, 2006). Today the notions of temporality and event play an important role in the strategic definition of the contemporary city. iLOUNGE instant/interim/interactive provides a social stage to create a temporary community for a minute, an hour, or an evening. Operating as a social catalyst, iLOUNGE is a device for place-making where the visitors are an active part of its spatial production. The project is a co-commission between Northern Spark and ZERO1, developed over a six-month period by a collaboration between Marcella Del Signore (X-Topia / Tulane University School of Architec-

ture) and Mona El Khafif (California College of the Arts, CCA Architecture, UR-BANlab). The project was installed in Minneapolis, MN in June 2012 during the Northern Spark event. In September 2012, iLOUNGE will be part of the ZERO1 Art & Technology Biennial in San Jose, CA.

2. TEMPORARY CITY

The concept of the Temporary City, as recently published by Peter Bishop and Lesley Williams (Bishop and Williams, 2012) unfolds out of an understanding that the city as our social, economical, and ecological environment is rooted in a four dimensional scenography: a dynamic space that changes on a daily or even hourly basis even when it also consists of more permanent elements. Bisphop and Williams are stating that the Temporary City today has its own legitimation. They write: "In an era of increasing pressure on scarce resources, we cannot wait for long-term solutions to vacancy or dereliction. Instead, we need to view temporary uses as increasingly legitimate and important in their own right. They can be a powerful tool through which we can drip-feed initiatives for incremental change — as and when we have the resources — while being guided by a loose-fit vision." (Bishop and Williams, 1212)

As such urban space as a cultural artifact seems to be the materialization of its events, which stands oftentimes in contrast to static master plan and technocratic top-down strategies, which are still considered to be the traditional professional practice of urban planning and urban design. It is a space in a permanent making and that therefore can't be disconnected from its interim character or transformation over time.

Influenced by the concepts of the Situationists, the Temporary City of the 21st century is a space for tacticians devising temporal, ecological and interim uses – seeking voids, niches, and loopholes in the socio-spatial fabric. While the Situationist City of the 1960s might be understood as a utopian and even revolutionary approach to counter the technocratic top down understanding of society and urban space, contemporary design approaches are becoming more and more founded on participation as well as cooperation models and an understanding of an infrastructural space that captures temporal change and social-spatial interaction as a dominant condition. Archigram's work from the Living City exhibition 1963 for example focused on the definition of space through interaction rather than demarcation and boundaries. In this manifest Archigram declared the city to be a "sum of its atmospheres" (Shepard, 2011). Starting with the 1960s architectural, urban, and art interventions conceptualized that temporary architecture was moving away from objectification to

claim an increased notion of space-environment. In this context Archigram's Instant City can be read as a transient event in which the type of material space created was not relevant. Its dynamics, relations with people, and the functioning of the whole comprised by many sub-parts was a real aspatial condition that prioritized action above form.

Contemporary approaches however are made evident in hybridized and overlapping patterns of resource consumption and tend to foster a diverse, resilient social ecology. Designers, artists, and more recently city planners, are exploring temporary tactics to fulfill a variety of social, political and spatial objectives. These design strategies and tactics are often deployed on vacant resources in order to use Waiting Land during their transitional phase (Christiansen, 2006) but are also applied within existing cities' fabrics and public spaces as activation for the lacking local urbanism. Waiting Lands, as coined by Kees Christiansen, or the acupuncture of existing public spaces require the designer to shift their thinking from explicit knowledge that feeds into form to complex interactive and responsive processing that identifies the role of the designer as curator, negotiator and collaborator. In contrast to the Situationist City this new understanding drives an up and coming practice within our profession to understand the Temporary City as an ongoing part of the Permanent City asking for design strategies that allow the integration of multiple actors and the negotiation of top down and bottom up processes. As such the field of temporary urbanism allows the testing of urban scenarios as a form of a living urban laboratory and to benefit from the resources of abandoned and vacant urban territories.

As Henri Lefebvre states in his publication "La Révolution Urbaine" urbanity and social life evolve from networks and differences. The friction between these interwoven differences is expressed in recognition, fertilization, synthesis and productive transformation (Lefebrve, 1970). Since the latter terminologies don't describe material conditions we might ask how designers and artists can initiate exchange, synthesis, fertilization or even a social life? And further how can the initiation of interim use – understood, as a stage for experimental approaches – be an advantage in order to learn about users, site contexts, and endogenous potentials?

A main challenge of the contemporary Temporary City is the design of social appropriation and participation: terminologies born in the discipline of spatial sociology describing by nature an act of undirected activities by a diverse set of unforeseeable users. As a response to those challenges temporary strategies need to be designed for spatial flexibility, indeterminacy, and multiplicity:

a stage for social interaction that allows and triggers open appropriation by multiple users while applying design conditions that unfold in multiple layers of spatial construction incorporating time as its urban narrative.

The design of directed indeterminacy, as stated by Stan Allen, requests clearly articulated design implementations that are not open-ended but are specific precisely because they need to support an undirected social space. Allen writes "You need a degree of fixity in order to trigger diversity of uses. You actually don't get flexibility with an empty field; you need very specific design conditions in order to trigger the potential of that flexibility and the openness of the public domain. What I have called "directed indeterminacy" implies something very different from the open-ended flexible non-design of 1960s. It is my proposition that you need to give something a very specific form in order to cultivate the richest possible dynamic". (Allen, 2011, p. 257)

The design of dynamic interim places therefore needs design implementations that operate as compositions of multiple time-based infrastructural layers. Those layers have material and immaterial natures and can consist out of multiple components: temporary hardware such as architectural installations and mobile systems support the spatial definition of a place; they have the potential to generate and host an unforeseen set of urban software that functions as top-down anchor programs or bottom-up user generated programs. Orgware strategies can activate local networks and neighborhood participation, while place-branding strategies can communicate activities and the initiation of urban narratives (El Khafif, 2009). The composition of these urban layers can give form and structure to urban life.

The following chapters will introduce the applied design strategies for the iLOUNGE project introducing the tactics set in place and tested during the two cultural events Northern Sparks in Minneapolis (June 2012) and the ZERO1 Biennial in San Jose (September 2012).

3. URBAN STRATEGIES

Site Strategies, Program Narratives, User Agencies, and Urban Scores

Framed through the understanding of an urban choreography that offers an open and yet defined score for social space to unfold the iLOUNGE project operates simultaneously in an urban (macro-global) scale and human (micro-local) scale. In contrast to Archigram's Instant City in which action is form, the iLOUNGE project defines form through multiple formations, media incorporation, and material strategies to allow action: an instant yet clearly articulated infrastructure that triggers the creation of social networks and relationships to

support the initiation of communities. The precise readability and identity of this multilayered composition can be even understood as a key component of its place-making strategy.

The urban score offers a time-based and interwoven synthesis of the material systems (hardware), programmatic occupation (software), organizational structures (orgware), and communication strategies (brandware). Due to the obligation to operate in two different cities, the urban strategies need to address site adjustment, different programming, as well as changing user groups and networks.
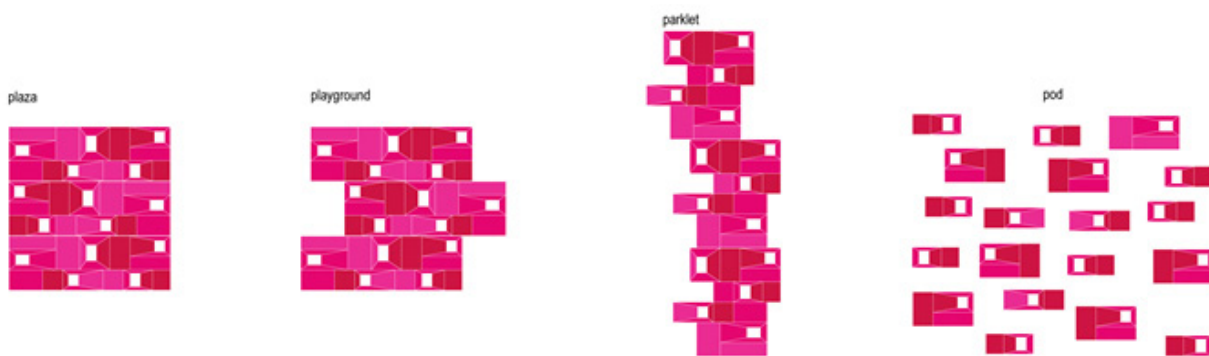

Figure 1. Aggregations (Plaza, Playground, Parklet, Pod)

The modular system consists of a topography designed for manifold aggregations. As such the aggregations can adjust to different sites and scales of social communities or spatial agencies and then can behave like a swarm. Constructed out of 36 elements the modular system (hardware) is able to create a set of differing urban typologies referencing existing and new types of public spaces. The plaza consists of a square with the dimensions of 24'x24' that operates like an urban agora: a defined space for undirected interaction. The same set of modular elements can also aggregate as a playground or a podium both allowing different programmatic occupations of the space. An allocation of the elements into subunits and smaller clusters further offers the aggregation as parklets occupying empty parking spots in front of street cafes. In its smallest aggregation the system creates the formations of pods, individual niche spaces for smaller user groups or individuals that can nest into the existing city's fabric. All aggregations adjust to different site conditions and simultaneously offer topography for alternating programs and user groups. During the cultural events the iLOUNGE project travels to different sites and hosts a set of curated events operating as anchor programs for the activation of the interim social space (software). The anchor programs are organized through

the active integration of the local art and design community and vary from film festivals, to art and media performances, kid's playgrounds, and DJ lounge areas. The initiated network of cooperative partners (orgware) opens the stage to multiple user groups and transforms the initially directed partnership into an agency of multiple undirected actors.

The social stage, clearly identifiable through its iconic color code and material strategy, is embedded into the city's fabric, but creates a second temporary layer that intentionally designates a new place, in which the user becomes an active part of the spatial production. Global communication strategies using website, blogs, twitter and flyers communicate events (brandware) and reflect the production of social space through the integration of media networks as an additional layer of the architectural topography.

As Bruno Latour states in "Reassembling the Social: An introduction to Actor-Network Theory" those networks are able to perform. Humans as well as technologies are actors. In the creation of the urban spaces, Latour claims the fact that humans have agencies in the same way technologies have it too. They actively "do something" and are not passive but active actors on stage. In this framework, both human and non-human are performing, acting, and creating the script to go live on stage.

This notion of agencies applied to objects, infrastructure, and network become an interesting trajectory to understand the mutual influence of actors-agents in the socio-technical space. For designers, the capacity to include action in the form on multiple scales expands the potential of our practice. The question is how the object performs, how it plays in space, and how the form itself becomes a spatial agent. (Easterling, 2011)

4. PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Spatial, Material and Construction and Strategies

iLOUNGE is an operative topography intended as a system that constructs a new territory by strategic movements of extrusions and connections The design suggests a dynamic and adaptive carpet, a topography that embraces and stimulates exchange and interaction. The configuration is intended to change the speed and the direction of its inhabitants, to get them to interact, slow down, look in different directions, and generate informal interactions to promote different types of urban life. iLOUNGE is composed by the aggregation of truncated pyramids and horizontal connective platforms to synthesize a constructed landform. The construction is achieved by maintaining the same tectonic logic for all the modules. Each truncated pyramid and horizontal surface seat on singular frames that elevate the piece from the ground and offer

structural stability to the parts plugged-in from the top. The base plateau is built as a series of simple wooden frames to facilitate aggregation and continuity of the entire object. The wooden platforms built as a one piece and the truncated pyramids constructed from the aggregation of singular surfaces, are designed and detailed following the same logic. Optimization of the construction method, zero material waste and visual consistency of the aggregate were the main references to construct iLOUNGE. Because of the connections among parts are hidden or invisible, the topography , even though composed by parts, it is perceived as a one object that grows from the land. Hiding and
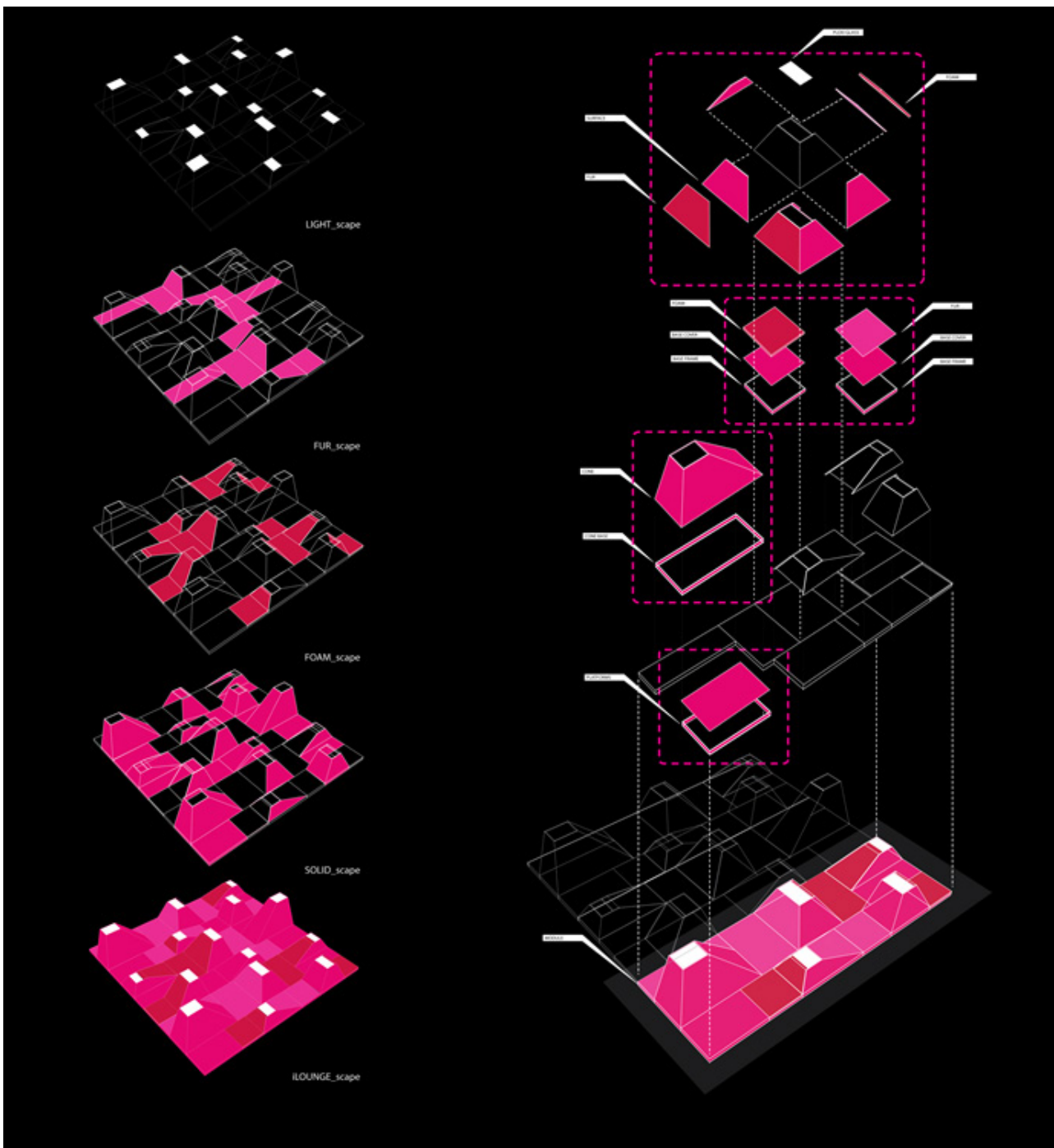

Figure 2. Spatial, Construction and Material Strategies

embedding all the connections was a deliberate design choice to emphasize and privilege a formal logic rather than a tectonic one.

The modules offer a versatile surface that supports the occupation of the human body in different ways: lounging, standing, resting, socializing, playing, observing, and being observed. Material systems are choreographed in conjunction with inhabitation and use. The entire space is conceived as a one object visually continuous that responds to a macro-global color tone with embedded micro-local material differentiations that follow the spatial and programmatic logic. As the object can be viewed from different distances, more and more the local tones and material differentiation can be perceived. Materials respond to the logic of pixels in a raster image where you see more of the color definition and the actual pixels as you zoom in (getting closer); vice-versa, you see more of the global tones and overall color palette as you zoom out (getting farther away)

Materials define multiple micro-scapes: solid, foam, fur and light scape to result in a total iLOUNGE-scape generated by the single pixels. Material choices also are informed by the tactical location of programs. There is a direct correlation between the placement of the materials, the programmatic strategies and inhabitation. Materials suggest three levels of tactile interaction from a gradient of hard (plywood) semi-soft (fur) and soft (foam) surfaces. The topography is also seen as an infrastructure that can potentially be "re-skinned" over and over again depending on site, users, programs and events. Gernot Böhme portrayed atmospheres as an almost objective condition. It implies the physical presence of the subject and the object; if focuses attention on place; and above all, it presupposes a sensory experience (Zardini, 2006). Böhme has observed that "sensory perception as opposed to judgment is rehabilitated in aesthetics, and the term 'aesthetic' is restored to its original meaning, namely the theory of perception" (Böhme, 1998). Tactal and sensorial participation is encouraged and suggested by the material systems of the object. Visitors are asked to "take off their shoes and become actors" to trigger the physically action of entering a space-environment that has different rules of "relational conditions."

Analog and Digitally Mediated Narratives

Analog and digitally mediated narratives that trigger interaction and are embedded in the spatial construct provide a new context for social and physical exchange; they create a new set of potential for the social and sensorial relations, as well as space atmospheres. iLounge is a public furniture, but more so we consider it as living, behavioral matter. Visitors are invited to think and

wonder about the permanent changes of social space; they are not passive spectators but become active actors of the spatial production. Two levels of "interaction narratives", one analog and one digitally mediated, are embedded in the object.

1. Analog Narratives

Questions in the form of Text are located at different visual points and embedded into the surfaces. Questions such as "What do you see", "What do you do", "Who is your neighbor" stimulate the visitors to look around, become aware of space, interact with the people in the immediate surroundings and stimulate their senses. The analog tagging strategies locate intentionally questions to instigate in a short time the temporary community to participate in the traditional rituals of urban space: encounter, gathering, recognition and distinction. As addition, a series of pictograms suggest possible inhabitation of the surfaces: seating, leaning, standing, jumping and so forth. The graphic layer
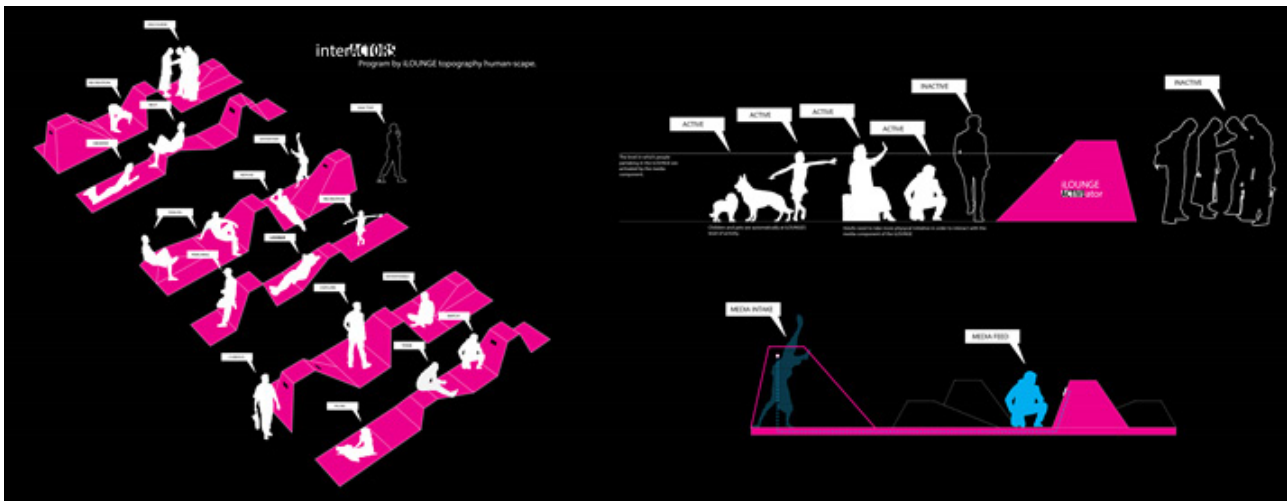
Figure 3. Activation; Analog and Digitally-mediated Narratives

of text and icons collaborate in the continuous writing and re-writing of the social space.

2. Digitally Mediated Narratives

a. Embedded_Micro-scale

Live feed video cameras are creating a media echo of the spatial production. Cameras and screens are embedded in the truncated pyramids creating a network of inputs (cameras) and outputs (screens). A total of nine cameras feed one-to-one into nine screens. The cameras capture in real time the social temporary space and send the information to a screen located adjacent to the immediate proximity. At each moment, the visitors are aware at "what is happening" in another zone of iLOUNGE or in the surroundings. Cameras feed

real-time data into the screens by only capturing micro-zones of the entire space. The nature of the space changes not only because of the tactile contact

Figure 4. Infrared Camera Projection

between individuals, but also because of the overall game of " seeing " and " being seen" triggered by the camera- screen relations.

b. Dis-located_Macro-scale

An infrared camera is placed outside iLounge to capture in real-time the space in its entirety. The media footages feed into a beamer station that projects the production of the interim social space onto surrounding firewall. There is an enlargement of the network system where the four components (the space, the camera, the beamer and the projection surface) are all dislocated in space. Visitors, aware of being part of the live recording, become actors participating in a process of being literally "on stage", amplified by the large macro-scale projection that echos the urban space.

5. EVENT STRATEGIES

During both cultural festivals iLOUNGE was used as a stage for social interaction and curated media art events. Those events are understood as interactive
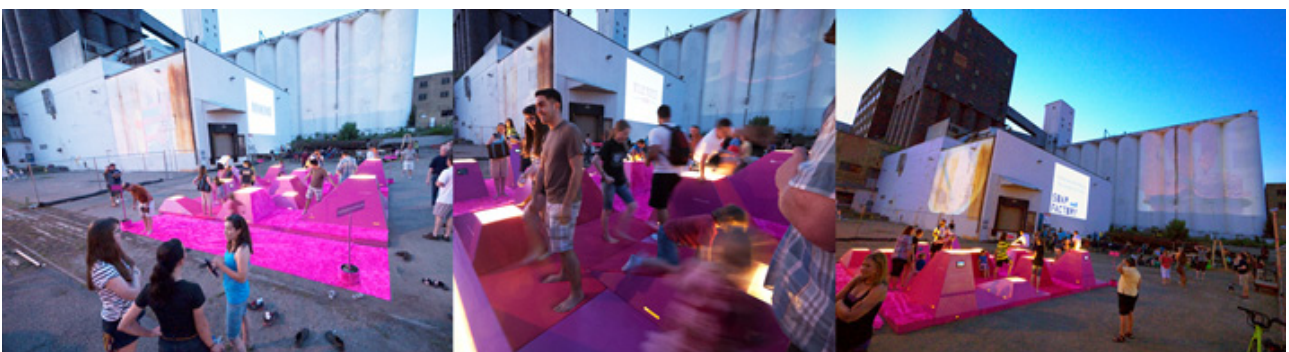

Figure 5. iLOUNGE in Minneapolis, Northern Spark Event

top-down anchor programs that attract visitors and foster social interaction and spatial production second order as bottom-up appropriation.

MINNEAPOLIS

In June 2012, iLOUNGE was part of the Northern Spark Event in Minneapolis, Minnesota. iLOUNGE was operating in the urban space over a 12 hour period (from dusk to dawn) with the ambition of transforming and nestling over-time a series of curated events. Located in a vacant space in a post-industrial area of the city, along a major pedestrian street adjacent to the river, iLOUNGE was strategically placed to define itself as a "spatial threshold" between the street and the vacant urban void. A series of events took place as sequential catalytic strategies to instigate a different social milieu. During the Ten-second film festival happening on the same site (9pm-12am), 10.000 people visited iLOUNGE. The space was used as a viewing platform and a public aggregation node along the street. People of all ages interacted with the space, playing with the tactile response of the object, with its analog and digital inputs and outputs while the film festival screening was taking place. After 12am, the space saw a complete transformation of type of visitors. The infrared camera event was programmed from 12am to 6am. Mostly young people, attracted also by the real time large scale projection, overflowed over the space with a complete subversion of its usage. People started to inhabit the infrastructure in almost unpredictable ways. From dancing, to jumping, to micro-stages to perform, the space was transformed more in a playground to explore and discover rather then a lounge. The space was completely "hacked" by users testing alternative forms of inhabitation and use.

SAN JOSE

Starting in September 2012, iLOUNGE will be a part of the 4th ZERO1 Biennial in San Jose, California. The cultural festival is scheduled from September until December and will be distributed throughout Silicon Valley and the greater San Francisco Bay Area, and is known as North America's most comprehensive venture of work at the nexus of art and media technology. Under the theme Seeking Silicon Valley, the 2012 ZERO1 Biennial will feature work by a diverse group of local, national, and international contemporary artists whose work is meant to transform Silicon Valley into an epicenter for innovative art production and more so a public experience. (ZERO1 Biennial, 2012) During the opening weekend (12th - 16th of September) iLOUNGE will operate as a mobile public lounge and stage hosting three media art events that will be performed by artists in residence. The infrastructural topography tested in Minneapolis is meant to migrate on different sites using its capacity to aggregate in various formations and to capture the city's fabric as a projection surface. The lounge as an endogenous public program for the everyday occupation will be hybrid-

ized with media events thematizing and documenting the appropriation of the space by users.

The programming of the stage will be curated as top-down events as well as a bottom-up open calls that will invite artists and designers to participate. The open call strategy invites the local art scene to participate and to become an agency and partner. Both anchor programs and open calls will be framed through a brief that requests the media art to be interactive in order to foster an active involvement of the audience. The incorporate media pieces that had been tested in Minneapolis will be a continuous part of the everyday programming of iLOUNGE. At the end of the opening weekend iLOUNGE will be located at the Children's Discovery Museum of San Jose (CDM) in the SoFA

Figure 6. Events in Minneapolis: catalytic strategies to instigate a different social milieu

district. The installation is meant to travel and will function as an explicit public stage while adjusting programmatically and spatially according to the local needs. In this respect the iLOUNGE project will operate as a place-maker and attractor undergoing different public lives.

6. CONCLUSIONS

For our evaluation method, we observe the resulting social productions and effects on site and review these within the design strategies set in place. The initial spatial goal of the iLOUNGE was to initiate interaction and a production of social space second order through the implementation of top-down design approaches. A concept was established, strategies were set in place, and design actions and decisions were made. iLOUNGE was then set up and installed for Northern Sparks in Minneapolis, an event that had very specific constraints (site, audience, duration, etc.). As the project was plugged into "real life", it was discovered that "iLOUNGE in action" was unfolding a set of "post-strategies for appropriation" that emerged only from the 1:1 test drive and the specificity of external parameters. This triggered a set of new bottom-up unplanned, unstrategized, and undesigned strategies to appropriate the city that were discovered through observing the first test-run of iLOUNGE over a 24 hour period. As a first evaluation we were able to extract a series of observations that help to understand the design and initiation of social space:

1) iLOUNGE functioned as a real place-maker. Users, observers, and visitors temporarily felt a "sense of belonging to the place". The former no-mans land and empty lot received for the time of the installation was clearly identified and captured as a personal yet public territory.

2) iLOUNGE operated as a hot-spot and attractor. Because of its nature of being in complete contrast with the site caused by material, color, form, the public was attracted to the iconic figure in the open field. The fact that iLOUNGE didn't blend with its context and was easily identifiable helped to pull attention. This especially triggered a series of reactions, where people saw the object as a temporary landmark. The new place was able to attract but also offer a new mental map, something that visitors could take home: a memory of the experience.

3) iLOUNGE offered a multiplicity of occupation. It is designed with very clear and prescribed spatial parameters, but it simultaneously offers a programmatic interpretation through a set of potential uses and relationships with the body. This hybrid condition of "first order programming" (prescribed by the designer) and "second order appropriation" (discovered and implemented by personal choices of the user) created a spatial condition for real appropriation, in which the predictable is countered by the unpredictable and the formal produces the informal.

4) iLOUNGE was occupied by a very diverse group of users. Though the 24 hour art event attracted the usual art crowd it was remarkable that all age groups and demographics were attracted by the space. Its defined and yet undefined

spatial conditions operated as a playground: open for appropriation and our own imaginations.

5) iLOUNGE was a curated stage for top-down programming triggering bottom-up occupations. The programming generated a time-based structure of the space that created a rhythm of defined and undefined sequences helping to activate the space. These time-based solid and void conditions are sensitive and need to be balanced. Too much top-down programming will create passivity while no programming at all lacks a sense of programmatic pace.

As iLOUNGE travels to a new site, event and conditions for the ZERO1 San Jose Biennale in September 2012, we look forward to continuing to learn from the project and to observe what will be a new set of emerging "post-strategies."

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- www.iloungeproject.com   www.flickr.com/photos/iloungeproject

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Social and meeting values : Km_RunwayPark

ABSTRACT

Tirana is certainly an interesting case study regarding the cities evolution in the Balkans during the last ten years. ATENASTUDIO has been working in the city of Tirana for eight years with consistency, both on large scale projects with significant implications in the urban design, and on individual building design. This experience coincided with the years of greatest development for the City, which from a state of deep backwardness has pursued the aim of being a modern European capital.

This could presume a deep knowledge of the city from our side, of its evolutionary force and its related social, political, economic aspects.

That is not so.

Tirana eludes a clear understanding, at least for a non-Albanian, due to its continual transformation, its deep contradictions, the difficult relationship between public and private interest, the general lack of rules and strategic planning in which it is possible to locate any individual interventions with a coherence in continuum. After years of spontaneous and self-determined city development,

it would be currently appropriate to have a debate titled (Re) Appropriation of the city.

The project that we would like to mention is the urban park, built and called Km_RunwayPark.

Within a context as described above, the lead responsibility for the reconfiguration of an urban space of this size (5 acres) is very high, within a city such as Tirana which is virtually absent of new planning design for public spaces.

ATENASTUDIO, thanks to some events related to the development of the project and its construction process, has sought the answer to forsake the idealistic will of the designer to define unequivocally and in detail all aspects of project pursuing the illusion of being able to further influence human behavior. On the other hand the research, despite a strong design identity, a degree of freedom and reinterpretation has allowed the users to develop a sense of belonging and of "ownership" of public space.

In several aspects, definitely not just architectural, Km_RunwayPark design can be defined as unique and extraordinary project within Tirana's scenario: starting from the initial bipartisan political aim, considering also the critical context situation where the project has recovered the abandoned area of the ex-military runway airport, the location of the area is relevant and strongly strategic, dividing the North and South reality, finally the project links together two different urban fabrics and two opposite social identities, achieving, in a spontaneous way, social and meeting values. The debates in particular related with Sub-theme 1, 2 and 6 that structure TAWc_01.

PREVIUOS STATE

The project is located in an area with exceptional urban qualities: a 50 m wide by one kilometre long void in the urban fabric left by the former landing strip of an abandoned military airport in the northwest quadrant of the city (Figure 1-2). It was used as a countryside area for animals even though the place was located within the urban fabric and within a chaotic urban context made by high rise
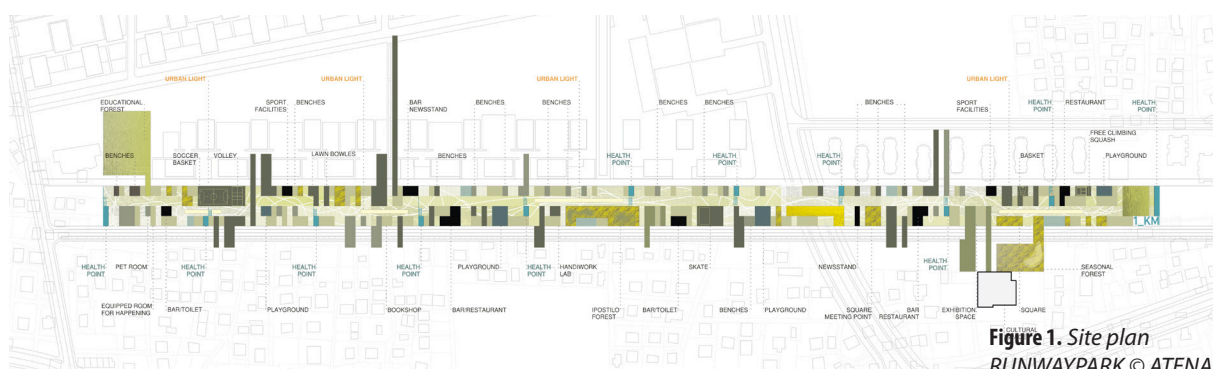
Figure 1. *Site plan*
RUNWAYPARK © ATENASTUDIO

Figure 2. *Plan and section*
RUNWAYPARK © ATENASTUDIO

buildings (Figure 3-4). The urban fabric was strongly divided by this linear empty place that identified two opposite realities: on the north the new development

Figure 3. *Ante,* **Figure 4.** *Post*
RUNWAYPARK © ATENASTUDIO

Figure 5. *Ante,* **Figure 6.** *Post*
RUNWAYPARK © ATENASTUDIO

AIM OF INTERVENTION

The Km_RunwayPark, designed for the city of Tirana, is a public urban space, a theme park that does not isolate existing space but, on the contrary, unifies the various urban fragments that surround it, both existing and under development, ensuring its role in the future urban growth of the city.

The project defines a clear and recognisable identifying image that simultaneously works at two different scales:

1- The Urban Scale, where the rhythmic alternation of different paved surfaces and/or vegetation produces an overall image that alludes to the structure of a text or a writing left by an abstract calligraphy that designs a vast canvas based on scanning, repetition and rhythm.

2- The Human Scale where, on the contrary, the design dedicated to each single area is differentiated according to function, colours, use, nature, etc. This process creates a series of rooms, each different from the other and each with its own specific value. This in turn produces differences and interplay, while maintaining communication and thus the unitary and identity-giving perception of the entire intervention.

FLEXIBILITY

Having determined the identifying image and a design strategy, the specific functional definition of each single element thus lends itself to various solutions, making it flexible and capable of welcoming the most diverse functional and programmatic solutions; in this sense, the project is to be understood as an open system that is not crystallised (for a detailed description of uses and indications of the surface areas please make reference to the project drawings). The design features small building volumes that serve the space as bars, restaurants, public services, bookshops, etc. These volumes can be built at a later phase, without in any way damaging the overall image of the intervention. The first step in the implementation of the project would suggest the inclusion - set into the pavement – of the plan of these future volumes, which can then be built during a second phase. In this way the overall image of the project remains intact and its completion is rapid; these localised indoor functions can also be used, prior to completion, as play areas for children.

DESCRIPTION OF INTERVENTION

The project features a singular unit of measurement: 1 km. It is precisely this measurement concept that underlies the logic of the designed spaces, which can be perceived by walking the length of the project; if we take into consideration the presence of schools and universities in the immediately neighbouring areas, and thus a significant number of young people who will use this space,

we gain a clear conception of the dimensions that range from 100 metres to 1 kilometre, with the final aim of dedicating the space to sports and recreational activities (fitness, running, basketball, volleyball, playgrounds, etc.).

The aim of the project is to mix different programs and users by ages that can live the public area in a very dynamic way exchanging flow of activities.

The gardens design focuses on chromatic choices, the selection of fragrances and a relationship with architectural spaces. Similar to the areas for sports activities, based on a 100 m module, the planted areas are also defined by a unit rhythm. The natural planned areas, the number of trees and the quantity of species of vegetation are based on the specific requirements of the Municipality of Tirana regarding quality, quantity, cost and maintenance. (Figure 7-8-9).

EVALUATION

Even thought not every parts of the project have been realized as there were designed, the overall park is able to define the platform and the urban structure of public domain to host activities based on specific demand on the citizen for leisure, sport and commercial purposes in a successful manner. The project create dynamic sequences of public spaces and the design goal has been achieved especially through the way how the space is used: different facilities, different user age, different social levels are merged into the area along one kilometre of plenty activities.

Figure 7,8,9. *View
RUNWAYPARK © ATENASTUDIO*

The paving in the northern and

southern areas penetrates into the existing urban fabric. This ensures the involvement, as opposed to the isolation, of the existing surrounding areas, above all the constructions to the south, devoid of any master plan. This southern area house functions that support the park – even private – aimed at re-qualifying the existing urban fabric and involving it in the development of the neighbourhood. The strips of the public park also vary based on eventual requests from the private sector without affecting the overall image of the project and reinforcing the use of the park by local citizens and their civic participation in the definition of this public space.

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PAX-METROPOLITANA
ARCHITECTURE, URBANISM, AND A LESS VIOLENT WORLD

THE CENTRAL ZONE OF SREMSKA MITROVICA - SQUARES THAT LAST THROUGH AGES AND ADAPT TO ANY PURPOSE

ABSTRACT

While it's common knowledge that the world has experienced unprecedented urbanization over the last century, it is much less known that during the same period the planet has witnessed a major decline in violence of all types. In contrast with media-fuelled and everyday perception, numerous recent and high profile studies have demonstrated that the contemporary world is characterized by a remarkable peacefulness when compared to previous decades and centuries. As Harvard psychologist, Steven Pinker, declares in his exhaustive new book on the history of violence: "Believe it or not – and I know most people do not – violence has declined over long stretches of time, and today we may be living in the most peaceable era in our species' existence." Indeed, at the outset of the 21st Century, the world appears both more peaceful and more urban than ever before.

This paper explores the hypothesis that the concurrent decline in violence and rise in urbanization are not entirely unrelated. In pursuing this hypothesis the

paper investigates the spatial ideologies of militaristic cultures and compares and contrasts them with spatial configurations that intensify intercultural exchange. Through this comparison, the paper identifies the formal attributes of cities that emerge within cultures that celebrate heterogeneity and intercultural empathy as opposed to fundamentalist purity and intercultural antagonism. The paper speculates that while the contemporary city, in a general sense, may be understood as an engine of peace, certain urban configurations can be considered as more peace enhancing than others.

KEY WORDS: VIOLENCE, PEACE, MULTICULTURALISM, METROPOLITANISM, IDENTITY

INTRODUCTION

Exponential population growth and rapid urbanization are, of course, among the most defining phenomena of contemporary conditions throughout much of the planet. The earth's population and its macro-settlement tendencies changed very little until the beginning of the 19th Century, being steadily and overwhelmingly rural and taking millennia to reach a global population of 1 billion. Prior to 1800 just one city briefly reached a population greater than one million: imperial Rome. Beijing, at the turn of the 19th Century, was the next city to hit the million-person mark and was soon joined by London in 1811 (Soja and Kanai, 2007, p. 56). Over the next 100 years the earth's population ballooned to 1.6 billion and the number of million-plus cities jumped to sixteen. Accelerating population growth and urbanization ushered in 1950 with 2.5 billion people and 64 one-million-plus cities. But it's the last half-century that's been staggering, with the population now at 7 billion and well over 400 metropolitan areas with million-plus populations (Soja and Kanai, 2007, p. 58). In 1800 just 3% of the world's inhabitants lived in what could be classified as urban areas, by 1900 this number reached 14%, by 1950 30%, and by 2007, for the first time in human history, 50% of people on the planet were urbanites. Current statistics put that number at 52% and it is widely projected that 70% will be urban dwellers by 2050 (W.H.O.).

While population growth and urbanization are frequently considered from a vast array of disciplinary domains, commonly questioned from such vantages as economics, resource management, ecology, and geo-politics, to name just a few, the implications of urbanity as the dominant mode of human life has often escaped broad speculation regarding its implications for the most basic quali

ties of social interaction between humans. One particularly tantalizing category of speculation orbits around the topic of conflict, or more particularly, the dynamics of violence and peace. Through the work of various institutions and individual researchers it is coming into focus that we are living not only in an age of unprecedented urbanity, but also, as it happens, an age of unprecedented peacefulness. There are, of course, many different types of violence and many different methods for measuring it – that latter of which are fraught with controversy regarding accuracy and meaningfulness for interpretation.

In terms of measuring the violence of interstate and civil wars, three metrics are helpful: The number and duration of conflicts, the intensity of each conflict as measured by battle-deaths, and the cumulative number of battle-deaths for all wars. Stephen Pinker has demonstrated that in the early 16th Century the world's 'great powers' were at war with each other roughly 75% of the time but by the beginning of the 19th century they fought about 50% of the time (Pinker, 2011, p. 224). After 1800, great power wars drop precipitously to the current condition of being virtually non-existent. Of course, wars persist, but they tend to be shorter low-intensity conflicts when considered in historical perspective. Prior to organized nation states about 500 people per 100,000 died in warfare per year, but even with two world wars, the 20th century clocks in at sixty deaths per 100,000 (Borenstein, 2011). Current statistics identify that less than one person dies in war per 100,000 per year globally. The Vancouver-based Human Security Report Project (HSRP), sponsored by the Swiss, Swedish, and United Kingdom governments, analyzes global armed-conflict since 1950 and has also demonstrated that what wars are dramatically less deadly than in the past. According to their numbers, in the 1950s roughly 10,000 people died annually per conflict but by the 21st Century had dropped to 1,000. In terms of the recent past, the number of wars in which 1,000 or more die per year has plummeted by 78% since 1988. In historical perspective, wars have become fewer, shorter, and less deadly.

Most researchers agree that genocide killed more people in the 20th century than wars. It is also a common belief that the 20th century was a 'century of genocide.' Certainly a depressing number have died through genocide in the 20th century, but as Steven Pinker reminds us, "[a]s soon as one realizes that the sackings, razings, and massacres of the past centuries are what we would call genocide today, it becomes utterly clear that genocide is not a phenomenon of the 20th century" (Pinker, 2011, p. 332). Within the 20th century the bulk of genocide deaths are concentrated mid-century, and from 1970 onward the trend is "unmistakably downward" (Pinker, 2011, p. 340). And in the early 21st

century has proven to be "the most genocide-free of the past fifty years" (Pinker, 2011, p. 340).

What about criminal homicide? Perhaps an illustrative example is the United States, a country widely regarded as having the highest murder rate among developed nations. Despite this distinction, the rate of homicide in the US has been declining over long periods of time. The murder rate in the United States is now as low as it has ever been, sitting at roughly four homicides per 100,000. This is in sharp contrast to 20 murders per 100,000 in 1850 (Fischer, 2011), the year in which sharp declines in homicide commence throughout much of the western world. The drop in Europe is even more pronounced.

"The facts are not in dispute here; the question is what is going on," says political scientist John Mearsheimer (Borenstein, 2011). Indeed, what IS going on? UC Berkely sociologist Claude Fischer sums up common explanations for the widespread decline in violence into three categories: Government, economics, and culture (Fischer, 2011). As the standard arguments go: Stronger and more stable governments suppress violence through the justice system, for instance. A more affluent society is more pacific. And in terms of the culture, Norbert Elias' 'civilizing process' figures prominently, fortifying the conviction that an evolution in social and ethical codes has steadily eroded violence as an acceptable behaviour (Fischer, 2011). Politically, these arguments tend to converge on a right-wing, conservative disposition: stiffer prison sentences, neoliberal free trade policy, and the teleology of cultural progress. Fischer offers a provocative example that counters this tendency in explicating drops in violence. He cites the work of Robert Sampson, the head of Sociology at Harvard, which proposes that the dramatic decline in violent crime in the United States since the early 1990s may be linked to increased immigration (Sampson, 2008). While common perception posits that recent immigrants are more likely to commit crimes, Sampson shows that urban areas with high-concetrations of recent immigrants have lower than average crime rates. I would like to offer another conjecture that challenges the dominant rationalizations surrounding the decline in violence.

It might not be a coincidence that as the world has urbanized at an unprecedented rate, violence of all types has dropped to unprecedented lows. Perhaps urbanity itself is a condition that offers a greater likelihood of peaceful relations between humans? Considering this proposition it is useful to consider how milartistic cultures typically relate to the city. According to William Millard (2004, p. 38), "warrior castes and guerilla movements in nation after nation have defined themselves in terms of rustic purity, in contrast to the heterogeneity and

hedonism found in urban centers. … [T]he Wahhabi nomad, Nazi Judeophobe, and Maoist cadre, all share a tendency to view cities and their residents as decadent, polluted, and effeminate, and probably in need of some cleansing fire." Violent organizations tend to be ideologically opposed to urbanism, primarily locate their operations outside the city, populate their ranks with non-city dwellers, and in many instances, mount particularly aggressive campaigns against the city.

Figure 1: Evacuated Phnom Penh, 1977.

Geographers, historians, and architects increasingly use the term 'urbicide' to describe acts of violence specifically aimed at the physical structures and social milieu of the city. An example of urbicide is the Khmer Rouge's treatment of all Cambodian cities but most infamously, Phnom Penh. In the 1970s Phnom Penh was a bustling metropolis that was forcibly evacuated residents in 1975, leaving the entire city deserted (Figure 1). Under Pol Pot's regime Cambodians were divided into two classes, what were called Old People, and New People. Old People were more trusted rural inhabitants, and New People the former city inhabitants, their very city-ness qualifying them for extra suspicion, scrutiny, and ultimately disposabilty. Moving closer to the present, Sarajevo at the hands of militant Serbian nationalists marks urbacide's tragic poster child and ushered in the term's more widepsread contemporary use. As Millard recounts, Sarajevo was often considered to be a physical embodiment of intercultural exchange,

with its ethnic enclaves radiating about a central shared marketplace (2004). From 1992 – 1996 the city was systematically destroyed in the longest siege of any capital city in modern history. Locations that served as mixing chambers for different ethnicities; cafes, markets, and libraries were specifically targeted. While history's more flagrantly rogue actors provide ample examples of anti-urbanism, this tendency can also be traced within more central and dominating military organizations. Consider the US military. The locations which draw the highest inscription rates tend to be less urbanized. Unlike, civilian academic insitutions, it's officer training schools are almost entirely located in rural settings (Figure 2). In terms of explicit ideologically, urban theorist Stephen Graham has identified the anti-urban rhetoric that increasingly pervades US Military training and doctrine (2011).

Figure 2: US Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs.

If a consideration of warrior cultre ideology conveys its anti-urbanism, it also suggests its inverse; that cities themselves may function as engines of peace. That the city can operate as such allows one to begin to think not of Pax-Romana, Pax-Brittanica, nor Pax-Americana, but of Pax-Metropolitana: The metropolitan peace. As socio-spatial constructs that enable co-existence between radically different subject positions, cities and their proliferation offer a version of peacefulness anchored less directly within the logics of earlier versions of empire. It is a explanation of peace less entangled in the methods of disciplinary society and capitalism. Rather, this is a version of peace that belongs to congestion, crowds,

and contaminations.

The potential of dynamic heterogeneity within cities has been explored from countless angles. From Richard Sennet's cosmopolis of strangers (1977) to Rem Koolhaas' devotion to metropolitan congestion (1978), the very conditions terrifying to the fundamentalist have been been championed for their expansive and liberating potentials by a parallel pro-urbanist camp. If the encounter with substantially different others in daily life constitutes the empathic potential of the metropolis it is worth considering what type of urban configurations leverage this potential to greatest effect. As Sennett says, "Cities are places where learning to live with strangers can happen directly, bodily, physically, on the ground. The size, density, and diversity of urban populations makes this sensate contact possible - but not inevitable" (2000).

Stan Allen's field conditions offer one conceptual lens for the spatial tactics of contact that are operative at both the scales of architecture and the city: "Field conditions offer a tentative opening in architecture to address the dynamics of use, behavior of crowds, and the complex geometries of masses in motion" (1999, p. 101). Allen's shift from objects to fields and geometry to algebra, in the inerest of the space between serial elements, is in service of a dynamic density of use. This thickened 2-D emphasizes a heterogenous horizontality in which flocks, swarms, and crowds coalesce. This is a conceptual framework for the encounter of difference and mutual contaminations.
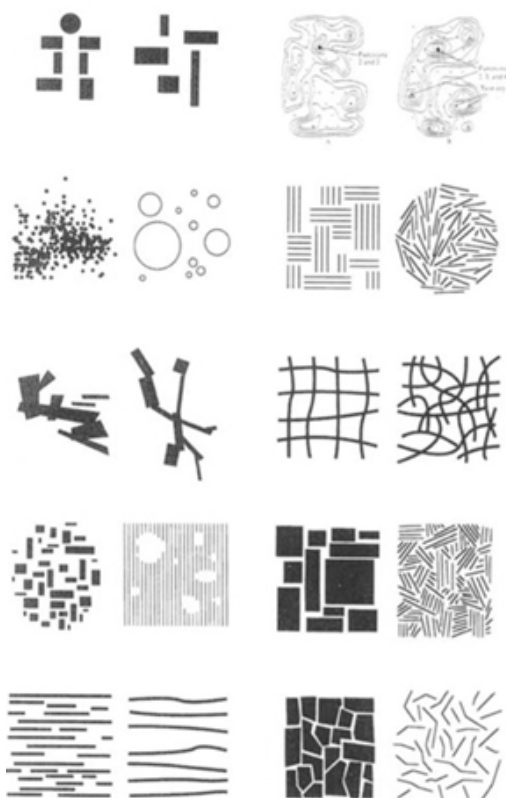
Figure 3: Field Condition Diagrams (Allen, 1999, p. 98).

While Allen's field conditions present models of spatial interconnectivity and diversity, they may pose an unintended flattening in the possibility of radically substantive difference. This relates to the questions of scale and territories of collective identity. The case can be made that human identity formation is contingent upon the formation of shared social practices amongst groups of humans. In other words, differing individual identies are strengthened by their shared construction within the group. The question then becomes, how can the liberating potential of field conditions not inadvertantly eviscerate the identity forming potential of closed social systems.

Koolhaasian metropolitanism offers a compel-

ling and complimentary counterpoint to the field condition. The verticality of towers, with the repetition of separated floor plates, and the territorial demarcation of separate blocks within the Manhattan grid provide the spatially isolated territories in which different subject identities coalesce into differing ideological collectives (Koolhaas, 1978). In other words, Koolhaas' metropolitanism relies on a degree of discontinuity. Borders, boundaries, and separation play an important role at multiple scales.

Figure 4: The City of the Captive Globe (Koolhaas, 1978).

The pax-metropolis, the city that leverages the latent potentials inherent to urbanism's relative density to maximum effect, might be described as a hybrid construct that closes territories off at certain moments, while opening up into field conditions in others. This hybridity offers the spatial enclaving and concommitant density of identity necessary to the enhance the formation of robust and intense ideological differences – be they political, class, sexual or ethnic based, while also offering the fluid and open territories of the contaminating, and ultimately empathic, crowd. Enclaving can happen at the scale of buildings, blocks, and neighborhoods. In a similar manner, field condition connectivity also can happen at all three scales. In all probability, the utopian pax-metropolis combines all three scales of separation and connectivity to offer heightened milieus of empathy. In this manner, the pax-metropolis offers an intensified diversity of

spaces that function as scaffolding-like-machinery for the proliferation of radical substantive ideologies regularly in contact with its others.

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PUBLIC (& SHOPPING) PLACES
*ON PUBLIC USES AND SHOPPING CENTERS IN THE EUROPEAN
CONTEMPORARY CITY*

ABSTRACT

Public space is not anymore what it used to be. Following the emergence of a new urban condition, other outstanding elements appear nowadays as meaningful places of the contemporary metropolitan landscape, in addition to the traditional network of public spaces. This phenomenon, common to most urban areas, is today materialized as an hypertext of recreational and commercial facilities — such as stadiums, public gardens, kart racing circuits, shopping centers, furniture and automobile showrooms, nightclubs, child and adult day care facilities or multi-purpose indoor arenas — that structure a network of uses of apost-urban culture, condensed in time and scattered in space.

Amongst them, the shopping center is not only one of the most striking elements of contemporary city, but also a "quasi"-urban component where notions such as "public" and "private" or "non-place" and "place" are challenged by the hybrid nature of this architectural typology.

However if going to the "shopping" is indeed a common and universal experience; the actual

role of the shopping center is indeed a controversial topic. For some, these typologies are places where everything is accessible in a comfortable and secure way. For others, they are the epitome of advanced capitalism, the product of an era in which consumption pervades all facets and activities of contemporary life. But today shopping centers are more than just mere sites for consumption. In the scenic environments of its "streets" and "plazas" – like in the historic, dense and compact city – we wander, eat, drink, rest and consume symbols and merchandises. So visiting them is, today, not so different of going to the "center".

Shopping centers are, without any doubt, one of the key places of daily life of its urban users. And, evidence of this, is the fact that on average, in Europe, a citizen visits a shopping center approximately every 3 weeks, spending 1 hour and 30 minutes on each visit and only, in 25% of the cases, with the intention to purchase a specific product. If we do not know what role this hybrid typology may yet take part in the contemporary city, these are nowadays formulas that have changed the way we see and use public and private urban space. But, most of all, shopping centers are today urban elements — accumulating the condition of being both places of consumption and centrality in contemporary metropolitan regions — that we cannot continue to ignore when discussing the condition of contemporary urban public space.

KEY WORDS: Public space; Shopping centers; Contemporary city; Europe.

Figure 1. *Advertising brochure, Otis Elevator Co. (1949), (Chung et al, 2001).*

1. INTRODUCTION

Shopping centers are one of the most striking elements of contemporary European city, an indispensable place of consumption itself and, increasingly, one of the key places of daily life.

But, most of all, it is difficult to remain indifferent to this ambiguous and complex object, simultaneously "paradise" and "hell" of the contemporary city (Cautela & Ostidich, 2009). If some authors accuse these typologies to have altered the notion of contemporary urban space, reducing public use to collective practices that they consider "undemocratic" (Sorkin, 1992:xi-xv), "militarized" (Davis, 1992:154-180), "artificial" (Jackson, 1985:260), "panoptic"
(Elin, 1997:73) and that "reject the activities of a true center" (Whyte, 1988:208), as well that circumscribe the notion of civic space to a set of "consumption oriented activities" (Ghirardo, 1996:66). Others point out the inevitability of its hegemony in a "generic city" (Koolhaas, 1997:3-12), arguing that consumption is, in fact, "one of the last remaining forms of public
life" (Leong, 2001:128-155), as well that this retail spaces facilitate new "social and coexistence synergies" (Amendola, 1997: 259), provide a "safe urbanity" (Rybczynski, 1995: 210) and are, certainly, one of the most important architectural paradigms of the twenty-first century, in a "world that, itself, has already turned into a shopping mall" (Crawford, 1992: 3- 30).

If the shopping center is, by definition, a group of retail commercial establisments that is planned, developed, owned and managed as a single property with the aim of maximizing profit; nevertheless, today, this is not a space exclusively designed for consumption. Along with a broad offer of products and services, we will also find in today's shopping centers, increasingly, a new set of recreational and cultural facilities with a clear goal: to create friendly spaces that invite to stay and consume. Thus, besides being an expression of
the actual retail industry – where products are shown, tested and sold — shopping centers are also progressively places where uses, functions and activities — previously reserved to the realm of urban public spaces — are also supported, transforming themselves in highlighted icons of the contemporary European scene, where these commercial structures represent nowadays also nodes of the metropolitan landscape in which they operate. Due to its particular qualities, the shopping center is — in its essence — an unorthodox and
even contradictory object. Simultaneously, a place of business and leisure; open to use, but closed on itself; public in its use, but private in terms of ownership; with a wide geographical influence but detailed in its scale; general in its themes, but representative to each individual user.

Therefore, by its nature, the analysis of the shopping center is an exercise at

different scales. To understand it, not only we have explore the way the "brave new world of consumption" is linked with the urban realm and how the shopping center established itself as one of its "cathedrals". But we will also need to understand the close relationship between the expansion of this typology and the emergence of a "new urban condition", by trying to identify the dynamics that are at the root of all these transformations in the last four decades.

Therefore, this will not be an essay exclusively about shopping centers, but also on the new concepts of urbanity that arise in a city, that rather than compact is today extensive and diffuse, and where consumption gradually gains increasing importance in its territorial reorganization. More precisely, this article will explore an hypothesis: that the uses that gravitate around the sphere of consumption induce the role of these, and others retail and recreational private ownership spaces, as urban elements; and, therefore, that this commercial formulas are now both public (& shopping) places of the contemporary European city.

2. SHOPPING

In order to contextualize this phenomenon, common to the entire European continent, our first approach will be to explore the notion of consumption itself; by systematizing the metamorphosis of this concept, which expanded its scope — in the last century — from the simple purchase of goods and services to the "access" to experiences and intangible assets (Rifkin, 2000), structuring a new "experience economy" (Pine II & Gilmore, 1999) reflected in the way how today's consumers associate the ritual act of consumption to the respective lifestyles that accompany it. And, as shopping activity gains a significant role in the contemporary European city, the consumer itself is progressively placed at the center of the debate. From Lisbon to Istanbul, from Naples to Rotterdam, or from Lille to Tirana, we will find today in Europe a new relationship between city users and retail spaces. On average, a European citizen visits a shopping center 17 times a year, or approximately every 3 weeks. Spending on average 1 hour and 30 minutes on each visit, stating that shopping centers are a good place to spend their free time and when using them, only in 25% of cases with the intention to purchase a specific product (C&W/H&B, 2004).

Consumer trends are also very similar in European countries. On average, three quarters of consumers are female, only standing out Italy and Spain respectively with 84% and 91%. The age distribution of the consumers is generally balanced, existing about one quarter of users between 15 and 34 years old and the remaining three quarters evenly distributed between individuals with ages from 35 to 54 years old and those over 55 years old. Among

European countries, Portugal and Sweden have the highest proportion of consumers between 15 and 34 years old; the Netherlands lead in terms of the predominant age group between 35 and 54 years old, and Spain and Germany have the greatest number of consumers over 55 years old. In terms of frequency of visits, Swedish consumers visit shopping centers significantly more often than all other countries, that is, on average more than 27 times a year. In the Netherlands and Belgium, users spend however more time on each visit, i.e. about 2 hours, a value which stands about 30 minutes above the European average. By contrast, the Italian and Spanish consumers carry out briefer visits, spending just one hour on each visit to the shopping center (C&W/H&B, 2004). But, besides being a typology with a prominent role in its own urban context, the shopping center is also an heir to a phenomenon of historical contamination from a broad universe of architectural forms, in which we can essentially recognize the influence of two models of different origins: one linked to the European historical city of the nineteenth century, and another to the North American suburban context of the twentieth century.
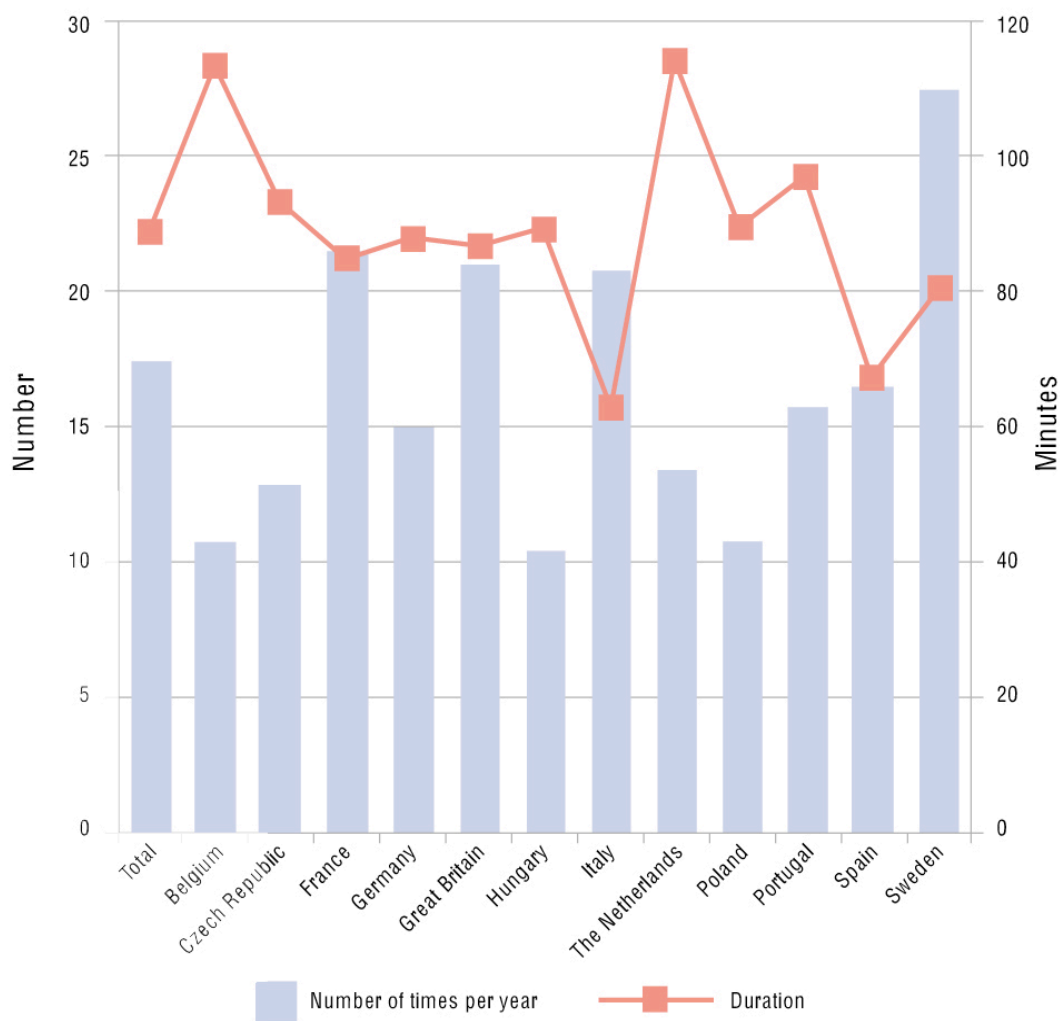

Figure 2. *Number and length of visits to shopping centers in Europe (C&W/H&B, 2004).*
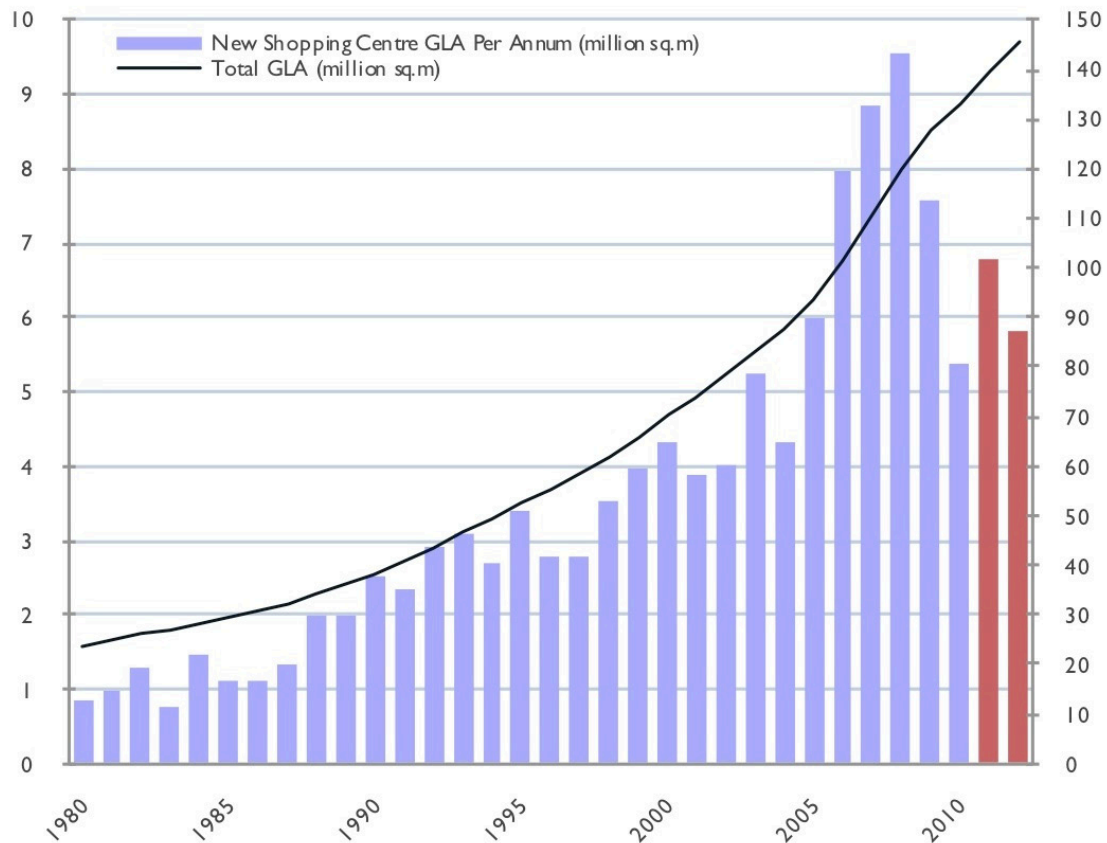
Figure 3. *Evolution of gross leasable area of shopping centers in Europe (C&W, 2011).*

In the one hand, we will identify a set of formal archetypes of European roots, in which we recognize the underlying configuration of the contemporary shopping center in the "container-type" building, embodied by the Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace; the structuring power of the "vertical model" of the nineteen century's grand magasins; the extended "channel-like" space of the nineteen century's passages; or even the "monumental scale" of the gallerias, that would multiply a bit all over Europe throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and would dominate the European market, until the appearance of the first shopping centers in 1960's.

On the other hand, we will find in the U.S.A. landscape — throughout the nineteenth century — not only similar retail typologies, such as the department store or arcade; but, must of all, we will witness, in the twentieth century, to the transfiguration of these models, as result of adaptation to the growing suburbanization of the North American city. Like, for example, the 1920's and 1930's first isolated shopping centers, architecturally designed in a unified way; or the mid 1940's and late 1950's first examples of regional shopping centers, with greater parking capacity and bigger department stores. However, it is only in mid-1950's that would stabilize the model of the enclosed shopping center, featuring two innovative technologies that would become the cornerstone of contemporary

European typologies: the fact that they were totally enclosed and subjected to a permanent climate control. Between the 1960's and the 1980's, this commercial formula would develop to broader influential geographical formats, such as the suburban shopping mall; and, from the 1980's to the 2000's, to bigger and more recreational formulas, such as the superregional mall, or even to more specialized models, such as power centers, theme/festival centers or lifestyle centers.

Across the Atlantic, in 1960's and 1970's, we would watch the appearance of the first examples of European shopping centers, initially materialized as suburban hypermarkets aggregated with commercial galleries, as well as small-scale formats, located within the consolidated urban areas.

In the 1970's and 1980's, we would observe the first examples of regional influence; in the early 1990's, the development of bigger, wider geographical coverage and stronger recreational features examples; and, in the 2000's, their progressive implementation in both peripheral and historic locations, either located near major road infrastructures or articulated with urban regeneration operations. As well as we would watch, along the last two decades, to the emergence of a set of specialized types, such as retail parks and factory outlet centers.

Development trends present themselves as quite similar across the European context. From the 1970's to the 2000's the general tendency was of continuous growth, with particular strength in the past decades. More precisely, over the past 20 years were built more shopping centers, in terms of gross leasable area, than in the period from 1960 to 1990; notably between 1990 and 2004, when the growth rate was 2.5 times higher than that evidenced in the 30 years before (C&W/H&B, 2004b). And if we restrict the scope of analysis to the last 5 years of this period, this growth was even more pronounced in Eastern Europe countries — like Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia — as well as in Greece, that suffered an increase of gross leasable area of over 75% (C&W/H&B, 2005).

But, from 2009 onwards, we would feel a slowdown in this growth rate (Jones Lang LaSalle, 2009), although it would reach, at the end of the decade, an overall sum of more than 128 million square meters of gross leasable area in Europe, corresponding to an average of 225.6 square meters per 1,000 inhabitants (C&W, 2011). However, the actual scenario of economic crisis will reflect itself not only in a diminishing rate of apertures, but also in a clear shift in the way we relate to the shopping centers. Not only at inducing changes in consumer habits with less purchasing power, which will become more sensitive to use than consumption, as well at the level of the urban image and representativeness of shopping centers, visibly affected by a restraint in the pace of openings planned and even the closure of several units. Demonstrating that these are not permanent and immutable formulas, but rather consist of flexible and limited duration elements that, as the industrials facilities of other times, might be the future "brown-

fields" — of forthcoming urban regeneration plans —of a city yet to come.

3. PUBLIC

Similarly to what happened to the shopping center, the European city itself has suffered — in the last four decades — numerous transformations and metamorphoses. And, in order to approach to the new urban configurations of the early twenty-first century, we need to confront them with a set of dualisms that dominated, until today, the history of the European city. The first of these dualisms is precisely the conflict between a "traditional" model of "compact" city and an "non-historical" model of "extensive" city (Portas et al, 2003), materialized during the expansion of the European metropolitan areas. And contrasting with this dichotomy, we will today observe the emergency of a series of new territories "between cities" (Sieverts, 2005) of liquid densities, boundaries and contours, where do live most of the population of the European metropolitan regions, marked by hyper-velocity networks and condensation nodes in which accumulate equipments, functions and merchandises. And if in the "compact city", the density is organized around historic buildings and public spaces, in these "in-between" territories this is a role played by other urban elements that will shape the contemporary landscape. But, understanding this "new urban condition" is also to address another dualism that historically dominated the city from its very beginning: the distinction between public and private. And although this dichotomy has remote and secular roots, these are notions that have gradually acquired new contours. Besides these two elementary categories, we can see today other kind of spaces that contradict this dualistic division of the territory of the city. On the one hand, we will find clear traces of an increasing privatization of the public space, embodied in phenomena as diverse as esplanades and other private concessions, advertising, installation of televisions and screens in public spaces, or even product demonstrations and themed events in plazas and gardens. On the other hand, we will see how a lot of recreational and retail facilities acquire similar or even more intense levels of use than some traditional public spaces; being difficult to distinguish the effective boundary between both domains, such as in transport interfaces, stadiums and sports complexes, privately owned plazas or shopping centers. Thus, alongside with this gradual privatization of public spaces and the progressive fading out of the borders between public and private realms in the contemporary city, we will also see the emergence of collective uses in this private spaces. The resulting mutation of the forms of appropriation of the contemporary city, will also imply a reconfiguration of the hierarchy of meaningful places and, therefore, putting into discussion a more recent dualism: the dichotomy between "place" (Norberg-Schulz, 1976)

and "nonplace" (Augé, 1992), associated to each of these categories and spaces. Not only we will witness a mutation in the condition of many of these spaces — visible in the way some "places" become effective "non-places" (due to privatization, touristification or gentrification processes), or how some "non-places" became "places" (due to the increase of its social representativeness over time) — as well as we observe the emergence of a series of "others spaces", difficult to categorize, which do not present any of the above conditions. And, in front of the irreversible mutation of the identity of public space and the city that it supports, we will watch the growth and consolidation of a system of heterotopic privateownership- collective-use spaces, amongst which the shopping center will probably be one of the most sophisticated examples of what we would call the new "meta-places" of the contemporary city.

Figure 4. *"The Third Street, Potsdamer Platz Berlin",*
Chen Shaoxiong (2001), Barbara Gross Galerie (München).

4. PUBLIC (& SHOPPING) PLACES

Omnipresent and omnipotent in the European urban territory, the shopping center is, more than a physical space, a place of occurrence of multiple and paradigmatic changes of the city itself.

Shopping centers are not only "quasi-public" places in which the consumption

practices, carried out on them, are effective builders of identity, collective memory and new daily life habits; but also places that we recognize as receptacles of lifestyles and gradually complexsocialization processes. And, evidence of this, is the way we see emerge today phenomena that were hardly visible but in urban public spaces, like urban tribes and cultures, popular celebrations, political demonstrations and strikes, or even bizarre events, such as suicides practiced in their spaces. Evidences that, taken together, make us consider on the true nature of these heterotopic places. And, if we do not know what role these retail typologies may yet take part in the construction of the European city; we have, however, a strong suspicion: that, in a near future, these will be more "public" that "shopping" places.

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ABANDONED ARCHITECTURE: GHOST SPACES IN BELGRADE

ABSTRACT

This research will deal with transformations of devalued and devastated spaces within the city, and possible methods of their integration in newly formed urban fabric of Belgrade. These corrupted areas of Belgrade are useful for research because of multiple changes of concepts during their development and construction. Primarily, following Le Corbusier's directives of an ideal city and his leftist beliefs suited to political circumstances in Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and indirectly implied creation of city's modern paradigm, destined to be challenged.

Numerous political, economic, social, ethnic and cultural changes in territories of former Yugoslavia directly influenced primordial discrepancy between planned, built and unfinished spaces. This is the point where we can notice a direct relationship of these layers with the formation of ghost spaces. This term can also be related to the concept of non-places that was defined by Marc Augé as a space without people, memories and identity, and that turned out to be precisely the fate that characterizes selected projects in Belgrade.

The paper questions theoretical assumptions and theses within the theory of postmodernism, through analysis of reference literature in this field and by mapping concepts of ghost spaces and non-places. These two concepts are recognized as the points where one can determine the transformational development of selected spaces and objects in Belgrade under the influences of emerging environmental conditions. The central part of the paper will address and analyze case studies of identified, neglected places of industry, transport, commercial and exhibition facilities. These non-places have become the black points of the city, because of their lack of content and applications they don't achieve urban roles for which they were destined. Thanks to the positive regeneration example of the waterfront facility in Belgrade, paper stands the thesis that by appropriate space interventions these ghost spaces could be transformed, activated and re-programmed due to new time and it's urban needs.

The study should help mapping the notion of ghost spaces and non-places, their conflicting links to the urban fabric, and to identify, classify, analyze, explain, and finally, position these concepts in different aspects of the contemporary architectural theories. The ultimate goal is to mark these places and objects, to state their potentials for re-programing, and finally, to indicate methods for their revival.

Key words: ghost spaces, non-places, architecture theory, urban merging, transformation, re-programing

1.INTRODUCTION

Recent studies in architectural discourse, influenced by globalization, information and capital, indicate appearance of different urban paradoxes and programmatic mutations. Belgrade, as the capital of Serbia and one of the most important Balkan cities, in the last century went through very dramatical changes and makes a good terrain for many researches in the field of architecture. Great political, social, economic and cultural changes followed city's turbulent history in which, counting only the period of last hundred years, Belgrade was capital of eight different countries (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918-1929.), Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929-1941.), Democratic Federal Yugoslavia (1945.), Federal Public Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1963.), Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1963-1992.), Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1992-2003.), Serbia and Montenegro (2003-2006), Republic of Serbia (2006-)). These severe historical shifts turned out to be crucial for future development and highly consequent

for city's urban fabric. These complete ideological changes, of their foreseen goals and tendencies left behind spatial layers of mixed authoritative decisions, symbolical metaphors, social expectations and unfulfilled hopes. In these processes many abandoned architectural and urban tissue can be singled out that we recognized as ghost spaces/places.

2. TERM/ GHOST SPACES. NON-PLACES

The term itself is in dialectical sense close to Marc Augé's term of ''non-place'' mostly because of that negative attitude towards the character of space. While Augé considers non-places as "buildings and infrastructure necessary for accelerated circulation of people and goods"(Ože, 2005, pp.36), we think of ghost spaces as artificially altered territories which were in some point of time, for some reason abandoned and functionally blank, publicly neglected and left behind to become black holes of its urban context. We find that spaces with lack of integrity and identity, built or unfinished, previously consumed or functionally virginal, all fill the discourse of ''ghost spaces/places'', which is essentially quite different from Augé's ''non-place''. Universally speaking, ''ghost'' is a space inside city's urban fabric that stands unfamiliar, unfinished, neglected, disconnected, often due to it's overall emptiness invisible to the city and it's people. In other words we can say that ghost spaces are architectural orphans of transitions (political, economical, social...etc.). As parts of, by some authors ''supermodern'' city of present, these ghost spaces represent sophisticated forms of architectural disappearance, that urge to be investigated.

In contemporary world, the fascination with abstraction, disappearance, over presence and availability has it's roots in global culture and it's vessel, process of globalization, which was made by developed capitalistic society in order to negate stability and autonomy of identity. We find that this impotence of ''ghost spaces'' to establish and nourish identity in terms of Christian Norberg-Schulz's definition of ''place'' is crucial for their explanation and positioning among contemporary urban terms. In that sense, ghost spaces, non-places, and other similar phenomena are easily identified ''as typical expressions of the age of globalization''(Ibelings, 2003, pp. 66). Inexistence of identity, absence of function and meaning, lack of liaisons with surrounding characterize ''ghost spaces'' and causes of their existence often lay in failed concepts, political, economical and cultural breakdowns that affect all structures and layers of society's actions, especially architecture, as highly dependent discipline. One of the most recognizable characteristics of ''ghost spaces'' is absence of content, activity, program.

Object without program represents just a simple shell. If we follow Bernard Tschumi's premise that ''there is no architecture without program, without action, without event'' (Tschumi, 2004, pp.11) our recognized ghost spaces represent unique, ambivalent architectural act that is not solely present in Belgrade, but seems to be an emerging phenomenon throughout developed countries of both the East and West. Depending of the state of architectural object, it's capabilities and capacity for re-programming the existing, underachieving program is essential for city's re-appropriation and revival of those lost spaces. That re-birth demands creative approaches and strategies for graduate transformation and inclusion of ''ghost spaces'' into the active, live network of the city. Another relation, important for understanding of ''ghost spaces'' is global phenomena of mass production and consumption of content. The basis of current value-system, manner of living and thinking is economy. French philosopher Nicolas Bourriaud noticed this process: ''consumption is a mode of production...consumption creates the need for new production, consumption is both its motor and motive''(Bourriaud, 2007, pp.22). Constant economic growth creates stability that makes architecture flourish and develop but also on the other side the dependence of architecture on economy makes it more vulnerable to financial shocks. On the other hand, Yugoslavia was for some time part of the developed world, but it's internal conflicts led to economical instability and eventually total breakdown, which resulted with numerous urban and architectural failures. Augé notices the same: "Countries of Eastern Europe kept their exotic authenticity because they have no means to join world's consumption space"(Ože, 2005, pp.101).

3. LOCAL CONTEX

During the 20th century, Belgrade experienced several radical shifts of country's political course, as it is presented in introduction that indirectly caused discontinuity in urban development and degradation of initiated projects. Second aspect, economy, went from glorious results in mid-60s and 70s to absolute breakdown during the 90s. We have already determined that ''ghost spaces'' are spatial residues of fundamental societal changes, but in the case of Belgrade, we can mark the year 1980. as a starting point of their formation within the city. That was the year in which complex system of governance started to collapse, among other causes following the death of country's lifetime leader and president, Josip Broz Tito. The former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that was formed in 1963. was breaking down, and finally dissolved in 1992. which

caused enormous problems in all fields of life.

But as a condition of these changes we must briefly present former and the periods after the 1980s, in order to explain the earlier conditions and provide a good basis for the research. After the War in Serbia, during the 60s, one could feel the changes caused by high economic growth and the inflow of money in the former Yugoslavia, which resulted in a sudden increase in construction. The state began to invest in large-scale projects, like building new parts of the city, but simultaneously investing in social enterprise projects to stimulate employment in the government organizations. These projects represent a specific phase of Serbian architecture, forming a significant architectural character of the professional practice of architecture, as a symbiosis of local and universal values and paradigms, designing space based on the rejection of the conventional boundaries of historical structures.

In the following period, during the 70s, the change is primarily shifted on the international architectural scene, because an important aesthetic architectural pluralism of postmodern was developed. This is the time in which Udo Kultermann, in his book Architecture in the Seventies (Kultermann, 1980), writes that this new era is marked by "return to traditional styles and methods, which caused the belief that the past provides answers to issues of the present in the social and technological relations"(Kultermann, 1980,pp. 93-94). Because of this, it is clear that in this period of false economic prosperity of Yugoslavia, based on a number of foreign borrowings, one can search for the first conditions for formation of ghost spaces. Last period covered by this analysis is the transition period, after the War and the disintegration of former Yugoslavia during the nineties and important political changes in Serbia, after 2000. Like Milos R. Perović said, the most significant change in Serbian architecture of the past decades of twentieth century was the changing attitude towards money, with the building became the subject of a market (Perović, 2003). It is clear that one of the biggest influences on architecture was pursued by economy.

4. FORMATION OF GHOST SPACIES

Recently a text appeared on a local news service, "(Public) spaces of Belgrade" that caught our attention. Paper focuses on abandoned spaces of the city and possible causes of their occurrence. It opened many research issues for us. Also we came to conclusion that the issue of ghost spaces, although under a different name of abandoned architecture, is active but really neglected. Visibility of

this problem was brought through public debates that were organized for this purpose. (Failed Architecture, held on 6 April 2012. at the Cultural City Center. Before it several conference were organized, like Dictionary of Urban Dilemma and Dictionary of urban solutions, and debate Who builds the city? in Cultural Center REX in Belgrade, oriented and dealing with process of privatization and repurposing of buildings. As a result of these events, "Public Open Spaces" is published this year by the Civic Initiatives.)

Although there were some efforts towards dealing with this problem of devastated and abandoned architecture, it seems like until now there are little material results. There are numerous examples of this architecture in Belgrade, and we will mention a few: Building of State printing office "BIGZ", Power plant "Power and light" (also known as Old Central), Building of Old mill, "Rad" office building, Museum of Revolution, New Belgrade's public garages, "Beko" building, Old Fairground, Cinema "Slavica", Shopping mall "Konjarnik", Cotton combine, territory of Sava's amphitheater, etc. It is our strong stance that in these ghost spaces one can determine the gathering of most causes and conditions for architectural reprogramming. Because of the extent of this research, in paper are presented only those projects that typify a specific phase or pronounced aspects of social conditions.

Picture 1.- *Abandoned building in Belgrade. Picture by the authors*

4.1 CASE STUDY: "RAD" OFFICE BUILDING

One of the most evident examples of architectural dependency to stability of economy is a true ghost place, office building of one of the most successful Yugoslavian construction companies, GP ''Rad''. Construction begun in 1989. but, due to numerous problems, mostly financial, the works stopped in 1998, when building was almost 90% finished. Since then, nearly 60.000 square meters of offices, congress center and retail space have been left in silence. The company bankrupted, and the faith of the whole project was sealed.

This building represents the perfect intersection of several paradigms and influences in recent Belgrade's history that led directly to formation of ghost spaces: collapsed economy, disoriented politics, loss of social and cultural compass. Although it is located in the very center of today's business district of New Belgrade, Rad's building is literally invisible. This invisibility comes as a direct consequence of space's numbness, lack of content that would attract activities and people, and bring building, as architectural act, back to the mental map of people and urban fabric that surrounds it.

4.2 CASE STUDY: MUSEUM OF REVOLUTION

''Monument wants to be perceptible expression of eternity''(Ože, 2005, pp. 58).

Picture 2- *Museum of Revolution, taken from http://www.vesti.rs/Beogradske/Beskucnici-na-temeljima-muzeja-revolucije.html*

Also, eternity is ultimate dream of every kind of power or government. Exactly the same was the need of communist government in Yugoslavia after the Second World War. In urgent need to reconstruct past and deconstruct reality, glorifying appropriate, ideologically acceptable moments and personalities, in 1959. institution of Museum of Revolution was formed. After the competition in 1961., appropriate project was selected for realization but the period between selection of project and beginning of actual construction made it meaningless. Time gap of nearly 20 years of preparation of the project, administration's uncertainty, changes of location and shifts of whole ideological context made the Museum lost both in space and time. It's construction finally begun in 1978. but was soon ended, leaving only the basement level and ground-floor slab finished. This ghost space is a true mark of wandering

political ideology that often changed it's priorities and fields of interest, leaving them half-finished. And quite an irony it produced, unfinished Museum of Revolution (people's, communist, for freedom and equality) is at this moment shelter for several homeless people and there are some propositions that in future it could become the foundation of Belgrade Opera house. Communist ideology, misery and bourgeois culture, they all meet at this place.

4.3 CASE STUDY: NEW BELGRADE'S PUBLIC GARAGE

During the late 1980s, Belgrade faced a problem that rarely anyone could have foreseen - lack of parking space. City's municipalities acted swiftly and numerous public parking garages were planned or started to erect. Because of the severe financial crisis, all of sudden, sites were abandoned, leaving nearly finished structures to the temper of time. By definition, they are ghost spaces, but their uniqueness is hidden in their temporary alternative functionality, which manifests thanks to institutional chaos. Overall legal vacuum in whole country provides them opportunity to host paintball sessions, kart races, and other easily replaceable programs. Exactly this type of relation between space and program could assist in finding suitable methodology in reviving ghost spaces.

4.4 CASE STUDY: "BIGZ" STATE PRINTING COMPANY

Surely, one of the most media talked-about objects in Belgrade that we recognized as an example of ghost architecture of the city is the "BIGZ". The main objective of the architect Dragiša Brašovan was to design a form that is in shape of Cyrillic letter "П", and symbolized a printing machine, because it was in property of the State Printing office. Today, this project is seen as one of the main examples of architectural effectuations of the Yugoslavian modern movement. It was constructed between 1937. and 1943, covering more than 25 000 square meters. It is situated in Senjak, near city center and it dominates in its panoramic view. Because of the socialistic historical, social and economic juncture of former Yugoslavia, BIGZ was in property of the country and had more than 3000 employees. In the year 1992. the building was put under the protection of City Department for the Protection of monuments of culture, and this relates to its important role in architectural heritage, even today. But also, these 1990's were crucial for its transformation in a ghost space. At first, because of the disintegration of former Yugoslavia that began in 1991. and secondly, economic en-

ervation that was followed by decadence of the most firms that were in public property. That same destiny befell the Belgrade publishing and graphics institute and it begin to collapse. In the years of transition, after 2000. it was, like many, in process of privatization. Interesting fact is that this particular one was investigated by popular Serbian TV show "Isajder", which initiated many questions of irregularity during the process. Raised problems were mostly about the amount of money for its selling. Today, this icon of Belgrade's modern architecture (in which some recognize the elements of Bauhaus) turns into an immense quantity of dirty concrete, wracked glass, more than 10 000 square meters of dark hallways, on which the traces of time, absence of use and lack of recourses are more than visible.

But, in this paper BIGZ State printing company is also recognized as a positive instance. In last several years, mainly owing to economic aspect, the Graphics company "BIGZ", which is the majority owner of the building (about 80%), leased 5000 square meters on second, sixth and seventh floor of the building.

Picture 3-"BIGZ". taken from http://draganik.blogspot.com/2011/11/exhibition-of-poezin-posters-12th.html

Spontaneously, space was filled with various artists that created workshops, clubs and places of creation. This is where aspect of economy demonstrates its great power: a paradox - a force that once destroyed a great architectural piece of modern, was capable to transform it in rare informal cultural center of Belgrade's underground life. But the question remains, is it capable once more to overcome this situation, and let Brašovan's architecture to be converted into a hotel or business center? Some speculation exists.

4.5 CASE STUDY: "POWER AND LIGHT" POWER PLANT

Industrial heritage, in addition to being important part of urban and architectural tissue, is a specific part of city's culture. Because of this, it is of great importance to infiltrate and re-programme this kind of buildings in new historical, social and economic aspects of contemporary life.

One of those projects is the power plant "Power and light" in Belgrade. It is situ-

ated in old city center, Dorćol, near right riverside of Danube. Project represents the great power of country (at that time Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929-1941.)) that tended to be technologically advanced, in the end of 19th and beginning of the 20th century, by introducing AC. Belgrade was among few European cities that, by the end of 19th century, introduced electrical power. Due to industrialization of the city, the country was drawn by modernization. This was important because it brought new social layers, development of transport and telecommunications, and mostly, general cultural progress. Life for this architectural artifact began in 1929. when the Commission members of the Municipality of Belgrade decided to build a power plant through a architectural competition in which 14 foreign and 2 Yugoslav companies participated. After only two years of construction, in 1933. Power plant began to work and it was in property of Municipality of Belgrade city.

The architecture of the building was based on modularity, and four production units were constructed, latest in 1938. Form of the building was cubic, and occupied in its basis about 2800 square meters adopting relatively new Bauhaus esthetics. The revolutional ideas of the Bauhaus were marked by the absence of ornamentation and harmony between the function of an object and its design, unifying art, craft, and technology. One more stance that goes in favor of comparing old Belgrade's power plant in Dorćol to Bauhaus school is the period - because this style was active until 1933. and the Nazis.

Finally, in 1947. power plant "Power and light", by the authority's decision on nationalization, was transferred into state ownership. Once more political, ideological and economic changes of the new country (Federal Public Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1963.)) have affected on architecture. Plant worked until 1967. when the technology changed and it was necessary to shift to fuel oil. "Power and light" stopped working in 1969. Ever since, it was exposed to a constant decay and neglection. Although it seems that this building is not damaged by the economy, but by a need for new technological advances, it is clear that the disintegration of former Yugoslavia brought the collapse of the building, that could not contribute sufficiently to the overall metropolization of Belgrade, which it almost forty years earlier have initiated. Today, all that is left is the main building, water pump, crane and filter plant. This is an ideal condition for project reprogramming, because it is a true ghost space without memories, ready for new ones to be made.

5. HEALING OF GHOST SPACES / POSITIVE EXAMPLES

The good examples of reprograming in architecture, although not yet in construction process, are buildings in the military property. The establishment of the Defense system in 2004. started the process of selling military property, in order to provide funds necessary for funding the defense system. Two years later, the adoption of the Master Plan for the disposal of surplus military property, started a process of changing its basic purpose.

It seams that young artists and organizations made the biggest effort. From 2010., in place of old industrial complex on the Danube waterfront "Zitomlin", Mikser festival is held. Introducing art into the old architectural membrane has re-programmed this space for new facilities in accordance with modern times. Last session of Mikser was held in Sava mala, an old, neglected quarter of city center, marking not just one object, but whole area as a valuable yet decaying neighborhood, slowly turning into a ghost space. The approach of Mikser's organizers could be one direction in which possible strategies of development and rebirth of ghost spaces might evolve. It's main features are minimal investments into the contents, absence of physical changes in space but as it is a temporary type of program, it's lifetime is too short to fully bring life into the ghost space. The series of manifestations with similar approach, hosted in those identified ghost spaces could gradually lead to their re-appearance on cultural map of the city and slowly lead them towards the complete integration into the city's urban life.

Maybe the most obvious example of revival of a ghost space in Belgrade is "Beton Hala" Waterfront center. At first, to old hangars came artists and club renters. Soon this location became one of the most visited places of Belgrade's underground scene, and old space with is concrete esthetics and strait lines of architectural form gathered artists, musicians, architects, designers and lovers of nightlife. Once ghost space turned out to be a place to be seen. But hidden, there is a logical explanation that lies in economy. Firstly, this is one of the most expensive city's locations where prices of rent are very high but could be paid through catering. This is animated more with nearness of rivers and its developed tourism. Secondly, city built a garage just above this place, and made additional revenues. This confirms Tschumi's statement that '' programs have long since ceased to be determinative, because the constantly changing - the design of the building, during construction and, of course, after he finished'' (Tschumi, 2004, pp.93).

6. CONCLUSION

According to many theorists of contemporary culture, the development of cultural industries requires a new mix of public and private partnerships. Privatization of old buildings, their re-appropriation or total devastation could have serious consequences for the urban fabric of the city. It could loose the points of its normal functioning, and at the end its profit. Additionally, through improper urban and architectural tools, the users loose attachment to a place and it soon becomes abandoned, the infected tissue of the city. These processes may therefore have deleterious(?) consequences regarding public importance. The lack of uniform and clearly defined cultural policy that would provide the necessary real purpose of these facilities has resulted with only temporary solutions. It seems that the adoption of master plans, as far as it is good for planning of the future development of the city, neglects individual problems-microstructures.

As seen in these few examples, in last 30 years, various influences conditioned formation of ghost spaces in Belgrade. While the political situation nowadays is relatively calm, economical, social and cultural problems are pilling up and risking increase of neglected, forgotten spaces within the city. Simple reconstruction, renovation or revitalization are not suitable strategies for revival of spaces whose initial existence was jeopardized. In order to make a complete transformation, these spaces must gain some purpose, which could justify their further existence and prove their value in contemporary city. As Nicolas Bourriaud states ''appropriation is indeed the first stage of postproduction" (Bourriaud, 2007, pp.25). The conclusion is that the biggest cause of this, in addition to permanent social, ideological and cultural policy of the state, is the economy. Insufficient recourses, which were boosted by the recent economic crisis on the global level, and a lack of good long-term programs and tools for maintenance and re-appropriation of abandoned facilities leads to their spontaneous transformation into the ghost spaces.

In the same context, eventual bringing back to life of ghost spaces would represent a new mode of production, or because it operates with something existing, architectural version of postproduction. However, it is necessary to restore and maintain constant dialogue between specialists - leading thinkers, architects, urban planners, economists, etc. for the activation of these facilities. Rescheduling the abandoned space plan is required and also the willingness of architecture to be flexible, amorphous and unstable. But the process of re-programming of these spaces is not solely the act of architecture. It firstly includes re-programming in urbanism, with renewed spatial plans in order to link this objects within

Picture 4.- *Vivid city's net. Connecting ghost spaces. Picture by the authors*

city's net and to form a specific, well-organized tissue. New strategies that include stable economy plans, cultural events that are sometimes drawn by the history of place (like with Power and Light power plant and Bigz) are also crucial for activity and bringing back these kinds of places into a global reality. By adding new contents to abandoned, ghost spaces they will bring back the old memories, but at the same time will create new. Regaining attractiveness they will loose their "ghosts". Because of this we conclude with Hans Ibelings statement that ''the new frame of reference will no longer be dictated by the unique, the authentic or the specific, but by the universal.'' (Ibelings,2003, pp.135).

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OPSPACE: A CASE STUDY FOR OPEN SOURCE URBANISM

ABSTRACT

OPspace deals with the extreme landscape of inner-city void spaces that create a layer of unused blind spots within our city's fabric and that simultaneously offer a huge potential for social, economical and environmental reactivation. Based on the theoretical framework of Staged Urbanism (El Khafif, 209) the project approaches the issue of urban vacancy through the design and choreography of 4 spatial layers (architecture: hardware, programming: software, organizational frameworks: orgware, and communication: brandware) operating cross scale. The urban strategy re-codes the economical approach and transforms traditional rental models into short-term leases, while the architectural strategy supports the need for flexibility and user adaptation.

OPspace is a pilot project being conducted by students and faculty at the CCA URBANlab, an advanced research and design studio supporting project-based initiatives in architecture at California College of the Art. The goal of the project is to demonstrate how flexible architecture and a "Zipcar" style short-term rental model can contribute to the cultural and economic development of a

neighborhood by giving communities the tools to reclaim unoccupied storefront spaces on a temporary basis.

Downtown San Jose's SoFA District was selected as a testing ground due to its 40% vacancy rate of street-level storefronts in its commercial core (May 2010). Working with ZER01, students researched demographics, met with local community members, and proposed a series of flexible architectural prototypes. OPspace—which stands for OPportunities, OPen, and OPerable—was the selected design from the broader CitySpaceShare project being tested at the 3rd ZERO1 SJ Biennial in 2010. The installation is defined by hinging sections that operate like an expandable table. By shifting the orientation of the sections a wall becomes a table, or a chair becomes a shelf. The flexible design strategy supported 5 program categories with different aggregations of the modular system: OPscene, OPstage, OPexhibit, OPtaste, and OPlab. Within these categories top-down anchor programs operated as acupunctures while to encourage buttom-up occupation.

Fall 2010 OPspace was installed inside the storefront space of WORKS/San José where students were testing their architectural design through a series of programs created with the local community ranging from bike kitchen, symposium, fashion show, wine tasting, and DJ lounge. During AbsoluteZER0, OPspace extended into the street to facilitate appropriation in the public space.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The understanding of urban space as an inhabitable, social landscape is a primary concern for urban designers and landscape architects. With this idea, cities – and specifically public spaces – in themselves are one of the most complete manifestationsterializations of social and cultural life. Based on the theories of French philosopher Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1991) and German sociologist Löw (Löw, 2001), the terminology of this space has tomust be understood as an interdisciplinary construction. Social space unfolds in a material reality that has an effect on behavior and inhabitation; consequently, material space is an expression of embedded cultural codes and hierarchies. Following the theories of German Urbanist Feldtkeller (Feldtkeller, 1994), public spaces are in greater need of criteria such as density, programmatic mix and social networks that identify territories of shared spaces which support the initiation of local urbanisms. The production of space is a permanent sedimentation of these conditions, which is inseparable from time and transformative processes. Public space - the urban void - is understood through these theories as a construction that evolves out of social and material relationships embedded in multiple layers (El Khafif, 2010).

Staged Urbanism. Urban Space for Art, Culture, and Consumption in the Age

of the Event Society (El Khafif, 2009), articulates an expanded reading of urban space by interpreting built space, programmatic use, the spaces of organization and communication through the concepts of urban hardware, software, orgware, and brandware, respectively. In different case studies, focusing on museums and cultural sites, an analytical framework was developed that supports the idea of a multi-layered space, illuminating the relationship between the different layers, as well as complex second order spatial productions. At the center of this theoretical discourse are the effects of the economization of culture, as well as those produced by the acculturation of the economy on the public space, as influenced by 20th century event society. The investigation of space, culture, marketing and the analysis of cultural sites through hardware, software, orgware and brandware, thematize the initiation of cultural urbanisms and the idea of public space as a stage of social interaction. The design of time-related, multi-layered spaces cannot be manifested accomplished with the traditional tools of urban design. Hardware, software, orgware and brandware strategies are layered or synthesized to produce a complex and, active public construct. These navigate top-down and bottom-up strategies. The dynamic "masterplan" describes these strategies and tactics as urban scores: - choreographic notations that show the synthesee and interactions between the layers, and their evolution over time, allowing a monitoring reading of the spatial production.

The following essay introduces an urban tactic that reflects the theories of Staged Urbanism which enablesing a spatial choreography, but also addresses a much larger urban issue: the waste huge amount of wasted, amount of vacant properties within US American city centers. The case study builds on a new business scenario that allows for socially inclusive ways of urban development and the integration of civil society's needs, by introducing a new orgware that re-thinks the accessibility of rental space. Through this tactic, access of to space is democratized and allows for the social and economic emancipation of local stakeholders and playersplayers.

2. RECYCLING VACANT SPACES AND CURATING SOCIAL OCCUPATION

Alan Berger's description of the American landscape in Drosscape, (Berger, 2006) analyses a a rapid growth of population along the edges of US metropolitan areas, and proves that current development is consuming increasing large amounts of land and resources per person. According to Berger, between 1960 and 2010 the US population density in core-urbanized areas dropped by more than 50%, while the highest rate of population growth appeared at the edges of metropolitan areas. While hollow urban cores with an abundance of empty real estate were formerly American phenomena, they can now be found in cities across the globe.

Aall showing similar growth patterns: a combination of an economy that motivates land and energy resource consumption at the edge while leaving vacant real estate within urban core areas behind. An analysis based on the real estate data base of CoStar (CoStar, 2012) –- the most comprehensive database of commercial real estate information US wide – shows empty real state of storefront property in downtown San Francisco, San Jose, and Oakland. All centers show that within a 1-mile radius of downtown there is an average vacancy rate of of 20%-30% vacancy just within the first ground floor of available retail property. These resources of empty properties are often too large and too expensive for local economies. AIn additionally, the instable economy doesn't allow for long term investment based on mortgage systems, and isbut is instead in need of a flexible system that keeps the individual risks low and maximizes the possibility to develop part- time economies that are based on short- term rental models.
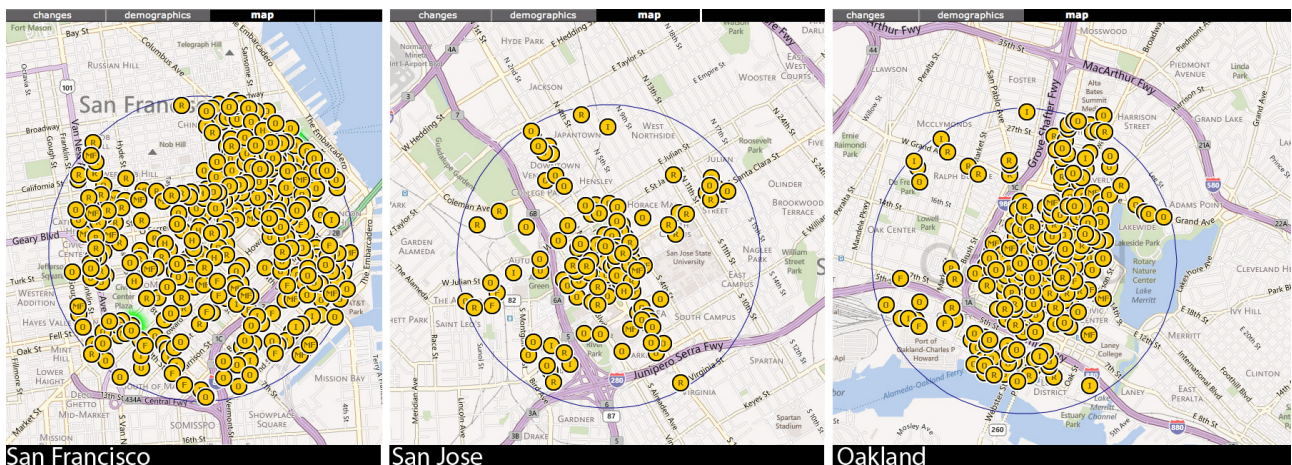

Figure 1: Vacancy Rates San Francisco, San Jose, Oakland showing Locations of available commercial Space in First Floor

CitySpaceShare, a design- build research pilot project at CCA URBANlab, applies the theoretical framework described above to a small-scale performative architecture that operates as a social catalyst for the rehabilitation of empty storefronts. The project combines urban hardware, software, orgware and brandware strategies to initiate urban regeneration revitalization and a living social lab for the surrounding neighborhood.

3. SoFA SAN JOSE: THE ZERO1 DISTRICT DURING THE 3RD BIENNIAL 2010
In recent years the cCity of San Jose,/ California invested in regenerating revitalizing its downtown urban core, which - like many cities - that had previously suffered - like many other cities - from a lack of identity, cultural urbanity and street life. In the new cultural district along South First Street (SoFA), the curators of ZERO1 planned 2010 planned a series of design and art interventions to become act as cultural urban catalysts for the Biennial: a multi-disciplinary event

of visual, performing and public art, and as well as interactive digital media. The 3rd 01SJ Biennial was scheduled for September 2010 in San Jose and encapsulated the theme „Build Your Own World: the future is not about what's next; it's about what we can build to ensure that what's next matters" (ZERO1, 2010). This event attempted to integrate local and global citizens to build and participate in the making of a desirable future as a response to global climate change, economic meltdown, political instability, and cultural divisiveness. The strategy of CitySpaceShare was selected as an urban intervention for the ZERO1 Biennial. The exhibitions of the Biennial were spread through dDowntown San Jose, with a high concentration of events and installations in the neighborhood of SoFA. South of First Street – the backbone of the neighborhood – that is hostingis home to a series of cultural institutions such like as MACLA (Movimiento de Arte y Cultura Latino Americana), SV Symphony, and the Institute of Contemporary Art San Jose. Though the San Jose Redevelopment Agency has recently invested more than $1 billion into downtown areas and street scape recovery, the SoFA neighborhood still suffers from vacancies in the first floor retail vacancies and a lack of street life during the day time. The primary aim of the SoFA Strategic Development Plan is to realize make SoFA as into a unique and distinct place within San Jose: —a social place & space where a variety of businesses, activi-
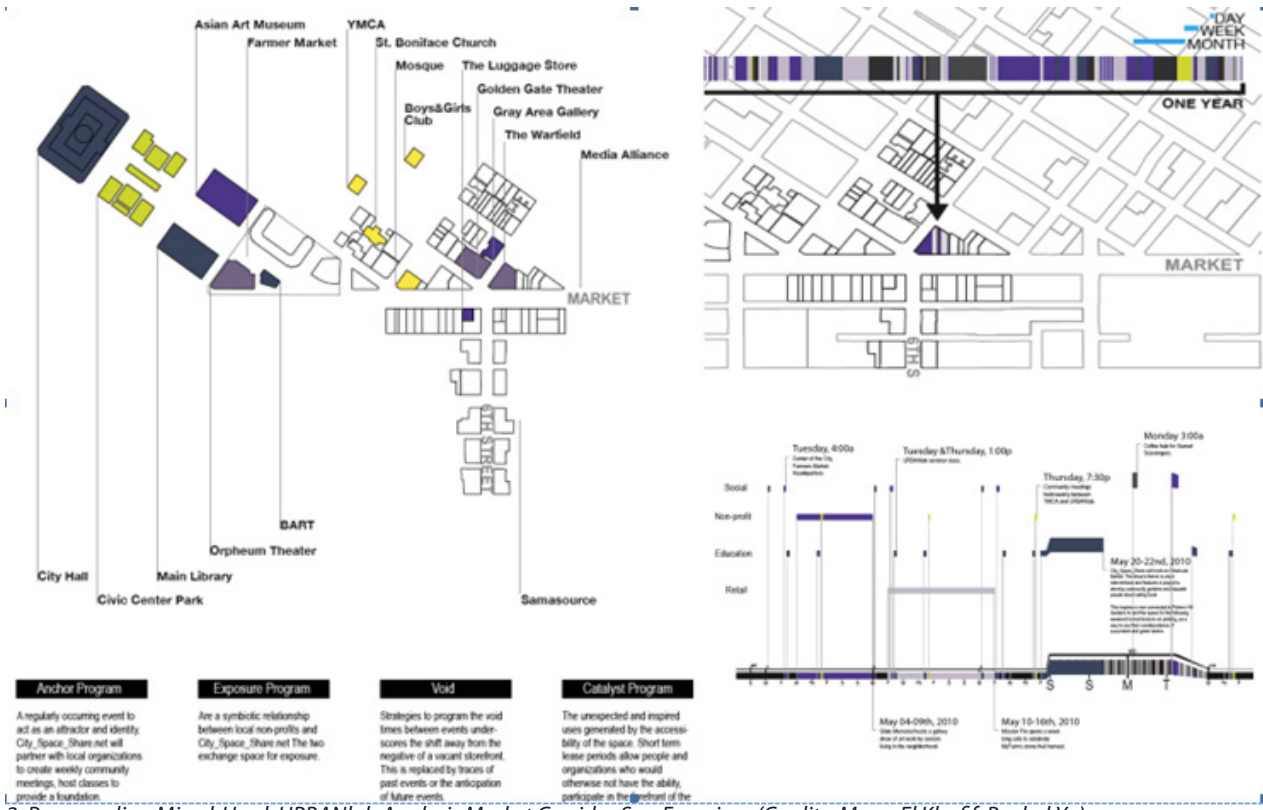
2: Resampeling Mixed-Used. URBANlab Analysis Market Corridor San Francisco (Credits: Mona El Khafif, Rachel Yu)

ties and people congregate in an active and heterogeneous environment. The future focusgoal for SoFA has been identified as the creation of an arts and entertainment district. , and the Pprograms that help define the a development of

a cultural district will be the focus of future development: art galleries, restaurants, nightclubs, hotels, theaters, the opera house, bookshops, record stores, cafes, apparel stores, professional offices, cultural and educational institutions, hotels and urban housing (SoFA Development Plan, 2002).

While mixed-use is still understood in conventional terms, CitySpaceShare is a new species of cultural and educational retail,: a hyper- active urban catalyst:, a stage, an office, a bar, a yoga studio and a space for educational workshops - all operating simultaneously and according to a well-choreographed temporality for a broad group of users. CitySpaceShare creates a structural framework and a "tool kit" for short-term inhabitation of vacant spaces as a way to quickly energize quickly existing community initiatives and respond to their particular needs.

4. CITYSPACESHARE: FROM PRIVATE TO PUBLIC

CitySpaceShare was dDesigned to respond to the 40% (May 2010) of storefront vacancy in the South of First Street Area of San Jose and in order to rethink the ZERO1 Biennial theme of economic meltdown. Implemented by, the CCA Architecture URBANlab, this pilot research project CitySpaceShare uses a Zip-Car strategy to address the changing spatial needs of our urban lifestyles, while expanding our current understanding of space in flux. By making private space available in smaller, more affordable increments, CitySpaceShare confronts the harsh economic state of the real estate market by sharing space and infrastructure among, allowing the local economy to adapt to the needs and abilities of the neighborhood.
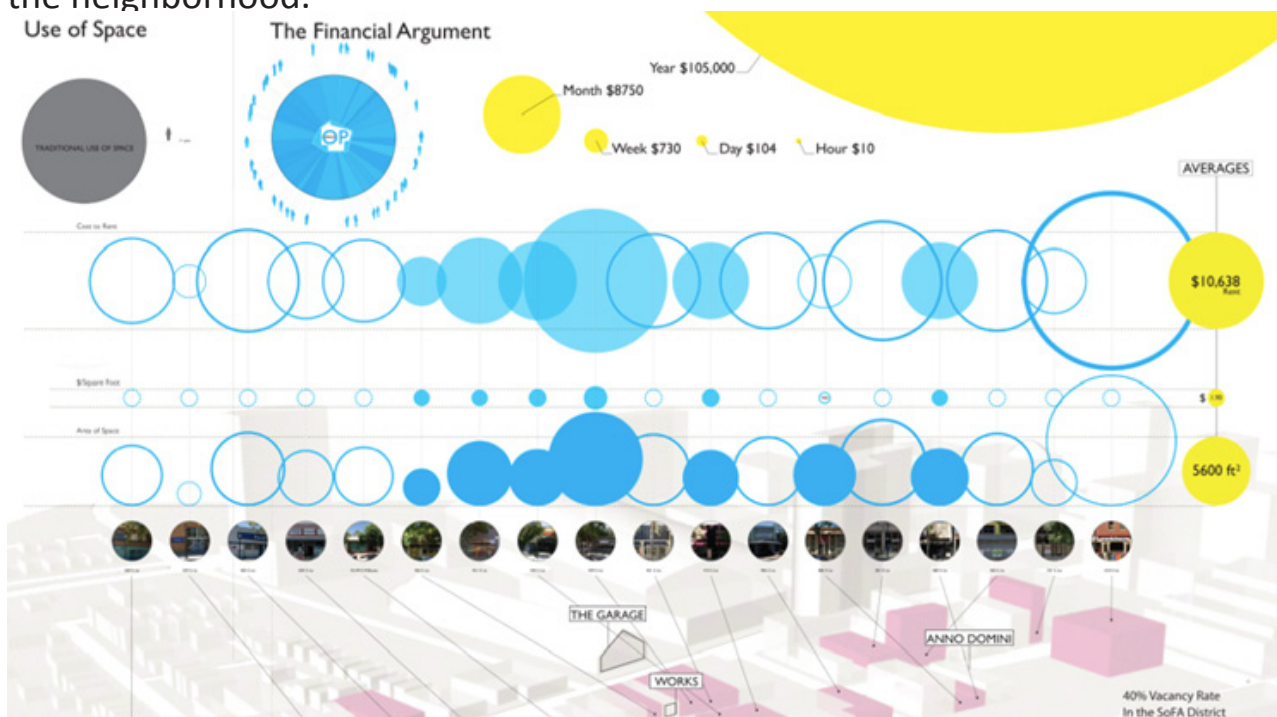

Figure 3: OPspace Site Analysis Economical Performance, CCA URBANlab Studio Spring 2010 (Instructor: Mona El Khafif, Student: Rachael Yu)

Thise urban strategy consists of a flexible and temporary architectural installation (hardware) that is embedded in existing storefronts and outdoor areas. Its architectural performance, supports different programs, activities and events (software). An online community outreach tool (orgware) allows public access and offers a mix of anchor programs as well as open voids in the schedule to structure the curation of different programs generating synergies for the neighborhood. The branding campaign (brandware) articulates the strategy to the public and synthesizes the project´s hardware, orgware and software.

In this way the community can both interact with and inhabit the public interface of their neighborhood, which democratizes the ability to participate in and to create an urban community. By , combining urban regeneration and architectural performance with creative entrepreneurship by CitySpaceShare activatesing local networks, partnerships and participants. The project addresses the issues of social justice, overlaid along with the economical guidelines of the markets through the principles of flexible occupation and shared infrastructure costs for infrastructure. The flexibility of the hardware and the aspired diversity of programmatic occupation reflects the needs of the neighborhood and creates a breeding ground for new programs which can used to foster to their advantage, the fast turn over of occupation. Anchor programs, as a result of partnerships, put in place will function as a base rhythm of occupation and can operate as "pioneers" or programmatic examples for the community. The anchor programs are offered to occupy the space on a regular basis and, in return, the costs for infrastructure will be covered by the project. As a non-profit pilot project, CitySpaceShare invests all economical profitout-come into the neighborhood. The bBasic goal of the project was to promote urban research and the development of a toolkit, to be employed for urban regeneration to support urban regeneration and a sustainable reactivation of socio-economic factors of the neighborhood. The success of the project rests onDue to the necessity of an outreaching and interdisciplinary networking across disciplnes, this project was meant to activate the a cooperation of a wide cross-sectioncross-disciplinary cooperation of the professional and local community.

The developed design proposal for CitySpaceShare 2010 employs a methodology of open source urbanism to support the social and economic revitalization of the SoFA district. The physical installation of OPspace - the chosen prototype of the research studio 2010 - stands for OPportunities, OPen and Operable and embodies the objectives of the 2010 Biennale, „Build Your Own World and Citizen Science" by giving the public an inhabitable topography which is composed of hexagonal sections that operate as a kit of parts for different configurations.

The folded, interior planes determine occupation while; the architecture supports and initiates the various programmatic needs. Each hexagon is defined by three sections which operate like the leaves of an expandable table. By opening the sections, surface orientation changes, thus a wall becomes a table, a chair becomes a shelf, etc. The modules can migrate to different outdoor and indoor sites, adapting to local conditions through by aggregatingion to support different clients and events. Based on an analysis of our during the research phase, in which we interviewed main local key players in the San Jose events and cultural e scene, a set of umbrella program categrories and anchor programs were established to support buttom-up occupation. The program brand of OPspace identifies five local program categories: OPtaste, OPscene, OPexhibit, OPlab and OPshop, each of which hosts a series of occupations supported by the flexible architecture.

During the Biennial, OPspace was tested for four weeks, balancing top-down events and bottom-up initiatives. Top-down uses had beenwere curated through by the OPspace team, who organizeding cultural events for the community as anchor programs and collaborateding with local partners and networks. Bottom-up uses had beenwere generated by the community in response to their own needs or desires for the neighborhood. Each of the program categoryies had beenwas activated while OPspace operated as a stage for a mini symposium dedicated to urban issues of relating to former US military bases (OPscene), as a location for wine tasting (OPtaste) and DJ lounge (OPscene), as an outdoor food vendor location during Absolute Zero (OPshop), a cat walk for the local fashion show (Opscene), a bike kitchen (OPlab) and finally as an exhibition for local glass artists (OPexhibit). During the four days of the Zero 1 Biennial, the event operated like a catalyst for the occupation OPspace and created a new mental map for the storefront and the surrounding neighborhood. Visitors came into the storefront, attracted by the crowd and the installation in itself. They asked about the concept, got recieved informed and came back with questions regarding potential future occupations. OPspace, in operation, functioned like an idea factory triggering a set of new occupations. Neighboring elementary schools got were interested to rent the space temporarily, while the local theater group was looking for a stage for their next performance. In this manner, OPspace became a laboratory of social interaction and occupation. A living lab that, due to its flexibility, allows tois able support the needs and desires of the neighborhood.
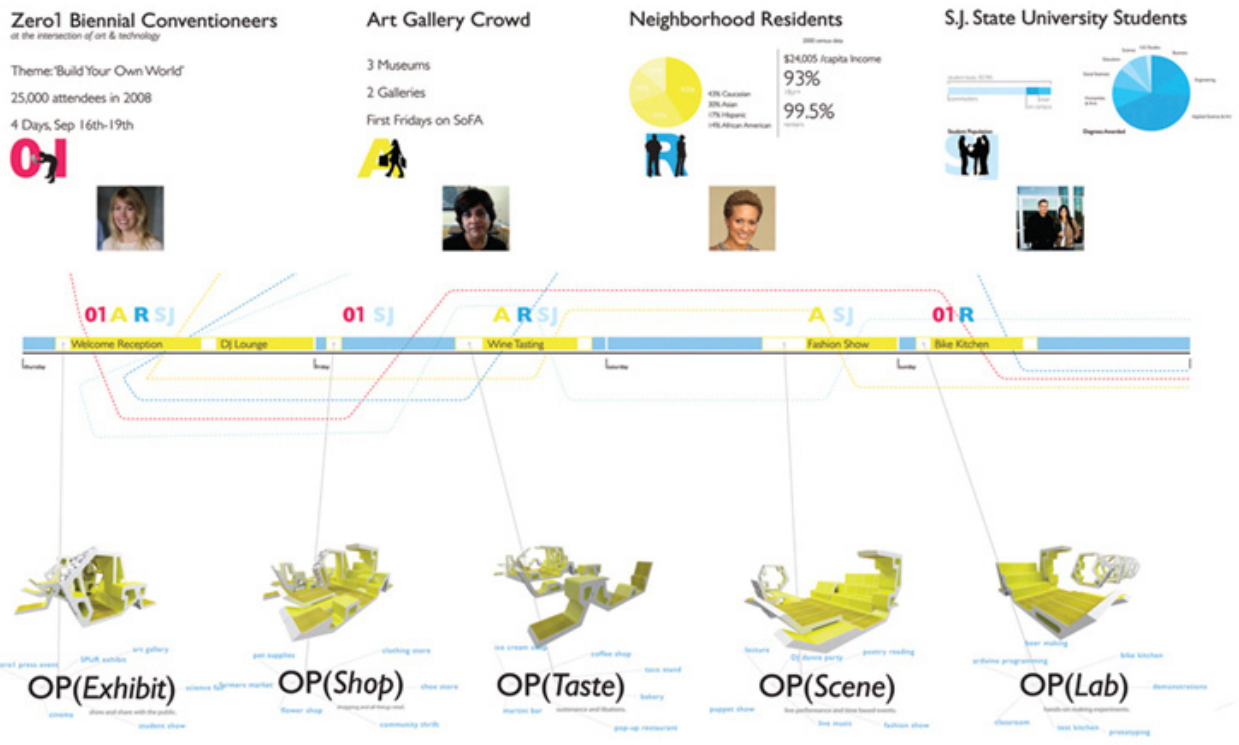
Figure 4: OPspace Urban Score, CCA URBANlab Studio Spring 2010 (Instructor: Mona El Khafif, Student: Rachael Yu, Photo Credits: Pia Malinis)

5. RESUME AND EVALUATION OF OPSPACE PROTOTYPE 2010

Staged Urbanism, as applied to OPspace, allowed an organized spatial access and the ability to shape one's own community through a choreography of top-down and bottom- up programming in support of a vibrant local urbanism. Social space unfolds within the multilayered strategy that supports user occupation through a performative scape, allowing the urban space to be in flux. As a summary there were four topics evaluated during the test phase: a) the differentciation of the embedded economical model, b) the constraints of spatial flexibility, c) the need of for a curatorial strategy that incorporates all four spatial layers, and d) the production of second order social space. second order

While the Biennial test phase allowed the space to be occupied without rental fees, the reality of a self-sufficient CitySpaceShare is in need of an embedded economy that carries can pay the monthly rent, though it is and distributes it among multiple users. The test phase showed that programs related to a commercial economy – such as the wine tasting and DJ lounge – were able to generate through a profit the sale of products a surplus during the evenings, while
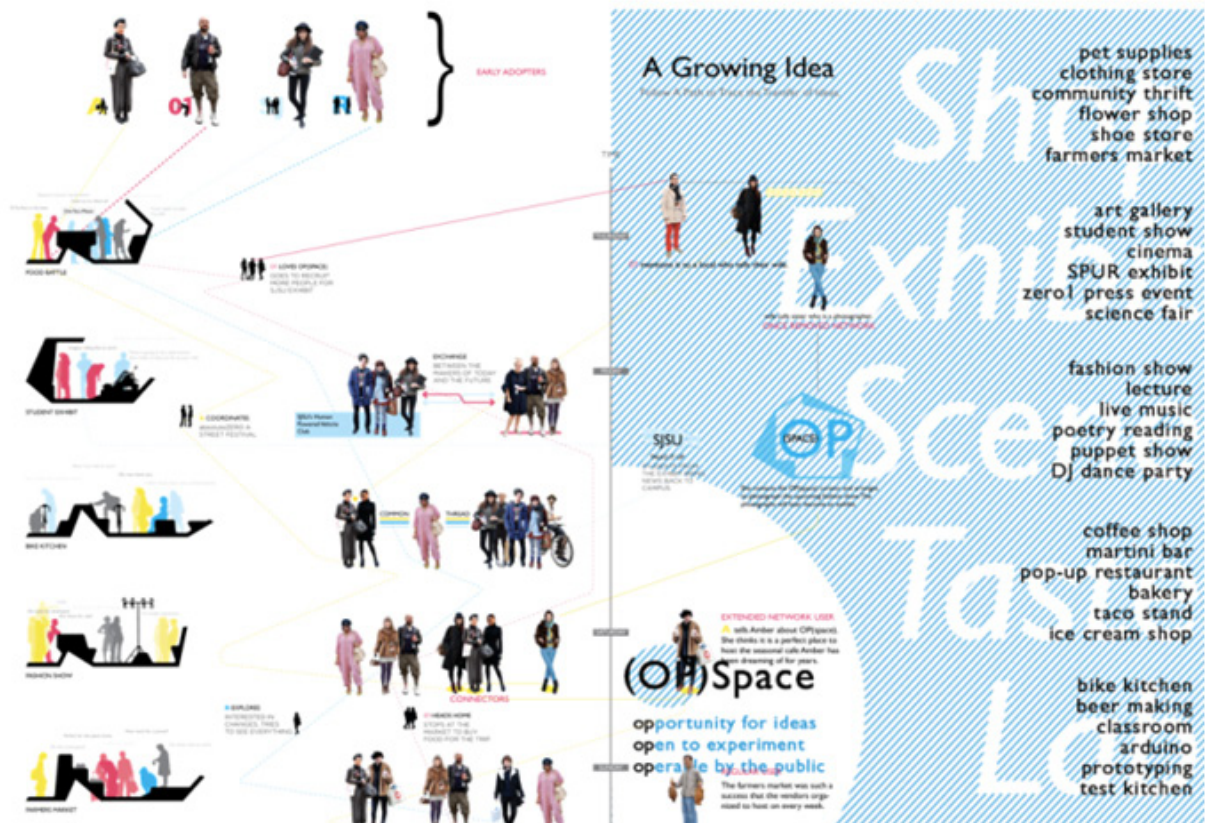
Figure 5: OPspace Urban Narrative, CCA URBANlab Studio Spring 2010 (Instructor: Mona El Khafif, Student: Rachael Yu)

other events like the bike kitchen and the exhibition space would depend on external funding. A The future impleimentation of a CitySpaceShare model would be in need to differentciate rental fees by applying rent categroies. External fundings and programs with embedded economy will need to support community or non-profit based programs. The economy would also include the necessity tohave to maintain the installation and to run a place space through with a curatorial team. During the test phase, the aggregation of the hardware was changed twice a day. Though the performance proved the flexibility of the hardware, set in place the (wo)man-power needed for the re-aggragation is beyond annot economicaly usabilitysustainable. A future protoype would be in need of a modular system that reaggregates with less labor and that allows a for transportation from storefront to storefront. Finally, a spatial choreography and curatorial team that organizes the occupation as a negotiation between top-down and buttom-up approach is the core element of the urban tactic and is deeply responsible for a maintaining a successful social hub.

The choreography balances commercial programs that are generating a surplus profit with those that are in need of funding. It positions anchor programs in cooperation with local agencies and ensures a programmatic mix that represents the diversity of the surrounding neighborhood. In this manner, the choreography is understood as a networking institution that tries to strengthen eendoogenous potentials while simultaneously protecting common interests. Through

the choreography of anchor programs that can be understood as the production of first order social spaces, while first order a set of second order social spaces secondary order were initiated as bottoum-up reactions. These spaces can be characterized as a smooth space - or as described by Sulvia Mollina (Mollina, 2003, p.297) - as an intermediate space that is permanently under production and change.

Though the case study is located in the US, empty storefronts are not a unique situation specific to San Jose, San Francisco or the US in general. The paper suggests an urban strategy that is targeting the issue of urban vacancy tied to an economical issue. The design approach of a multilayered tactic that operates between top down and bottom is understood as a design framework and tool kit for local actors that can be adjusted to local conditions within the social and economical construction of cities.

Figure 6: OPspace Spatial Performance, CCA URBANlab Studio Spring 2010 (Credits: Mona El Khafif Credits)

Figure 7: OPstage Mini Symposium (Photo Credits: Pia Malinis)

Figure 8: OPscene Wine Testing and DJ Lounge, CCA URBANlab Studio Spring 2010 (Photo Credits: Pia Malinis)

Figure 9: OPspace Program Diagram, Production of Social Space second Order. CCA URBANlab Studio Spring 2010 (Credits: Mona El Khafif, Richard Lyttle)

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SDx and the City; How Values Shape the Urban Environment

1 Introduction

Contemporary architecture and planning schools of thought are currently in a dilemma of how to deal with cities to make them liveable. In this endeavour we come across situations as: problem definition and methods for diagnosing core problems in the city; identification of a course of actions in a changing city context; lack of recognition of obvious problems; lack of successful techniques that could work in each and every context; need for new approaches and visions that realize effective change in cities; etc. The concern on the issues is so high as to spin towards a world dialogue on the need for creating and entering a new paradigm of city making. The latter implies ecology, information technologies and psychological research, which however, so far remain tools rather than cornerstones of the desired paradigm.

We believe that Spiral Dynamics (SDx) is a model that helps us to understand and tackle these issues. It is a smart tool to diagnose city evolution and dynamics. By focusing on value systems of the past and the present, SDx gives us a fun-

damental outlook on culture change and city development, as well as important clues for answering to the above situations. SDx is a tool / model, and we use it to understand key aspects of the mutual relationship between the city and the human beings living in it. By understanding this complex relationship we can depict at least the first signs of a paradigm for a [re]appropriated city.

In this paper we explain the SDx model of value systems (or: life forces, energy drives) and what and how it helps us to comprehend, especially to develop a better understanding of the city in a physical and socio-cultural sense. We will give illustrations of physical expressions of SDx value systems and present two examples from the city of Rotterdam. Our in-depth case study is about Tirana, and we will show how value systems are expressed in this city that developed rapidly during the last 20 years. In a concluding section, we turn attention to the extent to which SDx can help to explain and give direction to the [re]appropriation of the city into a liveable environment.

Figure 1: *Spiral Dynamics values and their expression in settlements*

2 Spiral Dynamics

In the 1950's and 60's professor Clare W. Graves conducted research on the basic values of people and their levels of existence. Graves's intention was to develop an integrated theory of values. Based on this research Graves concluded that mankind has gradually developed eight core value systems. The Spiral Dynamics (SDx) model, which builds on these values systems, was further developed in the later 1960's and has been deeply explored by academicians, practitioners and philosophers.

The model describes eight value systems (also called: life forces/memes/worldviews) that people and societies develop in the course of history. These value systems move from individual to collective and vice-versa, but each develop further, thus forming a dynamic spiral of values. The eight basic values are designated by the colours in the spiral diagram — beige, purple, red, blue, orange,

green, yellow, turquoise, and other worldviews to come. A value system is a way of conceptualising reality and encompasses a consistent set of values, beliefs and corresponding behaviour and can be found in individual persons, as well as in organisations, cities or societies. Value systems, as internal drives / motivators of individuals and collective, influence how people think, feel, perceive, behave and communicate.

SDx are values that are deep inside, and they have an impact on the way of thinking and feeling about the complexities of human existence. Values bring

Colours/Values	People Value	People Do	Meaning of Life
Beige/Survival	Instinct, survival, food, warmth	What is natural according to instincts	Do what you must to survive
Purple/Security	Kinship, safety, belonging	What the group does, what traditions tell you	Protect against the hostile outside world
Red/Power	Egocentric, impulsive	What is good for them and gives control	Be what you are and do what you want
Blue/Order	Stability, order, belief	What is right according to the rules and laws	Life has a set purpose, stick to the rules
Orange/Success	Results, strategy, materialism	What gets results, makes you win, gives advantage	Play the game to win
Green/Community	Caring relations, harmony, beauty	What is caring to meet the needs of others	Seek inner joy and care for others and the environment
Yellow/Synergy	Integrative, synthesis	What is good for all, longer term innovation	Live fully and as responsibly as you can
Turquoise/Holism	Holistic, being, wisdom	What is wise according to deeper insights	Whole mind, whole body, whole spirit, whole earth

Table 1. SDx as an evolving values system – each new system encompasses old value systems.

some order and predictability to the apparent chaos of human affairs. It provides a framework for tracking the evolution of worldviews and a scaffold on which to stand while analysing situations and planning the most appropriate actions (Cowan, 2001). There are many different sub-systems between where the thinking represented by the colours blend together. For example:

- Many business people are in the Red and Orange systems, seeking power and profits, without much care about their fellow humans;
- A number of politicians are in the Blue-to-Orange range trying to move from structured bureaucracy to entrepreneurism and free markets. In Albania they seem to fall back into Red, at the costs of Blue values.
- Many young researchers and academicians are in the Green to Yellow range as they work to achieve positive results on a citywide scale through interaction, involvement, and purposeful learning and teaching.

How can we know which values a person has? At the level of an individual, the key question for understanding certain behaviour comes down to: "Why is this / what makes this important for you to do this?". This is the search for the underlying motivation. In an Orange value system, for instance, the answer of a developer in a city could be: "Because we stimulate progress, make money and we are proud to show that we are doing well. Rules can be followed as long as they help us in achieving our goals (and bend when not)".

The Spiral Dynamics theory explains that human nature evolves and is dynamic: humans are able, when forced by life conditions, to adapt to their environment by constructing new, more complex, conceptual approaches of the world that allow them to handle the new problems. Life forces (value systems) are developed accordingly. Each new approach transcends and includes potentially previous approaches.

Value systems develop in reaction to specific environmental challenges and threats. A value system brightens or dims as life conditions change. These life conditions are: 1) historical Times; 2) geographical Places; 3) existential Problems; 4) societal Circumstances. Entities will eventually have to meet the challenges of their situation – featuring specific life conditions – even at risk of oblivion, or extinction. If for instance societal circumstances change, inviting corporations to respond and consequently reconsider their role within society, it implies that corporations have to re-align their value systems and all their business institutions (such as mission, vision, policy deployment, decision-making, reporting, corporate affairs, etc.) to these new circumstances.

We give below an overview of the 8 value systems, with colour codes introduced by students of Professor Graves, Don Beck and Chris Cowan (1996). In table 1 on the next page, a short description of each value system is given, in relation to (the perceptions of) the environment (life conditions), which induce the value system. The model of Spiral Dynamics value systems is easily understood through the use of colours for value systems. Higher value systems can handle more complexities

The gradual move from one to a new value system facilitates new patterns of behaviour and the creation of new institutions, in line with the emerging value system. In other words, challenged by the changing circumstances and provoked by new opportunities, individuals, organisations and societies develop new solu-

	Survival (Beige)	Security (Purple)	Power (Red)	Order and stability (Blue)	Success (Orange)	Community (Green)	Synergy (Yellow)	Holistic life system (Turquoise)
Environment	Basic needs are not fulfilled	Dangerous outside world, be in a clan or traditional group to be safe. Honour the spirits.	Limitless challenges about boundaries of the territory and to be dominant over self and others within the territory.	Ordered relationships requiring legitimization in order to ensure stability and security for the future.	Many viable alternatives for progress, prosperity and material gain since change is the nature of things.	The gap between people and their (material) possibilities has become disproportionately large.	Complex problems that cannot be solved within the current systems as awareness of broad interconnections grows.	The consequences of human actions threaten the planet's living systems and demand coordinated effort.
Life force	Survival	Security	Domination	Order	Achievement	Belonging	Understanding	Interconnections
Main Focus	Individual/self	Group/collective	Individual/self	Group/collective	Individual/self	Group/collective	Individual/self	Group/collective
Typical values	Survival, basic development of emotions and intelligence	Customs, respect for elders, rituals, traditions, obedience, submission	Courage, vitality, strength, respect, personal power, rivalry, territorial, intimidation	Clarity, discipline, truth, responsibility, loyalty, duty, guilt, justice, obedience, orderliness	Results, reward, productivity, creativity, career advancement, enterprising, autonomy	Consensus, teamwork, equality, participation, honesty and openness, trust, harmony	Insight, learning, long-term orientation, ability to reflect, flexibility, tolerance for uncertainty,	Inspiration, interdependence, future generations, ability to forgive, wisdom, sufficiency,
Example physical expressions	Cave, huts, small, poor hamlets	Traditional villages, villages tree,	Castles, main plaza with church, bank and state	Ordered town planning,	Artefacts that show progress, villas that show off	Beautification in parks, space neighbourhood gatherings	Intelligent networks, multi-space, creative cities	Healing spaces and gardens

Table 2. *Development of SDx value systems*

tions in a more complex world. The SDx evolution of values in the society happens from beige to turquoise. But this is not a linear evolution. Societies can fall back, can deny or struggle with a new value system.

In Libya civil unrest ended with the breakdown of a dictator run society in 2011, a society dominated by red- and blue and purple values. It seems that the society is developing red-purple values, as the country falls apart and clans take over on basis of power and traditions. The system of democracy cannot be implemented as yet.

When the coping possibilities that a value system offers are no longer sufficient to provide an appropriate response to the existing circumstances, there is an incentive to move on to the next value system. For example, in China or Albania the red/blue communism did not fit any longer in the world context. Then development of orange values (freedom, markets) is taking place. The physical expression of this evolution includes the skyscrapers, new patterns of mobility, migration, social inequities, etc.

Evolution of value systems is not a smooth and linear process. The starting point is also different in "new-borns". Thus, new organizations do not start from beige and purple, they usually start from orange value systems. Value systems

represent human values, but they are not categories for types of people, there are systems in people, ways of thinking and feeling about things. A person is not red; he has red values inside. The Spiral is a continuum, not a staircase with only eight steps. Individuals and collectives have a mix of values – so beware of finding simplicity, which is not there. In an actual organization, various value systems will be present among their members. However, generally to or three value systems dominate. In the present governance systems of the Balkan, Blue and Red dominate, but all other value systems are present too.

3 SDx and the City (human settlements)

Do cities have values? If the city is seen as asphalt, blocks, mortar, grass and glass, they don't. If it is seen as an expression of human development through times, as integrated human systems, then cities are expressions of values. The work of for example Landry (2000, 2006), Singer (ed., 2010) and Bell and Avner de-Shalit (2011) tells us more about this. We see the city as a physical, social and cultural expression of a collective of people in the context of the existing life conditions. Cities grow and develop, are adjusted to the needs and values of current times, while encompassing the legacy of earlier times that is shown in city`s history. According to present values, buildings can be adjusted to modern needs. An orange-to-green value may be the pillar from transforming a castle that once was a reflection of power (red) into a museum that brings in money to support its sustenance.

The city is a myriad of life forces (behaviour, norms and values) and they can co-exist and clash and lead to frictions (as happens between population groups with different cultural background – value systems). The SDx model can be applied into all cultural and economic aspects of the city. However, for the sake of clarity and simplicity, we look mainly at physical expressions.

We give two examples from Rotterdam. The Witte Huis (White House) was constructed in 1897/98, and for two decades it was the tallest office building in Western Europe (43 meters high, 20 by 20 meters long/wide). The owners were two entrepreneurs who had visited New York, and wanted to create a landmark for the city of Rotterdam. The Witte Huis was changed over time, and was restored to its original state in the 1990's. Internally, one finds many of the original elements. It is still an office building now and rents are pretty high. When it was

built, the Witte Huis was an expression of orange (creating a landmark), of blue (its symmetry) and also green (beautification of the building, contributing to the city). Nowadays, it is on the list of top 100 monuments. The offices are for businesses that want to have an alternative, innovative and creative office space (yellow). When a tenant (director of a business advice office) was asked about why he rented space in this building, his answer was: "I like the character of this building. It strengthens our reputation. We want to show that we are different from the offices in the high-rise glass towers. We want to show that we care about quality, not only efficiency".

On the other hand, it is interesting to see how the values impacted the history of cruise ship in Rotterdam, since when it started to sail in 1958. The ship worked for decades, until the demands in this cruise industry changed and SS Rotterdam became too small and missed luxury (for instance on board swimming pool, etc.). A foundation for maritime heritage undertook efforts to get the ship back to Rotterdam. Woonbron, a housing corporation, entered in the restoration project. After being restored in its original colours, changed into a multi-functional space (hotel conference centre, school tourism), the ship was anchored in Rotterdam in 2008 and was opened to the public in 2010. People were proud of it, while the renovation cost much more than it was budgeted (256 Million EUR instead of 6 Million, due to removal of asbestos found in the ship and other issues) and the exploitation ran into substantial losses. The director of Woonbron was forced to resign. The corporation wants to sell the ship.

Purple values (value at work, traditions, bonding, identity and pride or Rotter-

dam people) were at the basis of initiating the restoration work in the ship. Red values were less relevant, while blue and orange were not sufficient as to ensure proper planning, exploitation and economic feasibility. The purpose of orange though was strong as turning the ship into a multicultural centre was an expression of seeing chances. Green was also very evident in the collaboration and participation as driving forces into getting the ship back as a business option. The idea was also very bright (yellow) and innovative in trying to reuse the ship as an engine to fuel the pride of Rotterdam. We believe that if there had been no asbestos in the ship and the planning would have been better, the project would have received innovation and corporate responsibility awards. Alas, it was not the case.

Below are some illustration per value system.

Beige / Survival. Examples are the early people living in caves, and a present example is the basic survival of people in refugee camps.

Purple / Bonding. Examples are many: traditional villages all over the world (like Sedella in Spain on the right

Red / Power. Example include the 'plaza major' where the state, the bank and the church dominate (Madrid on the right), and castles to oversee the environment (castle along river Mosel below)

Blue / Order. Cities need order and structure, to give recognition, security, facilitate development. In all plans, Blue values are a point of departure.
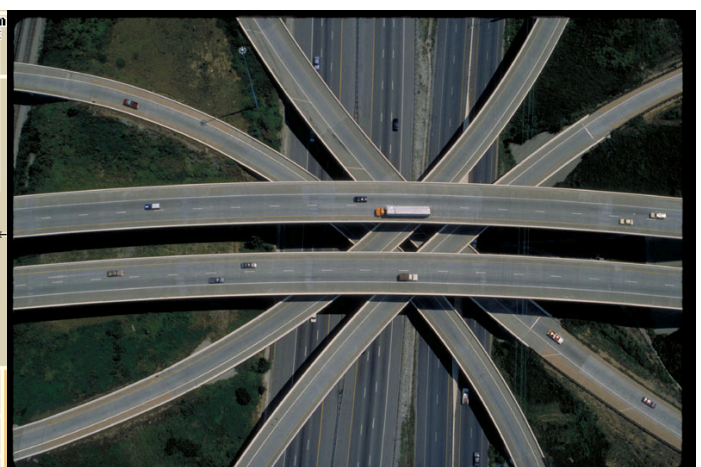
Orange / Success. A stadium can be a place to do sports, of a sign of performance (Allianz arena, Munich). Homes can be for living, or symbols of success (Dubai)
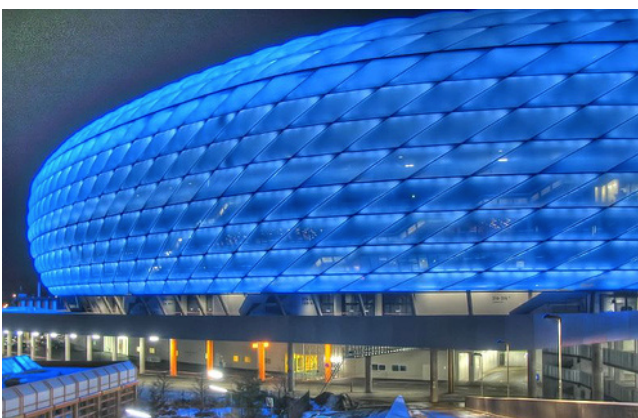
Green / Together – community. Bank employees join a city beautification program (left), participation in a so-called neighbourhood Cruyff court(right)

Yellow / Synergy. Smart space, like the Siemens smart building contest (below) and a green building with offices and spa) planned for Uzebekistan (right)

Turquoise / Holism. Examples include healing garden (healing garden in cancer center, right). Small sacred spaces can be found anywhere (left).

Apart from exploring physical artefacts, it is also crucial to look at SDx and governance in the city. Thus, which value systems drive a city government? In contemporary cities it is always a mix of drives, a blend of different value systems, which in principle is not very different from the one of the society, though leaders should embrace higher values in order to be visionary and bring success to their city. Blue values should be part of any current governance systems, because it is in the nature of public management to create and maintain order, structure, equity for the law, planning to balance different interests and powers. Other values are also present, but to a degree that depends on the context and stage of development of the society. Below we give an example of governance systems that match with the colours of SDx.

	Prototype system	Effective expression...	Often goes with...
Beige/Survival	No governance	-	-
Purple/Security	Chiefdom	Bonding, security	Stagnation
Red/Power	Feudal systems	Protect against enemies	Overexploitation, law of the strongest
Blue/Order	Bureaucracy and democracy	Efficient regulation	Overregulation
Orange/Success	Meritocracy	Performance	Inequality
Green/Community	Democracy, union of people	Participation, equity	Slow decision-making.
Yellow/Synergy	Integrative democracy	Assimilation, flexibility	Lower security
Turquoise/Holism	Based on spiritual values	Profound togetherness	Lack of action

Table 3: *forms of expression in governance systems in human settlements*

4 Spiral Dynamics and city evolution in Tirana

4.1 Values in the City

Tirana is a very challenging city to live in. It has a chaotic traffic and high build-ing densities; it lacks sufficient public amenities (and existing ones are often low quality); it has high levels of air pollution; it suffers electricity and water supply cuts; it is tiring and often unsafe; it is noisy. And Tirana reflects tremendous en-ergies; it always has events and one can feel life happening; it provides space for professionals to work and room to absorb new thinking. All in all it has both, energy and chaos, and as Jane Jacobs writes in her The Death and Life of the Great American cities (1961), "urban vitality and public safety are complemen-tary – not contradictory – features of a city, achieved through adjacencies of uses and people along with other generators of diversity". One can think that in Tirana there is an unclear or even confused pattern of citizen behaviour and city development. In fact there is a pattern in the chaos that once disclosed it provides deep understanding for corrective action. Then the question is why so far almost no one has managed to understand that pattern and its causes, so as to use the knowledge for shaping the city into a liveable place? Or, maybe there are individuals who have established a good understanding, but there is no criti-cal mass. The latter in fact guarantees change.

Why is Tirana challenging and is it so more than other metropolitan cities of the world? In fact, Tirana has exactly the same development features or symp-toms as the other capitals and metropolitan areas, but it is smaller compared to them. Maybe, its problems could also be more manageable, as its scale is more controllable. However, scale is not always a factor for good solutions, if people cannot manage it. Thus, when analysing Tirana compared to other metropoles,

we have to keep in mind its community and its leadership and observe how they deal with places. In this chapter we will try to describe some well-known facts of Tirana`s physical development from a Spiral Dynamics perspective. As the aim of this paper shows, SDx will help in analysing the links between city development and the culture and personality of its people. We believe that people make the city as an artefact that vice versa impacts people`s life and their behaviour. By understanding the values and the meaning of life for Tirana`s people, maybe we will also understand their needs and effects on the city. We will maybe be able to tell to the audience of architects and urban designers/planners what and how to tackle structural issues of the society that "in a hidden way" play a role in city [re]appropriation acts. This would be like trying to find a cure to the cause rather than to the effect.

Tirana has a complex urban tissue, where typologies, uses, styles and qualities mix in a very severe and coarse pattern. The development started some 400 years ago in a very rural setting and quiet landscape, in a rather spontaneous way, followed by administrative decisions of the time, but leaving room for an organic structure of the city and latter on, in the early 20th century, for the establishment of the "cosmic axis" of Brasini, sign of power and with strong catalytic effects on the "re[birth][creation] of the city" (Dhamo 2012). The widest scale developments realised through planning belong to the communist era of 1960 -1990, where a rather modernist approach was expanded over the city, but with extreme features of the socialist society and thus also architecture. Few, but frightening features are to mention: full control on architecture, deep simplicity degenerating to poverty of styles, materials and quality; extreme standardization; the syndrome of "party politics" territorial planning; establishment of city centres for people to gather into their "tribe meetings", pray and honour the "spirit of the party" or the glory of the leader; over regulated space (for as much

as finances would allow this to extend over the old city) for people to move and act like perfect clock gears. Whether citizens liked that image of the city or not, that did not matter, as they had to survive (beige) a heavy dictatorship (of strong red) and for doing so, they had to follow strict rules (of a

distorted one-purpose blue) and be thankful to the party (by acting through a "false" purple).

"The developments of the socialist era, brought a new model of the urban life in Tirana, but these could also be considered as aliens in the existing city and territory. This pattern became more evident with time. The lack of links between new and old urban typologies, gave rise to a tense urban communication between layers and tissues in the city. The city was not consolidated and it is exactly these kind of gaps that were (spontaneously) used by the developments after `90s, deepening the wounds." (Dhamo 2012)

As elsewhere in the world, where "in architecture and urban planning, a revolution has been taking place aiming at healing the wounds inflicted upon the landscape by the Modern and Postmodern eras, … sprawl, the growing perception of fear, a declining sense of community, and environmental degradation" (Ellin 2006), next to an exploding of individual energies in the city, took place also in Tirana after the change of the political regime. Being subject to dictatorship, Albanian cities (also Tirana) were supressed prior to 1990. This [su][re]ppression had in a way or another imprisoned the spirit of creativity in different fields, including [city][space]making. But, repression did not lead to destruction of the need, sensation, and emotion, thus energy. It may be distorted, or changed it. When repression was finally absent, the taste of freedom was so glorious that people wanted to make use of it. Of course this does not explain still the taste for city design, but at least it makes an attempt to show that collective repression led to collective folly and now we need collective intelligence and creativity to make our cities, our space and our life better. Yet, the "better" word should be defined, but we will try to bring some examples that describe what is maybe not better. However, not merely world urban revolution tendencies, but the specific history of Albania (and maybe even the Balkan as a concept) had on the urban realm that kind of implication we witness today.

 The "Urban Castles" "trigger interest" for urban designers and architects. The castles are new structures, often made of concrete and stainless steel, or bricks, covered by a (false) layer of stones (which often is not even native). The castles offer restaurant and bar services and sometimes have hotel rooms and meeting premises. They were initially located in the city outskirts in the middle of the nature. However as development has expanded, the castles are not alone anymore and are often found in the middle of a medium density urban context. Size is another weird feature as these castles seem often as ("chocolate") minia-

tures of the Middle Ages structures. In some other cases, the new buildings do not resemble to a full castle, but have some elements (i.e. the embrasures and merlons of the crenelations and windows) combined with unidentified architecture. Why do people build (small size) castles in the outskirts of Tirana in the 21st century? Is that a kind of pride for the tradition (some prevailing purple); is it a simple matter of taste for the stone/design; or maybe it is a sign of frustration against the "apartment building" syndrome spreading in the city? Maybe people are looking to bring (back) some authenticity to the city. Nevertheless, these buildings have no "real" within; they rather are a "cosmetic quick fix" and as Ellin (2006) borrows from Margery Williams (The Velveteen Rabbit 1922), for a thing to be real "It takes a long time ... Generally, by the time you are Real, most of your hear has been loved off, and your eyes dropped out and you get loose in the joints and very shabby. But these things don`t matter at all, because you are Real, you can`t be ugly, except to people who don`t understand." More than pride for history, the existence of the castles shows a need for domination over people and territory and desire for power (red values).
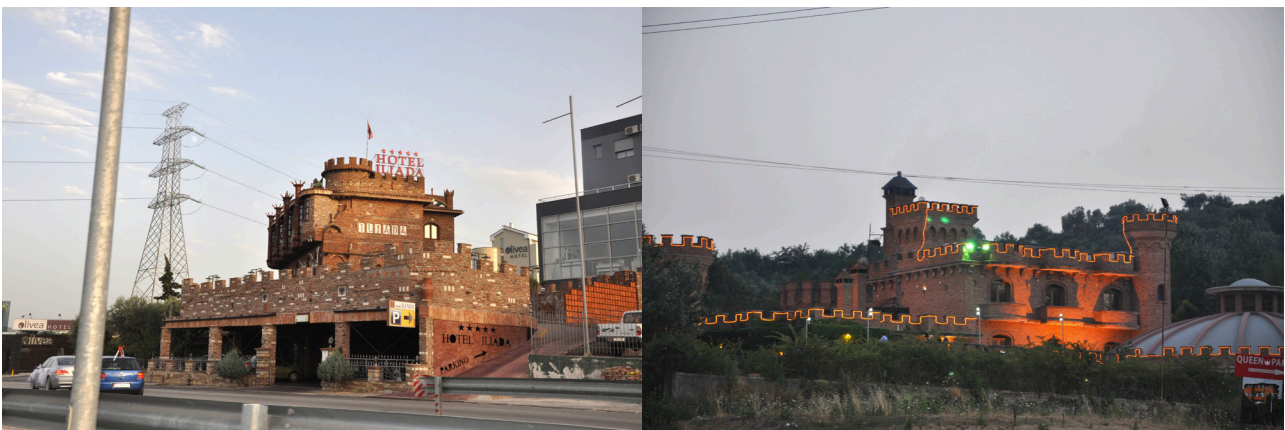
These red individualistic values (referring to SDx), are not present in castles only. The blooming of huge commercial centers is another feature of land development in Tirana. There are 4 mega centers and several small to medium ones in Tirana. Is this business so profitable at this scale for a metropolis of the size of Tirana? And then, if citizens in Tirana prefer to live in the city center and shop in the ground floor stores of their apartment building, why and how can this "mall culture" embrace people so quickly? Curiosity could be a fast simple answer. But

curiosity does not last long and the malls are not cheap places to shop (including also transportation costs) for Tirana`s people. Unsurprisingly, the owners of the mega centers are the land development gigs, who are not only willing to keep their capital fenced (orange values), but are also showing their power and claiming respect (the red values). In fact, the more expensive is the mall and its boutiques and the less customers frequent it, the more respect people show for it.

Mobility is another case for red values in Tirana. Both the pedestrian and the driver/car have a totally careless approach towards one-another and the common space. People walk or drive as if they would own the space and they aggressively request the respect of other users towards them. At the end of the day, there is no distinction between the pedestrian and the car/user. They constitute the same person, who in different contexts still keeps the same behaviour. This is continuous "fight" for the right and for respect, in an environment where trust towards the institutions and the judiciary system is almost totally vanished.

Hundreds of high-rise apartment buildings stand as an opposite of the urban castles, located everywhere possible in the city. The centre of Tirana is overbuilt with these structures, but peripheries (in the adjacent communes of Kashar, Farka, Dajti etc.) do not stay behind. Massif blocks of concrete with almost no signs of green stand up monstrously, establishing some of the highest building densities, with no or very limited amenities (green space per person in Tirana is around 5m2, incredibly lower compared to the minimum of 9m2 in European countries). These are residential blocks where people pay for a project of "apartment + parking space + social amenities", but usually get only the apartment (the price varies from 400 EUR/m2 in the periphery to 2000 EUR/m2 in the centre or in the gated communities). In the best case, buyers have a supermarket close by and may benefit of the indoor (social) activities that will buy/rent some space in the first 2-4 floors (meant for business and commercial activities). Large

new neighbourhoods are thus formed with very high buildings and very narrow streets and always in pressure of traffic and parking. The residential buildings have no emergency exits/stairs, the stability of the structure is unknown to the buyer, and common spaces deteriorate quickly. If these neighbourhoods lack so much of quality, then why do people still buy real estate, or do not put pressure on the developers and architects to design more qualitative housing, or lower the price? On the other hand, why do architects, urban designers and developers contribute to the urban fabric by adding low quality structures?

We will not discuss why do people buy (this is because they are in need or need to show of). We will discuss the providers (developers and architects), who (belonging mainly to the middle class, with now a tendency to high) were some of the first people to understand that the change of the political regime, would also bring business freedom and opportunities for progress, prosperity and material gain. Analysing this group (there are also differences within), we observe that it has reached results, financial independence and a kind of recognition in the society as people with high productivity and career advancement. On the other hand, citizens think of developers and architects as individuals with clear moneymaking aspirations. It is so much spread this thought, that many young students of architecture and civil engineering chose these professions because in this way "you can make a lot of money". It is interesting to notice that the main group (apart from the community) that has shaped the urban fabric in Tirana has so strong orange values, if seen in an SDx perspective. As in this kind of (individualistic) value, success is above all, at the cost of the others, it is not that amazing that Tirana has absorbed a lot of energies and resources in "low quality concrete".

"The densification of the city of Tirana was characterized by a self-organized and uncontrolled development. One of the recognizable aspects of these developments are the architectural parasite organisms. These are abusively added volumes to the socialist period buildings. Their function varies from extensive space for commercial use to a new room for the children" (Bregasi, 2012). These extensions are made both formally and informally and on previous public space. Most probably the existing real estate stock was not able to respond to the new needs of citizens (especially in a intensive migratory atmosphere), but the space for responding to this need was taken unjustly from the public. These interventions have seriously harmed the security and quality of living in the respective buildings and also in the urban space. This behaviour, next to legal business-

oriented construction activity taking place on public space shows for a careless development approach. A minor group of people has made good profits on the shoulders of the community (orange values). This willingness for individual profit (at cost of others) is so high, that whoever can, will bribe for some development to take place and benefit from. The latter is so widespread that risks to become a culture.

All of the examples so far, show for a dominating red and orange system of values over society and city in Tirana. These are both individualistic values, which prevail over community (collective) values and in fact add up to the lack of connectedness that we feel when walking and living Tirana. The lack of green spaces and other amenities and the lack of efforts to provide them, the lack of care in architecture and urban design for addressing needs of all ages, gender, and disabilities, the deficient urban systems the hamper emergency services, are painful proofs of the missing community values such as green and blue. The hunger for the opportunities of the material world is so strong, that values such as equality, honesty, trust, openness, harmony and care for each other seem to be almost inexistent.

On the other hand, some need for blue is becoming evident. The architecture of fear is also appearing in Tirana as a combination of red and blue values, witnessed in the gated communities that are built in the city outskirts. These are high-density villas, surrounded by walls, close to big commercial centers and pristine nature and agriculture land and rural communities, with very small individual open space and contributing to more urbanization and sprawl. People, who choose to buy and live in these gated spaces, do so not simply for a better quality of housing, but more and foremost for safety, discipline and order.

4.2 Leadership Capacities versus Community Capacities

Tirana, the "red-orange city", has evolved since 1990 in a very spontaneous fashion, with an "anti-plan culture", sprawling beyond the traditional city walls, with an emergent coarse texture of high building densities. This has been the product of the city made by people. "People" does not mean merely community or inhabitants; it includes all citizens such as residents, businesses, civil society representatives and leaders or government structures. Through their visions and power for decision-making, leaders drive (and finance) development in the city. As Hamilton says in her 'Integral City' (2008) "... their lived values effectively

controlled and influenced the lived values of the city`s residents. In other words, the personal values of the mayor and the council determined the filters through which decisions were made and the ceilings that limited citizens aspirations."

Since early `90s Tirana has had 4 leaders (including the current mayor Mr. Lulezim Basha). While the challenge is still open for Mr. Basha, the previous mayor, Mr. Edi Rama (a mayor for 3 mandates) was the first to bring a new mentality of urban governance to the city of Tirana by opening the ground for professional and public debate on city renewal, conservation and development programs/projects. Rehabilitation (in fact only painting) of the facades of the apartment buildings was one of the major projects he conducted in the city. The project induced a new light of vitality in the city and was considered as a creative mean for urban renewal, not only locally but also internationally by artists and architects. Regardless of its value at the early steps of implementation, the project remained rather superficial, or a catalytic initiative that could not act catalytically. In fact, not only urban renewal was done very poorly in Tirana in the next years, but also all other important projects facilitated or guided by the municipality "did serve the public personal profile of the mayor rather than the city. He further stabilized an almost authoritarian regime of development permits that politicized and densified the city centre, while promoting social and economic segregation between the centre and the periphery." (Aliaj, 2012)

Rama was a reformist and his work had a crucial impact on the "city skin", but not on its "heart". We might interpret this from a value systems perspective. As a politician and aiming for the leadership of the party, or even PM`s role in a potential socialist government, most of his work was self-centred and he was dedicated to the establishment and cure of his strong political profile. He had to be a contemporary leader and at the same time well accepted and fully respected by the party members and especially the base. Without entering into a personality analysis, one can only look at his urban projects and see how all these projects promote prosperity and material gain for certain groups in the city (segments of the business sector), overall inequality, and need for domination (often even territorial), power and respect. Thus, the so-called French project for the centre of Tirana (high densities) is a "tool" to provide developers with the opportunity to build and prosper financially (encourages orange values), rather than an instrument for revitalising the centre and stimulating new or higher level values in the system. This would at the same time, be a guarantee for him holding a strong position politically.

On the other hand, the latest project of the municipality of Tirana (under Rama leadership) for the city central square was not only an electoral attempt. The pyramid like project for the square, which was interrupting the linear visibility and walkability of the main boulevard, was a demonstration of red values (power and respect) of the leader, taking shape on the urban realm. The choice of the pyramid can be considered very interesting and arguable for the following reasons: the pyramid is historically a very contested shape in Albania due to the link with the previous communist regime, but also as a result of the pyramidal financial crisis that took place in 1997; this new pyramid was disrupting the boulevard that in its genesis was built out of a red values system. Thus, a "deja-vu" of red values is [re]appearing in different times, on the urban realm of Tirana, from different leaders (political or urban), but for the same core reasons: need for dominance, power and respect.

Rama represents a complex case for a city leader. However, not complex enough as to push his values and thus city/community values at higher levels. Through his work, he injected some degrees of innovation and urban creativity (yellow) in city making (the facades project), but he used most of his strength and vitality for promoting orange and red values in Tirana. He did not induce any community values at all (blue and green). One can clearly see a good matching of values between the leadership of Tirana for the last decade (2000-2011) and the city development. Of course we will not try to answer to the question "does the capacity of community leadership determine community capacity? Or, does the capacity of community determine the capacity of its leadership? Howe does the vision, values and mission of one influence the other?" (Hamilton, 2008). The reader can make his/her own answer. It is clear though that Tirana of the after `90s has [re]developed the individualistic values of red and oranges, with minor cases of yellow (some innovation). This is visible on the urban fabric, at community level and at leadership level. Is the new mayor acting differently? Is he trying to induce community values in the city development? This is still early to define or analyse as he is in power only since one year. So far, he is leading a new a major project for city redevelopment in the north axes of the main boulevard. We still need to see if the proposals of this project shall create more opportunities for private prosperous development, or will finally give space back to the public.

5 Re-appropriation of the city

The key question we have to answer is: what should be done to [re]appropriate public space in Tirana? The quick and dirty answer from an SDx perspective is: render collective values to the city and its community. This means transforming both urban governance and public behaviour in the city. It further means that people feel proud of their identity and history (purple), there is a set of rules, laws and procedures that guide city development (blue), and citizens strive for harmony and good human contacts (green). This is obviously not what we see in Tirana, and many other Balkan cities for that matter (there are some good exceptions though).

During communist times the main value systems were Red and Blue. This was at the cost of the old parts of Tirana that had to make space for the expression of structured dominance (the national museum). At that time expressions of public space were typically the Skanderbeg Square and the Boulevard (also Red and Blue) and regulated neighbourhood squares (mainly Blue values). In the roaring 1990's after the end of communist times, there was a revolution to Orange value systems and a lack of understanding of Blue as a value to guide Orange. During this period there was a strong initial resistance to existing Blue values, because these were associated with Red (communist times) and they would block Orange opportunities for individual gains. The result was:
inequities between rich and poor;
illegal appropriation of land;
land development for private interests only, without good urban planning;
high rise apartment buildings and high density developments with remittances, money from the black market and speculation.

Individual values dominate over collective values in Tirana. [Re]appropriation of the city means to us that collective values in the city are fostered. From a spatial point of view, it means that space is given back to the people, not to the individuals but to the community. This requires:
more Green values: public space for the public at large, higher value of public space, maintenance and beautification, arts, quality of life;
more Blue values: better control on law compliance and land development, fight against corruption and illegal activities.

Is this going to happen?

According to SDx thinking a value shift will take place when the present value systems cannot manage complexities / life conditions any more. For example, Albania wants to integrate in the EU because of perceived economic benefits (orange). But EU demands a better/functional Blue (effective laws and rules) and more Green (democracy and care for community) and less Red (party power). For Tirana we can imagine that the present Orange capitalist values cannot handle the urban situation for a longer period. However, there is always this risk that as a certain group of "new capitalists" becomes richer and more powerful and the capture of state and the political class becomes almost irreversible, the society shall become exceptionally polarised, and it will be extremely difficult to reverse the situation towards a prosperous, but equal society.

[Re]appropriating space requires efforts at two levels: the urban level is the one where several instruments can be applied to make the city equal and liveable; the society level is the one where a systemic change/shift of values and behaviour is required to ensure implementation of the instruments at the urban level. Definitely the second is more challenging as the first one. It only takes some good knowledge and experience/expertise to make change happen at the first level. As a matter of fact, in Albania there are good laws and other technical tools that provide a good basis for the implementation of Blue values. However, implementation is lagging behind due to the overall societal behaviour, corruption, and lack of trust in government structures. The two levels of intervention are clearly linked to each other. In one side there is need for education, awareness raising, anticorruption programs, a new political force, or a renewed political class, new and complex leaders of the level 8 in the value system, to give space to urban projects as tools for making liveable cities. On the other hand, there is need for small catalytic urban projects that would inject new hope and trust in the society, and act as educating and awareness raising means. Architects and urban planners/designers can do a lot with regard the design and implementation of these catalytic, or acupuncture like interventions. Architects and urban planners should also be the first to not only support government in preparing flexible and comprehensive urban plans, but also implement them properly. However, for change to happen, a critical mass is needed, meaning that shift of values shall happen at the societal level.

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- Links
- There are numerous sources on Spiral Dynamics available on Internet. www.spiraldynamics.com provides an entry to the websites of Graves two students, Don Beck and Chris Cowan.

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UNDERSTANDING TRANSFORMATION OF PLACE IN ISTANBUL WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF GEOPHILOSOPHY

ABSTRACT

Among the researches that have been conducted on city, space and place in recent years, the studies of Deleuze and Guattari have had importance with their critical position against the structure of analytical thinking of the twentieth century. As Geophilosophy, developed by the two philosophers, has explored how place could express itself and what the philosophy of existence could be, it has been interested in not only historical and social concepts but also other concepts related to them. The place established on the idea of Geophilosophy has been defined as Smooth Space which has refused homogenous models, opposed to Formatted/Striated Space and founded on multiplicity. Smooth Space is today's space which is mobile and consists of pieces and vibrations. Geophilosophy emphasizes that earth has a resonance and space is required to be evaluated in that way.

With an experimental and subjective appraisal, this study intends to comprehend today's Smooth Space, realizing how Istanbul, within its own practices,

converts the things that have been collected to place molecules. In other words, this study is an attempt to read the transformation of place in Istanbul through the perspective on the Geophilosophy and tells a story about what the meaning of getting today's form/silhouette/topography of contemporary Istanbul could be. The point that has been intended to be reached at the end of this study is beyond what the form of Istanbul express. Moving from the idea that has been established on place by Deleuze and Guattari, Istanbul has been appraised beyond that which has been explained by the geometric meaning.

This study emphasizes the data that belong to a place should be analyzed starting from geographical and urban scale and mainly aims to search a way of creating the sustainability between city, human being and building by urban/architectural/conceptual design. Revealing memory/genealogy of place/city and making it concrete, this essay attempts to comprehend these requirements in urban/architectural design process.

KEY WORDS: Geophilosophy, Smooth Space, Genealogy of City, Transformation of Istanbul

1 INTRODUCTION

Among the researches that have been conducted on city, space and place in recent years, the studies of Deleuze and Guattari have had importance with their critical position against the structure of analytical thinking of the twentieth century. As 'Geophilosophy', developed by the two philosophers, has explored how place could express itself and what the philosophy of existence could be, it has been interested in not only historical and social concepts but also other concepts related to them. In this sense, developed on thinking how the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari on place offers a route to read on city and architecture, this study attempts to explore spaces of Istanbul by referring to the tools of Geophilosophy. With an experimental and subjective appraisal, this study intends to comprehend today's 'Smooth Space', realizing how Istanbul, within its own practices, converts the things that have been collected to place molecules. In other words, this study is an attempt to read the transformation of place in Istanbul through the perspective on the Geophilosophy and tells a story about what the meaning of getting today's form/silhouette/topography of contemporary Istanbul could be. The point that has been intended to be reached at the

end of this study is beyond what the form of Istanbul express. Moving from the idea that has been established on place by Deleuze and Guattari, Istanbul has been appraised beyond that which has been explained by the geometric meaning.

This study emphasizes the data that belong to a place should be analyzed starting from geographical and urban scale and mainly aims to search a way of creating the sustainability between city, human being and building by urban/architectural/conceptual design. Revealing memory/genealogy of place/city and making it concrete, this essay attempts to comprehend these requirements in urban/architectural design process.

2 PHILOSOPHY OF PLACE: GEOPHILOSOPHY AND SMOOTH SPACE

Geophilosophy is offered by Deleuze and Guattari who had been questioning analytic thinking characteristic of the 20th century, in order to rethink philosophy of the place. Bonta and Protevi (2004, p. 9) perceive it as an answer to abstract blockage which paralyzed philosophy and geography in 1990's. Moreover, this new concept is an alternative way of thinking against existing dominant and orthodox tendencies in these two fields. This approach leaves centralized opinions aside and provides a new way of thinking based on 'multiplicity' for philosophers and geographers. The notion of multiplicity may extend in various different directions, intersect with various connections and always define a new space (Arsic, 2005, pp. 126-143). In this sense, the place established on the idea of Geophilosophy has been defined as 'Smooth Space' which has refused homogenous models and opposed to 'Formatted/Striated Space'. The smooth space of Geophilosophy also coexists in a pluralist world. In this chapter, requiring a profound responsibility to be understood, smooth space is explained in three crucial concept groups expressing Geophilosophy:

2.1 MOVEMENT, RESONANCE, STRATIFICATION

Geophilosophy emphasizes that earth has a resonance and space is required to be evaluated in that way. In this sense, smooth space is today's space which is mobile and consists of pieces and vibrations. In other words, Deleuze and Guattari give motion to space (Therefore, time is inseparable from space). In this space, every point is vibratory. Vibration substantially comprises a resonance/rhythm/refrain and consists of periodical repetitions of space components (Dewsbury and Thrift, 2005, pp. 89-108). Every component of space repeats and every repetition results in diversity. Space and its components have a history and they

are related with other components/concepts of the past. It continuously adds something to itself, collects, accumulates and gives meaning to it again. Deleuze and Guattari call this process as 'stratification' which is comprised of accumulation of 'stratas'. Stratas produce place molecules, give them form and restrain density into the form. Stratas are similar to black holes because they grab and capture movements. According to Deleuze and Guattari, place is an intensive plane lying between stratas (Lambert, 2005).

The strong relation between place and concepts constructed by grab and capture movements is referred in 'The Desert Island', one of the earlier work of Deleuze. The Desert Island is an imaginary island and signifies a conceptual thing/a symbolic place rather than a geographical expression. In this place, concepts move and as they do, they redefine themselves. The Desert Island is created by chosen virtues and it images 'place' with reference to its relation with perceptions (Conley, 2005, pp. 207-219).

2.2   BECOMING, DETERRITORIALISATION, VIRTUALITY/ACTUALITY

'Becoming', an important concept in 'place' studies of Deleuze and Guattari, defines not an accomplished fact but the transforming/becoming one. Earth/space is in everchanging and becomes something new in every turn. Becoming does not have a beginning and an end. Therefore, it is geographical as well as historical. Moreover, geography of becoming does not signify a specific 'place' but on the contrary, it is the geography of 'deterritorialisation' and 'redeterritorialisation'. Deterritorialisation describes constant becoming of the earth/space.

Smooth space has vibration/refrain, may be deterritorialize and redeterritorialize by repeating with its refrain. Smooth space stores virtuality and becomes of moving layers. In the process of actualizing its virtuality, space reveals its potentials and reemerges by differentiating.

2.3   RHIZOME, EVENT, DURATION

Concepts are represented as vertical and linear in the hierarchism of the western thought, however Deleuze and Guattari opposed this approach and developed the concept of 'rhizome'. Rhizome is an open ended, a becoming without integrity. It may be broken in any point and be related with other points. Rhizome expands horizontally, is dynamic and does not have a main body uniting everything on its structure. All concepts are related with each other coincidently. Rhizome assumes not binary oppositions but pluralities, not causal link but process.

Smooth space is rhizomatic. In this sense, it is like plane which everything falls in and gathers on. Every concept/movement/thing appearing on this plane is an 'event'. Event cannot be separated from 'duration'. Duration is not static. Space becomes out of limitless physical components and shapes with folds of duration. In sum up, space creates an inseparable combination with event and duration.

Undoubtedly, these groups of concepts in this chapter related with Geophilosophy and smooth space may be multiplied or the content may be broadened. However, it should be stated that these concepts are limited with philosophy of place of Deleuze and Guattari which are qualified to reconcile with forthcoming interpretation process on spaces of Istanbul in the next chapter.

3 CREATING A SPACE FROM GEOPHILOSOPHY: THINKING THE SPACES OF IS-TANBUL WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF GEOPHILOSOPHY

In this part of the study, Geophilosophy is an intellectual guide in the process of a formal reading on the spaces of Istanbul. The reading in this part which is about the urban formation of Istanbul fundamentally attempts to understand the genealogy of the city. In other words, this study tells the story about how today's form of the spaces in Istanbul came into existence with the help of Geophilosophy. In this respect, this story develops inside two stratas which is thought to exist in Istanbul: 'History-Geography Strata' and 'Topography-Silhouette Strata'. Looking from the point of Geophilosophy, evaluating the data revealed by these two stratas has been done in the conclusion section of this study. However, it has been assumed that these two stratas affect their contents of each other and are the parts of the whole, it can be supposed that the spaces of Istanbul are located on 'History-Geography Strata' and in 'Topography-Silhouette Strata'. In this context, it has to be indicated that the spatial evaluations in conclusion section are not only related with topography and silhouette of the city, but also economic and social changes in Istanbul.

3.1 HISTORY-GEOGRAPHY STRATA

Considering the idea that handling the city's history independent from its geography is impossible, in this sub-chapter, history and geography have been analyzed as one single strata because Geophilosophy claims that space has history and it stratifies by constantly gathering things over. Such that, place molecules take shape through the stratification. In this sense, it can be said that the reason of considering the space as becoming is historical as well as geographical. His-

tory and geography are hidden inside the connections/concepts of becoming/rhizome.

It is possible to date geographical formation of Bosphorus 200 million years ago. In this period called geological times, the continents were in one piece, they separated from each other in time and it can be said that this change which occurred on fault lines continues today. Through the end of the ice age (120 years ago), when the earth began to get warmer, ice masses which covered the North Hemisphere began to melt down and water level in the oceans and seas began to rise up. Bosporus came into existence approximately 70 centuries ago when the hole was filled with water after the water line in Mediterranean rose as a result of the collapse of the faults. Today, covering 5712 km², Istanbul links the Black Sea and Sea of Marmara and divides the line between Asia and Europe (http://www.biltek.tubitak.gov.tr).

Although it is not really possible to summarize the history of this geography which is a geological fault collapse (because there are innumerable and variable sources/references related to the city's history), it is necessary to emphasize that this part of the study gives the important historical events without detailing. In this respect, it is possible to consider Istanbul as five history-geography sub-stratas each of which settled over the remains of the previous one.

It is thought that people from Neolithic Period and Bronze Age lived in the first strata which can be named as 'Prehistoric Age' (B.C. 3000-B.C. 667). The findings of this period were gathered in the diggings in Yarımburgaz Cave next to Küçükçekmece Lake. In the following 'Byzantium Period' (B.C. 667-A.D. 330) (second strata), the city was founded as an ancient Greek city state named 'Byzantion' (B.C. 667- B.C. 196), and later conquered by the Roman Empire (B.C. 196-A.D. 330). In the 'Byzantium Empire Period' (330-1453) (third strata), Byzantion which had a polytheistic belief system had been destroyed and a new Christianity city was established under the name of 'Constantinople' by Emperor Constantinus until the birth of Islam in that region. At first, Constantinople had served as the capital city of Eastern Roman Empire and then Byzantium Empire. When the Ottoman Principality was founded in 1300's, this geography was under the rule of Byzantium. With the conquest of the city in 1453, 'Ottoman Empire Period' (1453-1922) (fourth strata) began and the city became a Turkish-Islamic capital named as 'Konstantiniyye' by the Muslims. In the final years of the Ottoman Empire period, in the threshold of the First World War, it was a city whose population was around one million and which sheltered immigrants in many numbers from the Balkans, Arabs and Anatolia. In 1918, Konstantiniyye

was occupied and with the entrance of the Turkish army to the city in 1923, 'The Republic of Turkey Period' (1923-...) (fifth strata) began. In this period, 'Istanbul' lost the title of capital city which it bore for one thousand six hundred years when Ankara was declared the capital city (Kuban, 1996) (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Istanbul).

3.2   TOPOGRAPHY-SILHOUETTE STRATA

'Topography-Silhouette Strata' of Istanbul is analyzed in this chapter not in depth over the 'spaces' of the city but in a factual point of view. The spaces included in the debate are chosen among many spaces in Istanbul, from the patterns which had an influence over the topography and silhouette of the city. In this respect, four spaces where the 'Topography-Silhouette Strata' in Istanbul can be resolved are determined as 'Squatter Houses', 'Transformed by Intervention', 'Implanted to the City' and 'Designed by Competition'.

Squatter Houses

The lack of accommodation stock to shelter the poor people who live in the city and the immigrants with low income who migrated to Istanbul from Anatolia after 1950 triggered the transformation of areas outside the city walls into squatter houses (Köksal, 2010). This kind of illegal housing in Istanbul was made by putting block next to each other over narrow parcels without thinking the topography and silhouette of Istanbul. Moreover, squatter houses began to emerge in neighborhoods where the high income group settled, in luxurious residences side by side and increased social polarization as well as spatial polarization.

Transformed by Intervention

Spaces transformed by intervention are the areas transformed by declaring 'transformation area' with the laws passed in the scope of projects named 'Urban Transformation' and 'Gentrification'. Urban collapse regions, squatter houses and areas under the threat of earthquake are the areas to practice this theory. It is possible to see this space group directly related to the cultural, economic and political restructuring which covers Istanbul since 1980's. In 1980's, the city entered into a new period under the influence of flows of more people, money, good, technology, image and political ideology. In this respect, transformation applications shaped by the influence of neoliberal politics and run by public-private sector partnership triggered the becoming of this space group in the city.

These spaces are produced by partial interventions and temporary resolutions, not by a comprehensive understanding which focuses on all of the problems. Moreover, urban transformation in Istanbul is being experienced in a totalitarian way and planned to bring new customer profile to the area (Çavuşoğlu and Yalçıntan, 2010). For this aim, in order to create places to socio-economically upper level social groups, the places where the lower level social groups live are being forced to handover through public interventions. This situation creates tension and conflict in the city.

Implanted to the City

'Implanted to the City' is a space group which settled inside the vitality of Istanbul and which cause separations and fragmentations over urban topography and silhouette. These spaces began to be produced in parallel to the emergence of capital accumulation regime focused on real estate after 1980's. These buildings where the appropriate usages are gathered in one place in order to speed up the feedback of the investment capital are multifunctional buildings. These spaces which are seen as implanted to the topography and silhouette of the city can be divided into three basically: 'Concept projects managed by the service sector, 'Gated communities' and 'Skyscrapers'.

'Concept projects managed by the service sector' gather multifunctional buildings and takes them apart from the rest of the city. Moreover, their huge structures dominate the urban topography and silhouette and damage the spatial sustainability of the city. This kind of urbanization creates inequality in the society and separation between the ones who use these projects and the ones who cannot be here because of their social status (Bilgin, 2006).

'Gated communities' began to be constructed in order to meet the needs of accommodation of the high, high-middle and middle income groups after the 1980 in the center or periphery, in Anatolian and European sides of Istanbul. The basic reason which triggered this space development is the increase in housing demand due to the fast growing of Istanbul after 1980. Therefore, the government and other private housing productions could not satisfy the demands. While the gated communities include economically homogenous groups in themselves, they reveal class differences in the city. Such that, in some cases, gated communities can be located side by side with the squatter houses and different social groups live together in tension. Moreover, they do not have a relationship with the specific region and the whole of the city.

Likely, when the spatial pattern created by the 'skyscrapers' in Istanbul is considered it is possible to mention the presence of a stressed situation. Skyscrapers in the city are designed in accordance with the international typologies; they do not represent original peculiarities in terms of spatiality. Although the skyscrapers are mostly gathered in one area, they spread to different parts of the city and disrupted the integrity of the city's topography and silhouette.

Designed by Competition

Under this space group, the results of the competitions to which six foreign architects were invited and which was organized by 'Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality' in 2005 are handled. The competitions are opened for the developing Kartal and Küçükçekmece regions of Istanbul. Therefore, Zaha Hadid's suggestion won the 'Kartal Industrial Zone Central Business Areas Planning' competition and Ken Yeang's suggestion won the 'Küçükçekmece Coast Inner-Outer Sandy Recreation Areas Planning' competition.

For the competition organized for Kartal, Zaha Hadid, Massimilliano Fuksas and Kisho Kurakawa brought forward proposals. The concept of Zaha Hadid's project is defined as creating an urban line which produces different typologies and a hybrid system connected to the buildings which meet different demands of each region (Zaha Hadid Architects, 2011). At the beginning, it was thought that this project would end in ten years; however due to the lawsuit to stop the project, it has not begun yet. According to the lawsuit, the project increases the urban density and it is inappropriate for urbanization principles (Arkitera, 2011).

In the competition organized for Küçükçekmece are Ken Yeang, Kengo Kuma, MVRDV brought forward proposals. Yeang defined the area as a place which had great potential, and it is located between Küçükçekmece Lake and Sea of Marmara. In this area, an ecological corridor has been created for increasing the current biological variety; a two kilometers length urban park which ties one another with eco-bridges was designed (Llewelyn Davies Yeang, 2011). The works in Küçükçekmece continue today.

Since the developed suggestions benefits from the advantages of the computer technology in the process of design, drawing and construction and they are the products of a creative architecture practice in terms of geometry, it is clear that they will make a major contribution to the architectural practices in Istanbul. Even if they are controversial, the flow of architectural ideas and practices to the city can be considered as vital/crucial. However if the suggestions carry a

potential to create tension the city, the multi-directional economic and social separations will emerge in the area.

4   CONCLUSION

When Istanbul is considered in terms of its 'History-Geography Strata', it can be said that innumerable geological movements (seismic movements, collapses and increases in earth's crust, etc.), geological and natural events (currents in the Bosporous, movements of the rivers, high tide-low tide, solar and lunar eclipses, etc.) are in constant transformation with political affects, wars, conquests, laws, regulations, cultures, religions, languages and races. It can also be said that everything which accumulates inside the 'History-Geography Strata' piles up in a way to create a meaning/form in the city's morphology and is recorded by affecting the surface of the city. Throughout history, 'History-Geography Strata' of Istanbul which is transformed by earthquakes, wars, rebellions, conquests, fires is a becoming/rhizome. This strata of Istanbul has constantly produced new ideas and practices in the city; was founded different religions, languages and nations and the city has transformed in a way to reveal a new form each time. Moreover, even if it is controversial, it can be said that the coming of new religions/nations/formations to the city is crucial for the city.

On the other hand, when the 'Topography-Silhouette Strata' of the city is resolved, it can be said that it could not reveal thoughts conforming to the virtualities/potentials of the 'History-Geography Strata' and that these potentials are used in spatial processes without being interpreted. 'Topography-Silhouette Strata' of Istanbul cannot actualize the virtualities/potentials of the 'History-Geography Strata' in terms of making the city live, sensible, colorful, complex, exciting and flexible. Moreover, these two stratas, which influence and feed on each other constantly, ruin the contents of each other due to the problems faced about the usage and reproduction of their potentials.

When the spaces of Istanbul fits in 'Topography-Silhouette Strata' are briefly evaluated, followings can be stated: In the macroform of city, there are being spatial discontinuities, disconnections and unusable empty spaces. It can be said that rise in the city has changed the silhouette of the city in a negative way. These skyscrapers are scattered into the city in an unplanned form. In this sense, spatial, economic and social status of the city stands as a barrier in front of the urban/spatial diversity that is vital for Geophilosophy. Istanbul is constantly changing, with all of the construction-destruction activities, but hardly transforming city. The city is inside of a kind of incompleteness which has been

tried to be overcome with the construction-destruction activities, and this incompleteness is not caused by having the potential of transforming into another thing –or by showing the tendency of deterritorialization. It is possible to say that some things in Istanbul can easily change; however it is also possible to say that it actualize through a limited imagination. Controversial ideas and practices included in the 'History-Geography Strata' of the city do not actualize a production to reveal spatial heterogeneity and flexibility in the city. Therefore, spatial processes in Istanbul cause blockages in the points of using, accumulation and reproducing the potentials inside the stratas.

To sum up, it can be said that the 'History-Geography Strata' of the city carries a potential which can create vitality in the city, gathers a variety of heterogeneities or multiplicities; however it can be said that these virtualities/potentials are revealed to create tensions and conflicts in spatial processes, and that they cannot develop new and creative relationships. Moreover, one cannot see the essence of smooth space in the spaces of the city or in other words, the spaces of the city do not vibrate/move to result in variety. The spaces of Istanbul do not relate with other concepts/pieces/spaces in their history. The inter-concepts/inter-spaces flow defines fresh beginnings and endings which are cut each time, and this situation is opposite of becoming. The situation that Istanbul is in now can be overcome by understanding correctly each of the virtualities/potentials, and removing all of their peculiarities which can create tension. Only by doing this, 'becoming' cycle which is at the center of Geophilosophy can be started.

Coming through the end, it needs to be emphasized that the evaluations in this study should not be taken as certain judgements, but a thinking practice based on the gathered data. At this point, one should remember the ideas of Bernard Cache (1995, pp.67-71), who was Deleuze's student, which put it necessary that the genealogy of the place should be read and revealed before starting architectural design. According to him, the data of a place should be analyzed in a formal way starting from geographical scale. Moreover, the sustainability which should be protected between the place and building should be composed through conceptual design. To do this, the things in place should be revealed and then concretized. One should not forget that there is a place beyond the shell of the building and there is 'outside' beyond that.

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Cıtıes from Indıvıduals' Perspectıves :
A DISCOURSE ON THE "CITY" AND INHABITANTS

ABSTRACT

Human being makes an effort to reach an absolute judgement inherently. Just like "cities". They want life to proceed under control, its' own rationality and in the direction of cognition. At this point a major conflict begins. Today's modernity - rationality and history - tradition with a long past are waiting to collide for each other. It's almost impossible to creat universal and total structures in the light of all the modern discourses. Every settlement, every street, every building have certain characteristics in terms of that culture, perception and inhabitants. To understand and recognize the city, senses should belong to "it" before brains in contrary to the rationalist approach. Wars, especially the World Wars, throw up modernity to the transience of life. First I.World War, then II. World War caused a major trauma as the destruction of people, cities and countries. Big traumas were began to live in their own environment by individuals that are progressive in modernity. Life almost began to stop in cities that were destructed with their structure, vision, past and future. Immediately afterwards, this concerns and efforts to holding on life began to cover pain. At this point,

architectural improvements have been effective for the cities that were demolished and struggled to re-stand up.

Many items such as modernization, industrialization, urbanization begin to create traces through the texture and posture of the city. Should 'connection with the past' or 'directly future orientation' be effective for the settlement that wants to stand up to move on the road? Initially everything should be open, then all administrative and architectural decisions should be taken. First option for the city should restore a living organism with its' own dynamics. A place, in which its' people live their lives with the consciousness of their past, can entirely be "CITY". Necessary decisions about cities' own dynamics should be taken and make arrangements before important connections between regions, intersections, meeting points and transport networks. In order to reach right solutions, planning should be based on the transition from human& building scale to architectural scale. All the vital criterias should be determined carefully by emphasizing on the concepts as transformation, transition, interaction and ergonomics. From now on studies should be made for the creation of a real city.

Key WORDS: modernization, organism, inhabitants, settlement, building scale, architectural scale.

INTRODUCTION

The lived spaces, indeed, exist literary to represent people. The values, structures, and components that make a space can only become a "place" if they are discerned and/or perceived by a human being. Then city construction in their unique forms will come about in the light of some specific principles such as culture, intelligence, synergy, and lifestyles. These settlements which take their form affected by various feelings and thoughts, as human beings do, will have their own world's image and insight in time.

It would be appropriate to call "cities", which host components in constant motion, as a kind of organism. It can be said that it is a kind of organism which live, which is constantly in motion, which reacts arbitrary affected by the emotions of its residents. These settlements are obliged to undergo a change and transformation process for they host a community composed of human beings who experience thousands of emotions and thoughts both simultaneously and vigorously. As each passing period has its own internal dynamic and its own agenda, changes and transformations in city structures and planning would become unavoidable.

Socio-economic, cultural and political thoughts would bring about new quests

and developments in time. A quite complex sketch would appear as numerous paradigms are included in such as the construction of the required parallelism between the approaches confessed and innovations brought, and correspondence of thoughts and operations. If one plans all public spheres, house settlements, trade settlements and the transportation network that combines all these components, s/he can reach a city sketch. For sure, for both planning and required arrangements it is important not to see the city as an organism independent or distinct from its residents. So, one should check the prearranged plans, and take into account the different variables before taking any decision.

AN OUTLOOK ON GENERAL URBAN ARCHITECTURE

"God made the country, and man made the town" (Cowper, 1785).
The concept of space, which is seen as the part of a whole, should be discussed within the scope of architectural criticism. The relation between the environment and the building, which is the main phenomenon for the architect to be thought about, could not be apprehended till today, and mainly remained under the influence of current popular approaches.
It is impossible to see a city distinct from its environment and its natural resources, just as it is impossible to see a building independent from its user. Today half of the world's population lives in cities, and this raises the need for the supporters that can provide existing potential to ensure the sustainability of these cities whose bearing capacities are overloaded. That both resources and natural life are directly interconnected to each other in an effective communication atmosphere to meet the needs of the cities and to ensure their own existence is the best postulate possible. There must be a set of strategic planning rules that are to be taken into consideration, and are actually binding for planning in urban and region scales. It would be best to go into human scale from urban scale step by step with these planning that have appropriate area of usage for different scales and typologies. In city planning, defining the spaces, and then entering the process of construction in line with the defined sense of design in city planning will constitute the optimal process.
Before defining the city in general, one should analyze the residents according to their cultural, social and political views, and should ensure that they take their place in the new plan to be designed. The most identifying feature in city planning is to generate balanced locations in harmony with each other. Trying to plan a city distinct from its environment and the resources that surround it in an inconsistent composition would result in the disappearance of balance in time

and the results would not be satisfactory. The benefits of this holistic approach would be determinant in aggregation of demanded elements, masses, common spheres, and many other details.

As these approaches would gain perpetuity when combined with right environmental decisions, they would produce longer-lasting results. In making healthier future plans, selection of the materials, recycling and efficient use of the resources would become important besides right planning. As underlined from the outset, that all steps should be regarded as a whole supports the need to base these important planning processes upon a scientific foundation. When the "strategic plan" is prepared, it is required to take rational decisions such as creating subtitles, forming the required relations between these subtitles, making and defining the function diagrams.

CONCENTRATION IN PLANNING-SCALE

Concentration, a concept that is used today and represents the concept of compactness associated to density, is considered within the scale of urban change and transformation. The concepts of urban form and city structure prove as two significant dissociations in physical planning theories focusing on the form and style of city. (Çalışkan, 2004/3) The form developed taking into consideration the transportation network, infrastructure and this kind of features of the city, and its main structure become efficient. Considering the occupancy rates, concentration is an effective concept. It is utilized to define the fundamental principles of city form and the density in residential areas. (Table 1) It is significant in establishing occupied-free relation and in the evolvement of urban configuration. "Concentration" in urban scale is determinant in terms of planning steps. It is influential in many occasions such as planning of public and private areas, the harmony of the city with its environment, transportation networks and the development of its connections, etc. It is regarded as one of the fundamental elements that constitute city form as it involves the parameters mentioned above. It should be taken into consideration while establishing the links with structure typologies, locations, usage frequencies and natural environment. Within the reconstruction of cities associated with its past in reality level, the scaled parts should be elaborately evaluated and actions should be taken accordingly.

The theses and scenarios created have come out due to the effects of industrialization and standardization in modern age. Like the creations based on certain standards/rules and hindering the evolvement of authentic constitutions, industrialization and fabrication production has influenced the ideas as it has in

every aspect of life. Primary concern has been given to the necessities of modernity and the day, only then traditional and local data could find a place to be regarded. Under the light of some samples adopted as prototypes, practices tending towards monotonous understanding can be seen. The architectural sector is also included in this production spree and fast technology.

Table 1: Main concepts that define urban concentration. (Çalışkan, 2004/3)

Concentrated Urban Configuration	Deconcentrated Urban Configuration
Centralized	Acentric
Intensive	Extensive
Dense	Sparse
Concentrated	Deconcentrated
Continuous	Fragmented
Bounded	Expansive/ Elusive
Packed	Scattered/ Dispersed
Compressed	Diffused
Confined	Unlimited
Diversified	Homogeneous/Uniform
Integrated	Segregated
Coherent	Fuzzy/ Vague

It becomes easier to see the effects of especially the modernity in cities together with industrialization.

SUSTAINABILITY IN ALL AREAS

If sustainability is defined as the harmony between the lived spaces and natural environment or the place of lived spaces within the life cycle, it would not be a whole and complete definition. Sustainability is a subtitle which should be defined in technological, economic, social and cultural areas as well as ecology in line with the purpose. It is a phenomenon which requires more attention taking into consideration the heavy increase in the rate of urbanization and ever-increasing pollution rates in big cities. This concept, which needs to be discussed with a holistic approach in architectural design scale, should be evaluated regarding not only the environmental factors but also all other factors that affect the building and building's local area. The aim should be to create awareness from individuality through globalism. (Table 2)

The fact that different areas play important roles in sustainability and that people begin to implement this starting from their individual lives will be effective in the creation of awareness. Thoughts and ideology, no matter at what scale, will occupy a bigger place in people's life and will become more effective as they are put into practice. In order to create an individual awareness, practice should be given more importance, and should be spread towards other individuals of the community and thus become general perception.

Using recyclable materials in buildings, and city planning, wise use of resources and supporting the use of alternative energy can be examples of "economic sustainability". Besides activities in financial and monetary areas, protection of environment and reinforcement of natural resources can be accepted as important in economic development and sustainability. With this environment-friendly approach economic gains will be obtained.

Apart from environmental sustainability, social sustainability is also an important concept for the people living together in a community. This awareness, which is expected in the process which starts with the personal formations of the individuals and ends when they become parts of the mentioned community, is abstract in nature. However, this awareness is important in securing social right and justice and in providing the freedom to reach equipment of city planning to every segment of society. Thanks to all these rights it is aimed to provide the individuals with better living conditions.

Reason	Image of space	Source of environmental conscious	Image of building	Technology	Ideal concept of space
Eco-technic	Microphysical Global context	Techno-rational Scientific	Commercial, modern, future oriented	Efficient energy, High technology, expert	Combining global environmental concerns with the traditional building designs. Dense and compressed urban vision.
Eco-centric	Fragile, microbiotic	Systemic ecology, Metaphysics, integrity	Polluter, Parasitic, consuming	Autonomous renewable, Reconversion, Medium-level	Compatibility to nature with autonomous and centralized buildings with limited ecologic footsteps. Ensuring stability, integrity, and development of regional & global diversity.
Eco-esthetics	Foreignizing Human centered	Sensorial, Postmodern, science	Iconic architecture, New age	Pragmatic New, nonlinear	Universal reorganization that transformed our perception of nature and enlightened in our new ecological awareness.
Eco-cultural	Cultural context, regional	Phenomenology Cultural ecology	Authentic, Compatible, typology	Local, Low technology, Common sphere, Regional	Learning to construct local, bio buildings compatible with regional, physical and cultural characteristics.
Eco-medical	Polluted, dangerous	Medical clinical ecology	Healthy life, maintenance	Passive antitoxic, Natural perceivable	A perceivable and natural environment ensuring health, wellness, high quality life for individuals.
Eco-social	Social context, hierarchal	Sociology, Social ecology	Democratic house—individual	Flexible participants, directed according to region	With the centralized, organic, non-hierarchized, and acting communities socially compatible, individual and social compromise.

Table 2 : Definitions under the subtitle of sustainability (Guy, Farmer, 2007)

Technological sustainability, on the other hand, needs to attain an important place in the development of countries in today's conditions. They can be used in many different areas varying from personal living areas up to public/private areas thanks to the adaptation of communities to developing and changing technologies. Using the technology in designing the structural elements and watching any source and data entries with their results in a short time thanks to developing programs will decrease the creation of structural quality problems. Thus, health and security of the

user will be provided.

It should be ensured that sustainability concept with all its subtitles is used in all steps from construction of a building to city planning. In order to create healthier environments and increase life quality it is obligatory to engrave this awareness. According to Bourdeau, the aim of the sustainable approach can be summarized as;

- to identify and realize the short, medium, and long termed gains,
- to designate how to combine the experience gained in technical information, method and other steps with the preliminary design phase. (Bourdeau, 1999)

"CITY SILHUETTES" AFTER BIG TRAUMAS

Although it seems that the realities of modern world were constituted of the technologies, developments, speed, etc., it brought, man have always had the same passions for thousands of years. These same passions have led the humanity to great destructions even at the expense of their life and have shaped the world history. Coupled with these blazing passions, people's attempts to claim something from each other have never ceased. The desire to be more powerful and to have more opportunities than the other has transformed into an eternal sensation. Though the result is destruction for parties, it has become an indispensable necessity of existence.

We can call this situation as "Wars." This situation influencing the nations, lands, residential sites throughout the world, urging them to change in plenty of aspects is a continuous concept that emerged right from the beginning of the history of humanity. Unfortunately, it is no doubt that it will continue in the same way as long as the earth rotates. These great-scaled destructions caused by the human being's weakness against power, passion and dominance have led to bad consequences especially to the ones living in these regions and to the environment they live in.

These destructions occurring after the wars, resulted in great sociological and material loss and damage. If evaluated humanistically, colossal traumas are inevitable. The steps to be taken afterwards will determine the planning policies. These are;

To relieve the damage of the war

To prevent the emergence of the same pre-war failures (unemployment, famine, social inequality)

To assure fast development, reconstruction.

Planning in industrial societies will be used as a tool to direct not only the physical structure of the cities but also the socio-economic structure of the society.

The change and increase in production styles as a result of the development of information and communication technologies will lead to significant distinctions in planning scale. At this point, a process will take place that will create a multicentric, communication-oriented and disorganized world. GLOBAL CITIES in which planning in 'modernist' sense is questioned and suffers from erosion, and which results in a new city hierarchy come out. It will not be possible to talk about independent cities which are formed according to their own traditions. While the modern cities are constructed, a city scale which is built fast and replanned thanks to the technological developments will be encountered. Cities will be reshaped according to changes and transformations obliged by wars, destruction and ruin happening afterwards. What should be underlined and emphasized is both to respond to the priorities and demands of information society and to use the modernizing city principles.

CONCLUSION

Cities are examples of modern world and life. The required arrangements should be made in plannings at cultural, historical, social and humanistic scales. As cities only related with the past will create deficiencies in some areas, plannings both oriented to future and inspired from its historical heritage will give the healthiest results. Before taking the executive and architectural decisions, it is quite important to evaluate the city as a living organism with internal dynamics. A place with its own people living their own lives with the awareness originated in their own pasts can be called "A CITY". Before planning the connections, intersections, meeting points and transportation networks between importing regions, it is obligatory to take the required decisions on the internal dynamics of this city and make the required arrangements. Correct solutions can be reached via the plannings made based on the transition from human and building scale to the architectural system. First of all, all vital criteria should be identified emphasizing the concepts such as transformation, transitions, interaction and ergonomics, only then the attempts to construct a real city can be made.

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FUTURE OF ISTANBUL'S TAKSIM SQUARE: APPROPRIATED BY CARS OR PEDESTRIANS?

ABSTRACT

Essentially this paper analyses a current debate on Taksim Square, which is the most commonly known open public space of Istanbul, Turkey. The debate is basically about the municipality's project to pedestrianize the square, which is already used mainly by pedestrians but planned to be cleared up totally from any vehicular traffic. This brings to the minds one of the non-lasting discussions of urban design; that is the accompaniment or segregation of cars and pedestrians. Although the local –and also the central government- presents its intention as "creating a pedestrian-friendly urban square", the project has different dimensions, specifically related with political and cultural conjunctures. The paper discusses the appropriation of urban space by cars or by pedestrians through this up-to-date debate, while it tries to make inferences about political and cultural claims over public space.

KEYWORDS: Istanbul, Taksim Square, urban space, pedestrianization, appropriation, political power

INTRODUCTION

Appropriation of a city's roads and squares either by cars or by pedestrians has always been one of the central discussion topics through the history of urban design. Many different models were developed and discussed in order to solve the conflict. On one hand, absolute pedestrianization projects were realized in many streets. On the other, boulevard-type paths were glorified due to their well-quality and vivid accompaniment of car and pedestrian. Dutch-style woonerf systems offer a slow-down vehicle traffic and priority of people within the same street line.

In Turkey, not only most of the decision-makers but also urban design professionals think that in order to create an urban square, the vehicle traffic should certainly be sent away. Istanbul is witnessing many such implications in recent years, while the new political conjuncture is interested in squares and pedestrianized streets a lot.

Taksim Square is the largest and the most known city square of Istanbul, and of Turkey. Today there is an ongoing debate over the square, which comes from the insistency of the current municipality on a new design that proposes a totally vehicle-free urban void. According to this project, which was also drawn hastily to the development plans as a plan change, the vehicle traffic surrounding 45x200 m. area is planned to be moved to underground roads, for the so-called sake of thousands of pedestrians using this square every day. The plan is then aiming at getting a 100x250 m. large vehicle-free slab. We should here underline that Taksim Square is the largest interchange location of the city in terms of different transport modes for the moment. Many busses arrive here and three rail systems connect to each other here. In addition to that intervention, the plan includes a re-construction of an old Ottoman-time military barrack, which was demolished in 1940 and turned into be a large urban park (Gezi Park). Reconstruction is aimed to reveal Ottoman-style architecture, as well.

Without thinking of probable outcomes of such a huge pedestrianization and emptying out the square from vehicle traffic totally, the municipality wants to realize the project as soon as possible. This insistence and hurry evoked a widespread public reaction, mainly leaded by Istanbul-based architects and planners, who organized many counter-demonstrations. This study wants to share this fresh urban debate with different dimensions, which will explore appropriation of urban squares by cars, by people, and actually by political power.

CAR-PEDESTRIAN RELATION: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Appropriation of zero-ground of urban built environment either by cars or by humans has long been one of the central issues of urban design practice and

theory. Basically, we can mention 2 major approaches in car-pedestrian relationship. The first one is absolute pedestrianization / total segregation of car. Absolute pedestrianization was especially a popular urban intervention during the 1970s, a post-period of tiring and heavy motorway constructions and car-priority urban politics (and their severe consequences on traffic accidents, death of downtowns...etc.) Pedestrian streets emerged as directing traffic away from areas of high pedestrian activity (Mitchell, 2007). This strategy started with city-center shopping streets in the 1970s. Pedestrian priority usually means that vehicles may use the street to service the shops in the early morning and late afternoon, while the street is pedestrian only for most of the shopping day. Of course the pioneering voice of pedestrian-oriented urban places was Jane Jacobs, who advocated the street and the street life. Her actions primarily started against Robert Moses, the well-known mayor of New York City during the 1950s and 60s. He favored highways over public transport, and he was called as "the urban renewal and highway building czar" (Gratz, 2010). It was obvious that such a vision has rooted in the Modernity Project that flourished in 1920s. Man's ability to access every location had dominated urban planning schemes with highways solutions. Despite very low car ownership, networks of controlled access high speed roads were rapidly built in many regions of the world. It was a kind of indicator of wealth for nations and freedom for citizens.

Total segregation of pedestrians from vehicular traffic was the popular solution of the post-war era. Two approaches came forward: The first and the most common method was the pedestrainization of certain downtown streets while strengthening them with public light rail transport systems. German cities practiced it widely. Radburn scheme is also an example of segregation, within which pedestrian path system of neighborhoods does not cross any major roads. The second approach was to segregate them in third-dimension, such as Free University in Berlin and Ita-Pasila settlement area in Helsinki. Pedestrian movement was carried to upper level of ground, which was reserved for unbroken vehicular movement. By time, increase in crime in uncontrolled niches of space brought about the discussion of the necessity of the non-isolated living streets.

The second approach is the togetherness of car and pedestrian with the priority of the latter. Pedestrian priority residential streets were first introduced in the late 1960s in the Netherlands. They were called as "woonerf" (shared streets). In this solution, which is also known as "home zone" in British urban design practice, streets are conceptualized as living grounds, where the car enters as a guest. The system suggested the integration of traffic and pedestrian activity with traffic calming strategy. Delft experience showed that the solution worked

well, and then woonerf concept became accepted and established though guide-lines and regulations in the Netherlands in mid-1970s (Ben-Joseph, 1995).

BACKGROUND OF TAKSIM SQUARE

Turkish Cities and Squares
Traditionally, Turkish cities have "meydan"s, which are not built intentionally to obtain an open public space. Beginning from the declaration of the Republic in 1923, "meydan"s were dominated by the needs of the traffic rather than as architecturally planned spaces (Baykan and Hatuka, 2010). Thus they turned to be junction islands in most cases. Taksim Square is also a sort of island surrounded by traffic roads. However, its scale makes it larger than a junction island; it rather works as the largest urban void of Turkey in present. The current power authority (both in local and central government level) may try to obtain a city square from this void, but their solution is total segregation of car and pedestrian from each other.

Table 1. Taksim Square's urban intervention background: Political contexts and car/pedestrian appropriation intervention

context Taksim Square as a:	Content of intervention	
	General interventions	Car/pedestrian interventions
1-Emergent public space (mid-18th century-1920s)	- Construction of Maksem (water-allocation building) - Construction of artillery barracks (Topçu Kışlası)	spontaneous accompaniment of cars, trams and pedestrians
2-Construction site of Republican image (1926-1950s)	- Demolition of artillery barracks (Topçu Kışlası) - Prost plan, realization of Gezi park - Ataturk Statue and its round landscape built:	Construction of round-about around Ataturk Statue
3-Locus of political demonstrations (1950s-1977 1st of May)	- construction of a high-rise hotel and a cultural building facing the square	Opening of large boulevards
4- Promenade for society of spectacle (1980s-mid 1990s)	- Taksim Mosque debate - Istıklal street pedestrianization	1987-Unrealised urban design competition project (1st prize project of Vedat Dalokay that proposes pedestrianisation of square and removal of surface traffic to underground)
5-Showcase of power politics (mid 1990s-present)		opening of metro stations in square

Taksim Square and its Contextual Change
There are five significant political contexts in the history of Taksim Square in terms of car/pedestrian appropriation (Table 1).

1-   Emergent public space (mid-18th century-1920s)
2-   Construction of the Republican image (1926-1950s)
3-   Locus of political demonstrations (1950s-1977 1st of May)
4-   Promenade for society of spectacle (1980s-mid 1990s)
5-   Turk-Islamic identity building (mid 1990s-present)

1- Taksim Square as an emergent public space (mid 18th century-1920s)
Taksim, which means "allocation" in old Ottoman language, inherits its name from the water allocation building that was built in 1732 in order to distribute water to all of Istanbul (Aslan, 2006). The site was topographically significant, as allowing natural flow of allocated water to neighboring districts. At that time, the city was made of Muslim Historic Peninsula and Non-Muslim Galata-Pera region, which was not spread beyond Galata walls yet. Thus Taksim region was not urban in character.

In 1780, the artillery barracks (Topçu Kışlası) were built to the other edge of the square. European impacts increased with the 18th century. Other military buildings were also constructed close to Taksim region. Starting from the second half of the 19th century, Taksim and its surrounding began to change with new Westernized lifestyle seeking. Mainly Beyoğlu (Pera) region flashed as the "customs gate" of the city (Belge, 2003). Introduction of not only new products but also new habits and tastes materialized in the region. Grand Rue de Pera (later on called Istiklal Street) has become the spine of economic activity as well as European-centered socio-cultural life. In this atmosphere, Taksim Square was functioning as the conjunctive between this new CBD and newly constructed housing areas to the north (like Şişli, Harbiye, Nişantaşı ...etc.). A tram line was connecting the historic peninsula, the place of traditional and Muslim life, to these new Westernized neighborhoods, within which Taksim stood as the locus of this urban axis.

2- Taksim square as a construction of the Republican image (1926-1950s)
Despite of its Arabic-rooted name, Taksim was later on associated with the early Republican figures and symbols, like Ataturk statue in the middle and Istiklal Street (that means Liberty Street) as a continuity of the square. Starting from 1922 (end of occupation of Istanbul by Entente powers of the war) till 1946 (end of single-party period), Istanbul experienced a widespread nation-building politics in urban space. In this context, Taksim Square was built in 1926, as the first square with the first monument to be planned and designed in the new Republic (Baykan and Hatuka, 2010). Actually, "there was no open space in Istanbul for representing the new democracy apart from Taksim Square, and the new nation

needed a space not previously marked by monuments of empire" (ibid., pp-55). The statue of Ataturk was designed by Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica within a circular landscaping, that would function as a regulator of tram lines (Figure 1). Cars, pedestrians and trams were sharing the square without strict definitions. The square was actually this roundabout, while there was a vast space in front of the military barracks.

The barracks were abandoned during the World War I and then demolished in 1940 to create an open space for a park (Figure 2). Before that, the courtyard of the barracks had long been used as a stadium for football matches. Demolishment was depended upon the development plans prepared by Henri Prost, French urbanist, who was one of the participants of the international competition held in 1930 for land-use planning of Istanbul. The winner's project was not implemented, and Prost was offered the task. He started working on Istanbul's plan in 1936 and his plans for Beyoğlu were put into operation between 1939-1949 (Baykan and Hatuka, 2010). He designed an urban scale park (Gezi Park) in place of the barracks, as a sequel of the square. With its esplanades, belvéderes and promenades, Prost's Gezi Park was suggesting Westernized leisure habits for the young republic's citizens (Özaydın, 2012).

In fact, he did not conceptualize Taksim Square as the principal square of the new republican Istanbul, he rather pointed out historic area of the city for public ceremonies (Prost, 1938). Nevertheless, together with the Republican Statue and its Modernist landscaping, the square became a focal point of the new Westernized society. It became the public space of the new Republican individual who wanted to belong to a democratic and modern society. Since the Bosphorus-side of the open space was not settled down yet, pedestrian movements continued in Istiklal Street-Harbiye axis (along the tram line, north-south direction).

3- Taksim Square as a locus of political demonstrations (1950s-1977 1st of May)
Beginning form the 1950s, Taksim Square started to get a shape with high-rise hotel and cultural buildings, which later functioned as the main landmark-character edges of the square. AKM Cultural Building was built in the old cemetery land situated on the shorter and Bosphorus-looking edge of the square. It was constructed in 20 years due to certain financial problems, and it was opened to public use in 1969. The Marmara Hotel was constructed across the Gezi Park (ex-barracks).

After the military coup in 1960, Turkey introduced to unstable political governance and economic crisis which deepened in the 1970s. City centers, streets

Figure 1. Taksim Square in the 1930s (Baykan and Hatuka, 2010).

Figure 2. Taksim Square after the demolition of artillery barracks (Topçu Kışlası) in 1940 (Leonidas Mikropoulos archive).

and squares became battlefields and demonstrations of different political groups (Baykan and Hatuka,2010).Taksim Sqaure became the main locus of the largest demonstrations. This character lasted until the 1st May 1977, the day that witnessed a bloody end to the Labour Day. An estimated 400.000 crowd gathered in Taksim Square. Close to the end of the demonstration, a gun shot arrived towards the crowd, and it was followed by others in seconds. There were at the end 34 deaths and many injured. This event has changed the meaning and use of Taksim Square in the following periods. After the 1980 military coup, Turkey introduced liberal economy politics and apoliticized everyday life. Taksim Square and the surrounding districts became the new spectacles of the entertainment industry (ibid. 64). Mass protests were not allowed until the very recent time. The local government promoted it for new year celebrations, concerts and similar events.

4- Taksim Square as a promenade for society of spectacle (1980s-mid 1990s)
The current setting of Taksim Square rooted in this era, within which serious interventions took place. In 1990, the main street of Beyoğlu, Istiklal Street, became a totally pedestrian space. It resulted in a revival of the region with a boom in land and property values especially in historical buildings (Dökmeci et. al., 2007). Parallel to Istiklal Street, an important urban motorway connection was constructed, called Tarlabaşı Boulevard, which divided Beyoğlu region into two different sections. One section became an enlargement area of Istiklal Street functions. The other sections remained apart from this vivid area and turned into be a slum district, which inhabited marginal individuals of the society. Tarlabaşı Boulevard also changed the ongoing pedestrian and car movement directions. Another significant development was the reintroduction of the tram as a nostalgic element of the street. In fact, trams had long been the major and the most widespread transport mode in Istanbul until the 1950s. Rapid urbanization that was followed by increased population and increased congestion led authorities to remove trams and to construct motorways for increased number of private cars.

The outstanding development in this period was an urban design competition organized for Taksim Square in 1987, the winner of which suggested large scale pedestrianization decisions and traffic removal. The project was not realized since the mayor changed in the following years.

5- Taksim Square as a showcase of power politics (mid 1990s-present)
In 1994, politics changed in Istanbul. Conservative-liberal-view won the elections. Erdoğan, the current prime minister of Turkey, became the mayor of the

greater municipality. One of his most popular promises in pre-election period was the construction of a mosque in Taksim Square. He was insisting on the realization of this project but it got strong reactions from all sections of the society.

In the meantime, the square's accessibility increased with the construction of metro line in 2000. Another line was constructed from Kabatas (close to Dolmabahce Palace) to Taksim, which connects waterfront area to the heart of the city. Talimhane region turned into be a hotel triangle, which by time became the preferred accommodation region of Arabic-rooted tourists.

Current Debate on Taksim Square: Total segregation of car and pedestrians
Today, Taksim Square functions as a vital point of the city's social life. All major events including 1st of May day, Republican Day, New Year Day are celebrated here. For many people, it is the most popular meeting point. The traffic rarely stucks comparing to other parts of Istanbul, and it flows in harmony with heavy pedestrian traffic. Despite these facts, the local and central power abruptly came up with the "new Taksim Square project" in the beginning of 2012. According to the project, Tarlabaşı Boulevard and Talimhane will be merged with Taksim Square. All of the square's bus stops will be removed and some of them will be taken underground (Figure 3,4,5). The main streets such as Gümüşsuyu, Sıraselviler, Tarlabaşı and Cumhuriyet streets will be digged 100 meters before they currently meet the sqaure, and moved almost 10 meters below the street level. This intervention will generate high supporting walls for underground roads and reduced sidewalk sections that reach the square.

Mainly professionals (architects, planners) objected the project. Several different actions took place against the project and planning processes. One of them was a civic platform, called "Taksim Platform", which actively organized meetings with different groups of society. Picnic organizations in Gezi Park, signature campaigns against Taksim Project, open call to the mayor of the city in a format of newspaper announcements, and other facilities made the publicity of Taksim Project to the wide crowds. Another significant activist group was Kayıtdışı (which means "off-the-record"), which organized public space installations to revive public awareness towards the so-called pedestrianization project. They built cardboard gates in various points in the square; in order to show people how much narrow the sidewalks will be after the realization of the project (Figure 7).

CONCLUSION
Taksim Square operations are currently one of the major discussion topics in

Istanbul. Nevertheless, the main group of debaters is made of architectural professions. The point is that the municipalities' tendency of pedestrianization and removal of vehicular traffic (below the ground) permeates into the whole country, without considering scale and context of the urban settlement. For instance, it may be a small-scale Anatolian town, which does really not require car-pedestrian segregation in third dimension. However, the first and instant solution comes to the mind as segregation. Not only governing bodies but also professionals suggest it, and we can see the examples of these cases especially in urban design competition projects. For the sake of the visual continuity of pedestrian movements, participants may easily suggest underground vehicular solutions.

Taksim Square Project is such a case that it is the most obvious and the most complicated public space intervention. The project indeed generates the same traffic below, without bringing any solution to pedestrian movement routes. The fact is that the popular urban design discussion topic, car-pedestrain appropriation, turns into be an instrument of appropriation of urban public space by political power. Taksim case displays it clearly.
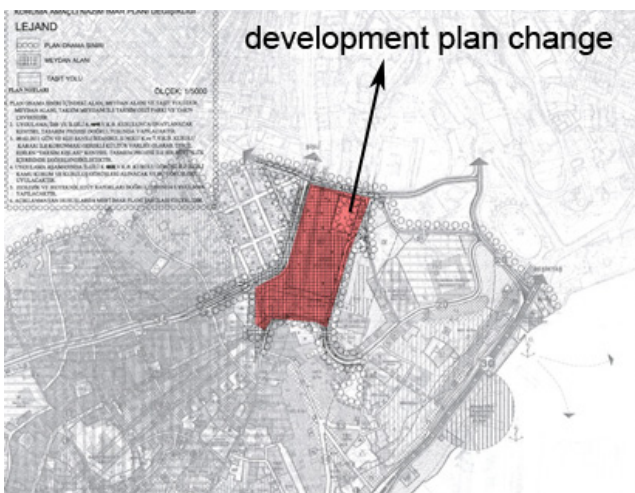

Figure 3,4,5. Municipality's project for Taksim Square: Revival of Topçu Kışlası (in place of Gezi Park) and removal of zero-ground vehicular traffic (http://fotogaleri.ntvmsnbc.com).

Figure 6. Taksim Square: Current situation (green and red areas) versus municipality's project borders.

Figure 7. Kayıtdışı's cardboard installations to rise public awareness against the project.

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THE CHANGING FACE OF ISLAMABAD UNDERLYING SOCIO-SPATIAL CURRENTS IN A NEW-URBAN SETUP

ABSTRACT

Designed as an administrative capital during the latter half of 20th century, Islamabad has adapted with contextual demand. Urban social dynamics has altered the function of pristine designed urban retail centres into a bazaar environment. Case-study from Sectors 'F,' and 'I' are to be compared where social and economic polarities have affected the spaces. Islamabads plan and ideology behind it shows a unified structural development for all the sectors, but economic and social differences which are a common character of any Society have become a spatial parameter for urban design. The cohesive nature of Islamabads urban plan has today changed into a socio-cultural map where areas are identified by events as created by the users. These events are to be documented in the paper and their physical manifestation as a statement of urban life within developing countries.

Paper shall restrict itself to the changing physical environment and the intangible forces that aided in bringing about the change the factors that are to be considered shall be;

1) Vision of 'Doxiadis' Plan and the changes brought about in physical manifestation of said plan due to social habits.
2) Effect of Vernacular Urban Design Language.
3) Role of Behavioral living Pattern on a Modernist City (Islamabad).
4) Economic Polarity in shape of Spatial Distinguishing patterns.

In a developing country tradition plays a major role towards formalization of built environment. Islamabad city is a gridded city where each unit of 2x2 mile forms a sector. Although in terms of space a modernist notion where self sustenance for each sector has been the prime reason, each alpha sector zone has gained a life and character of its own. This difference has re-arranged the social map of the city and hence made Islamabad an example of a layered city.

KEY WORDS: Polarity, Social Habits, Spatial manifestion, Edge

1   INTRODUCTION

Islamabad – city of 20th centrury was designed in later half of the twentith century by greek urban planner Doxiades. City was designed upon a alpha-numeric grid, where the rows where designated by alphabetic characters and there layering seuggested proximity to the existing city of Rawalpindi (Doxiades), whereas numerical characters were the divisions of the alpha rows. It was envisioned that both the newly formed city of islamabad and the exisitng urban fabric of rawalpndi shall merge and the 'O' alpha row shall follow into Rawalpindi. This never happened due to administrative jurisdiction as Islamabad is part of Federal Territoriy while Rawalpindi falls in Provinical (Punjab Provice) jurisdiction. Hence Islambads growth halted at the 'I' alphabetical row. Authors beleive that this divide is thus formed te basis of social polarity within the city of islamabad.

2   SOCIAL POLARITY OF THE TWO CITIES

Rawalpindi during ninteenth century itself developed into a bi-polar urban space during the british reign (Kapadia, Baqar 2011). The city over next 100 years had profound local culture within its social space and a very organized cantonment market (Saddar Bazaar). Through out sub-continent the difference was prominently visible in retail activites and use of the street. Where local markets demonstrated a mix of formal and informal vending activities while the cantonment bazaar provided a picture of stict road discipline (Baillie, 1998). Hence the visible outcome is that social polarity is engrained within the populace of sub-continent. Market spaces are the pre-dominent physical manifestation of this social polarity. These spaces describe in detail the routine and sub-concisous interaction of people with each other and primarily with the space (Low, 1999, pp 111-137). Inadvertently once a space has a designate cultural norm attached with it, people tend to follow the spatial cue inadvertently. Hence a cycle of social norms, social actions and social space is establised (Figure 1). This interplay of Individual actions and public space brings about the needed variety within an urban fabric. (Carmonova, Heath, Oc, Tiesdell, 2003)

Figure 1: Socio-spatial interrelation.
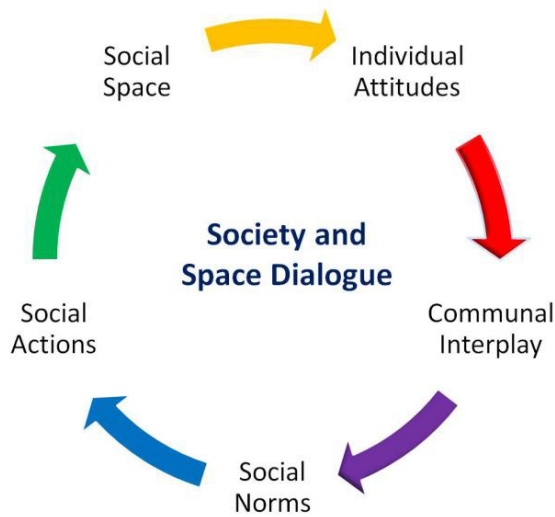
3　ANALYTICAL PARAMETERS

The study has documented two urban courtyards for a comparative spatial analysis. In analyzing the two standardized aspects have been chosen which are discussed as follows;

3.1 EDGE

Edge or boundary of a space is the primary delineating marker that distinguishes spaces from each other. These boundaries can vary from physical to virtual where virtual can further be subdivided into visual and psychological. Psychological boundaries are intertwined within social and cultural norms of a society.

3.2　ACCESS

Urban space requires various nature of accessibility; primarily two are most noted 1) from one spatial entity to another 2) Between two markers within a given spatial entity. Within a social space interaction between people –space and people –people can only be accommodated if the access points and routes are defined. Retail space requires accessibility to nurture and enhance economic and functional dealings. In case of market space a secondary layer of interaction that is between space and end-user is generated. Hence market space becomes facilitator for social interaction within urban community. The nature of spatial accessibility and retention of user within the space not only benefits the market in terms of economic activity but also enriched social interaction.

3.3　INTERACTIVE SPATIAL ELEMENT

'Production of Space' (Lefebvre, 2005, p. 294) describes human interaction with space as follows:
'Human beings' do not stand before, or amidst, social space; they do not relate to the space of society as they might to a picture, a show, or a mirror. They know that they have a space and that they are in this space. They do not merely enjoy a vision, contemplation, a spectacle - for they act and situate themselves in space as active participants.

Relationship of human with space is not a simple one; it does not comprise of simple survival instincts. Space interaction is about mental and cognitive understanding, aesthetics and involvement. A market space in contemporary social scenario is interlinked with the aspect of entertainment which mainly gets divided into two sub groups 1) Visual and 2)Experiential. These qualities are the pauses required within a space for a more enhanced experience. The analysis is derived from qualitative methods and most market users suggested a stop during their stay within a particular space. It is this momentary cessation of the act of retail that provided opportunity to the human to get involved in terms of entertainment. A

common 'pause' element in about every market of Islamabad is the eateries. Hence exploitation of this particular spatial function can be one of the interactive spatial experiences. It is another thing that unlike western urban centres where multiple activities (Carr, Francis, Rivlin, Stone, 1992) are provided, Islamabad has a limited palette of activities to choose from, in most cases it is due to accepted activity norms.

3.4   ECONOMIC CHARACTER

Economic character of an area particularly a market is characterized through three properties 1) accessibility of the affluent group, 2) commodity price within the market space and 3) nature of commodity presentation. The parameter shall help in identifying a link between economic difference and spatial quality within the two urban courtyards. As visible from figure 1 it is the individual behavior that gets translated into communal identity and later social space.

4.   RATIONALE

Study is but part of a larger research where multiple sectors of Islamabad and their market space has been analyzed. Although this is just a glimpse into the production of space through social interaction of user and place, the city comprises of various social themes. Of these two market space have been picked for a comparative discussion. The nature of study is strictly qualitative. Paper is an attempt to open up discussion upon the idea of social norms and spatial manifestation.

5.   CASE STUDY

Three sectors as discussed above show varied social activity pattern within the social urban space as designate by the urban planner. The strict nature of grid has not been violated in terms of spatial division, but it has digressed from the pre-conceived notion of uniformity in terms of people –space interaction.

5.1 SECTOR F-7 MARKAZ (JINNAH SUPER MARKET)

One of the early sectors to have been occupied, the main market space comprises of multiple urban courtyards. Both pedestrian and vehicular access is provided within the given space. Although the sector market has developed over time into a landmark for the city, this is true because locally the market has been named as 'Jinnah Super Market'. This identity in psychological terms disjoints the markets affiliation from the sector. Most markets in Islamabad are named after the designate sector within which they are present. Jinnah Super Market (F-7 Market) at present is providing service to the entire city. Following parameters have been looked into to understand the social manifestation of space.

5.1.1   EDGE

Boundary of space within F-7 market space is layered. The intermixing of visual cue and physical barriers both are found. The intermixing is primarily due to the pedestrians crossing over the edges to access the

central courtyard space. Although it can be seen from Figure 2 that the blurring of edges has not happened both due to the different nature of edges that have developed side by side. Five major sub boundaries are visible within the above mentioned figure. One of the building skylines which provides both physical and visual barrier, second of the footpaths running parallel to the buildings this provides for a pedestrian edge that circumvents the entire periphery of the urban courtyard and third parked car next to the pedestrian path ways – thus introducing the change of spatial usage from pedestrian to vehicular. Fourth edge is of the access road encircling the central space. Quality of the edge in terms of Islamabad is dependent upon discipline of the space. Edges in this particular markaz are not violated physically, but the accessibility to the central space requires pedestrians to violate the vehicular edge altogether.

5.1.2   ACCESS

The two parameters that need to be looked into as defined earlier are visibly present and distinguishable if indeed a single courtyard of the markaz is to be analyzed. As stated earlier the distinguishing edges are formed through access routes particularly the vehicular and though. This crossing of various access routes has formed a chaotic condition within the spatial tranquility of space. Approach to the two pedestrian spaces has to be from the vehicular access route. A contradic-

Figure 2 Edge Definition of Urban Courtyard

tion of event thus is witnessed. Markets viability in terms of external to internal spatial entity is justifiable as it is isolated from the external main city routes. Although intra-space that is from one courtyard to another entry points are missing altogether hence a single market space has been divided into multiple nucleus.

5.1.3   INTERACTIVE SPATIAL ELEMENT

Central space or the pedestrian courtyard Figure 3 is the prime feature of the market. This courtyard attracts people from the peripheral edge and separates two opposite actions 1) active user response- shopping 2) passive- user response – pause. As an interactive space the user is allowed to choose their actions from a limited list as the space is only providing single sub activity that is refreshment consumption. Although initial

Figure 3 Central Interactive Space

design of the courtyard had included a small open air theatre space, this space was converted into a religious praying area. Hence the right of spatial choice was limited by force. Oddity is that the rights were violated by the same end users who tend to the courtyard. Hence it is visible that public spaces tend to become religious and political if right of choice is not defined from the very start. This social bargaining is converted into authoritarian decision making from civic members of the society and not the institutions.

5.1.4   ECONOMIC CHARACTER

1the nature of economic activity is disciplined and aligned within its boundaries. It is important to understand that the main clients within the space come from affluent background as is visible from the cars. This particular group of clientele has been exposed to western retail spaces through travel, exposure to international community and finally Hollywood. Hence demand for a delineated and function specific space is there. In return for the facility commodity and service charges are also visible within the area, price for an ordinary beverage starts from Rs. 90 while it is expected to be presented with tip. In case of clients not wishing to approach vendor on their own, group of uniformed service providers are there who would charge extra to bring the goods to the client. Apart from service formal seating arrangement and cover has also been provided, the space is an attempt to cater to a specific group of people from across the city. This prioritized treatment and spatial quality is the main reason due to which residents of other sectors also tend to visit the F-7 Markaz. Products available within the market are generally luxury items and not survival or sustenance. It is also visible that service industry within the space is limited to hospitality and commerce (Banks, ATMs etc).

5.1.5   SOCIO-SPATIAL RELATIONSHIP

The case study provides information about the division and space utilization of a Sector market which has moved from being sector specific to urban landmark. The nature of the landmark in case of F-7 is not a physical monument but the psychological experience of the space and in turn events generated within it. Primarily the pause cue within the space has attracted the residents and provided the space with its distinct character. Although there are spatial anomalies within the urban courtyard, particular reference to the edges of the space where intermingling of two distinct activities is visible that is vehicular and pedestrian. This anomaly is the only reason that has chaos within the space. Socio-economic relationship is visible as the entirety of spatial existence revolves around financially motivated service sector.

5.2   SECTOR I-9 MARKAZ (MARKET)

The 'I' sector designation was initially planned to have Industrial units for the production sustenance of the city. Later this sector also accommodated housing requirements. The proximity of I sector to Rawalpindi and its major access roads has influenced the spatial character of the sector market. This particular market has not been able to generate a city wide landmark nature, it is still a localized retail space and hence both the visual cue and retail outlets have been designed keeping in view the requirement of the

area. Having proximity to the twin city of Rawalpindi this market space shows signs of socio-spatial hierarchy of the same. As defined under the parameter it is a counter point in spatial study to F-7 Market.

5.2.1 EDGE

Unlike F-7 markaz I-9 Markaz has been designed on a linear spatiality. There is no distinction between access from one spatial entity in to another but the relationship and connection to the entire market is available through the main access route Figure 4. This main route also is the dividing line for sub sectors of I-9. Thus the edge is both the access and the boundary. This multi-faceted role of edge has decreased the visual aesthetics of space but on the other hand increased the accessibility.

Figure 4 Edge definition of I-9 Markaz through vehicular access

Edge of the market is clearly defined by the parked cars but the pedestrian edge has diminished due to the encroachment of accessibility markers onto the edge markers. As previously the skyline does provide a visual boundary only in one direction. The encompassing edge is missing altogether. The perspective nature of the skyline does not provide the edge of the market and hence neither physical nor visual markers are able to enclose the market space.

5.1.2 ACCESS

As discussed above the violation of edges has provided emphasis to the access points. Both public and private transports are plying on the route (Figure 4) and there is no filtering provided. Market users and passerby have equal right to the access space and entry/exit points. A violation of access space generated due to the market is the parking corridor. From the pictures (Figure 5 and 6) it is evident that both the access route and the pedestrian access has lost

Figure 5 Access routes of I-9 Markaz

its spatial requirement. Thus the spillover in both directions (pedestrians on the street and cars parked on the footpaths) has blurred the distinction between the two.

5.1.3 I NTERACTIVE SPATIAL ELEMEN

Interactivity of the market space in case of I-9 markaz is not visible. The only interaction of space and user are the visual marker in shape of signage and informal vending going about on the footpaths. There is no cessation of activity or a punctuating space present. The linear continuity of retail spaces also does not provide for any break. There are instances where small private courtyards have been provided (Figure 7) but these too have turned into spill over junk yards or storage space. Thus the experience of space is missing from the area. Hence the space has lost the charisma to attract people and is the main cause for the market to not have an appeal to the city dwellers. The market on the other hand does provide for the day to day sustenance of the

Figure 6 Access and Social Space

sector. Another feature is the use of local language on the sign boards, unlike F-7 market where signage was mostly in English. This is a visible cue in distinguishing the cultural variation of both markets. Service sector in particular hospitality is missing from the area and what little is mostly caters to the business in the surrounding.

5.1.4   ECONOMIC CHARACTER

Economic character of I-9 market is visible from the parked vehicles and ones plying on road. Public transport is dominant also the use of motor cycle, good transport vehicles is visible. Size of shops are small and public is barred from entering instead counters are present where dealings are carried out. Hence question of security also arise. The trust factor between retailer and client is missing. This type of spatial hierarchy is visible in Rawalpindi. Commodity retail is carried out as a functional act and not as recreational. The visual cue present in the area demonstrating economic character are run down sign boards, derelict walls and posters across the usable wall surface. Upkeep of public spaces for example footpath and uncontrolled growth of soft landscape is not visible and hence categorically state that the maintenance of the environment is not a primary requirement.

5.1.5   SOCIO-SPATIAL RELATIONSHIP

The socio-spatial relationship ceases to exist if one considers market as a social hub. The amount of time a buyer spends is dependent on parking space and availability f product. It has been noted that the interactive quality as stated

Figure 7 Alternate use of Public Space

in paragraph 5.1.3 is missing not due to unavailability of space or nature of commodity but due to environmental degradation and non utilization of space. Edges have developed into informal parking hubs while the green area across the market is affected by uncontrolled greenery.

Also the dumping of waste is another issue (Figure 7) which is beyond scope of the paper. Unavailability of edge definition and intermingling of inter entity and intra entity access has provided for the market space grow into a mix of formal and informal vending activities.

5   CONCLUSION

Spatial change in a city is pre-dominantly due to changing social norms, over the years Sub-continent has developed into a bi-polar society where the old is trying to survive and new is taking over with no bias. This war of social ideology has been witnessed within the spaces. Individual aspiration attained due to globalization is forcing a modernist city like Islamabad to adapt to a post-modernist paradigm. This paradigm shift unfortunately is not taking into account the accepted norms of market space. Market space in traditional Sub-continent society was a designate space of business whereas the social and cultural interactions were carried out in another space. The neo-urban transformation that is currently overtaking Islamabad is conversion of market spaces into a multi-purpose area, where both functional and social needs are to be fulfilled. The case of F-7 and I-9 Markaz are window into this changing face of the city. Islamabad is a city having multiple layers of social norms which in turn provide informal rules for spatial organization. Thus Islamabad today is a cityscape of multiple ebbs and currents. It can be concluded that urban designers can produce urban plans but the ultimate planning and utilization of spaces are governed by socio-cultural actions of the users.

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NATURALIZING ARCHITECTURE – BEAUTY BECOMING BEAST IDEOGRAMMING THE ENVIRONMENT

ABSTRACT

In "In the Nature of Cities" Neil Smith challenges the nature-society dualism and its many disguised manifestations that characterize the mainstream environmental movement. One of the manifestations that play into the ideological separation of nature and society is the apocalyptic response towards the environment (Smith 2006): Global warming! Resources' depletion! Waste production! Population increase! Water scarcity! Species' extinction! We need to do something...; we need to respond and treat environment "gently" and resourcefully..., otherwise the "beast" will strike back...! This leitmotif also structures most of the current discourse on sustainability. We often hear: How does the architecture respond to an environment? Yet, we rarely hear: How does architecture produce an environment? In this last question lies the premise of this topic proposal: architecture "becomes the beast...;" it becomes an environment; it is naturalized into an environment by internalizing it. We can imagine and design new constellations and ecologies in architecture only if we cannot imagine environment except as minimally mediated and framed by architecture.How

does architecture produce an environment? We could imagine, for example, an architectural environment in which the temperature differentials among the subjects' bodies, animal's bodies, plants, earth and a series of habitation spaces produce a particular "condensation" subject, and a thermal atmosphere that favors the gathering and conservation of water through condensation. Of course the elements in themselves, such as water, gravity, earth and plants could be considered "natural;" yet they become re-naturalized and socialized into and through an architectural organization that structures them into an exchange and productive system. A truly environmental architecture would be one that in-terpolates subjects and environments through the "calling" and organization of different objects, informational data, and material processes, from the scale of human skin and plants' cells to building mechanical systems and larger materi-al-data-scapes.It is within the context of this interpolation where the often di-chotomous relationship between architectural pattern and environment ought to be situated. Can we think of arch-environmental patterns that call and reach towards different object(ivities) and subject(ivities), and create non-customary and new constellations? Can we go beyond the notion of technology as a tech-nical product or gadget, and think of technology as pattern or image-relation that activates and relates natural and artificial landscapes? In what way can the architect identify and design the para-metrics of this image-relaion?

KEYWORDS: interpolating, ideogramming, environmental pattern

Introduction

This paper conflates two ideogrammatic projects. The first is one of imaging and visibility as an intransitive ideographic condition revealed in/through the digital: It investigates how thetechnological capacity to expand and change the condition of the visible, that is the relation betweenimage and subject, creates the possibility of a new aesthetics. The second one investigates therelationship between this condition of visibility and architectural object by considering im-age as a primary design-event, thought or logic, upon the structure of which other aspects of architectural objectare hinged: formal and material expression, context and environment.

Ideogrammingcapitalizes on a special property of the digital image: its "doubly-inscribed" ideographic form. Digital Image is simultaneously both an image in the sense that appears as anappearance in the digital screen and a placeholder of information. It is both a visual effect that instantiates our subjectivity, and a

mathematizable "thing" that "lives" in the "silent" desert of abstract space without any subjectivity looking at it…. It has both a geometrical singularity that can be described in the XYZ Cartesian space, and a topological quality that generalizes the geometrical singularities through a parametric relation. This relation is crucial since on one hand, it provides an immanent dimension that comes prior to any geometry or representation, and on the other hand it visually manifests itself into a geometrical and representational variability. This ideographic property extends the simple image-picture into an ideographic equation or abstract relational principle, through which our subjectivity is networked with different material processes, logics and atmospherics.

The ideographic equation presented here acts as a minimal image-relation that although cannot but have its genesis in a particular milieu, in its material reality and processes, it is irreducible to this reality. It marks a gap or displacement in the reality only to reveal and retroactively posit reality's inevitable subjective dimension. In architecture this ideographic equation performs as a minimal ideality that brings the components and processes of architectural production and performance to a level of comprehension and subjective relevancy by inducing topological values, vectors and qualities to the otherwise scalar, subjectless and placeless equations of our economic, environmental and technological determinism. The architectural object results as the delayed and poised figure of this ideographic equation.

Minimal Image

What do we mean by minimal image? Let's take the architectural sketch as an example. Traditionally the architects have always sketched to facilitate the envisioning of an idea they have in mind, shapes, geometries and textures. The sketch is often referenced to something else, an object or process that is thought or imagined beforehand. Its meaning is relegated to an external objective. Its fate is predetermined as it were; it is bound up from outside, in an external determination. Yet, the inclination to sketch betrays a hidden desire to escape the world coordinates of the drafting board, and inhabit the nomadic space of a plain piece of paper without top or bottom, right or left, orientation and scale. What if we perform some tricks to our particular sketch, some tricks alaMichaux or Bacon…, thus generating an un-accounted and un-hoped-for effect, an unseen image? This sketch becomes a free and pure event…. It becomes a minimal image or pre-image, ready to design somethingwith it that is not accounted by its origin, something about which there is no idea yet…. The properties of this "spurious" sketch and the way we could use it in design can be accounted-for only minimally and materially, i.e., in terms of different degrees of light and

shade or in terms of the distribution and density of graphite particles; the sketch becomes a body of variable gradients of particle densities. Our sketch migrates from its original space of references and representations to a new space and time, whose coordinates we do not possess yet (Figure 1).
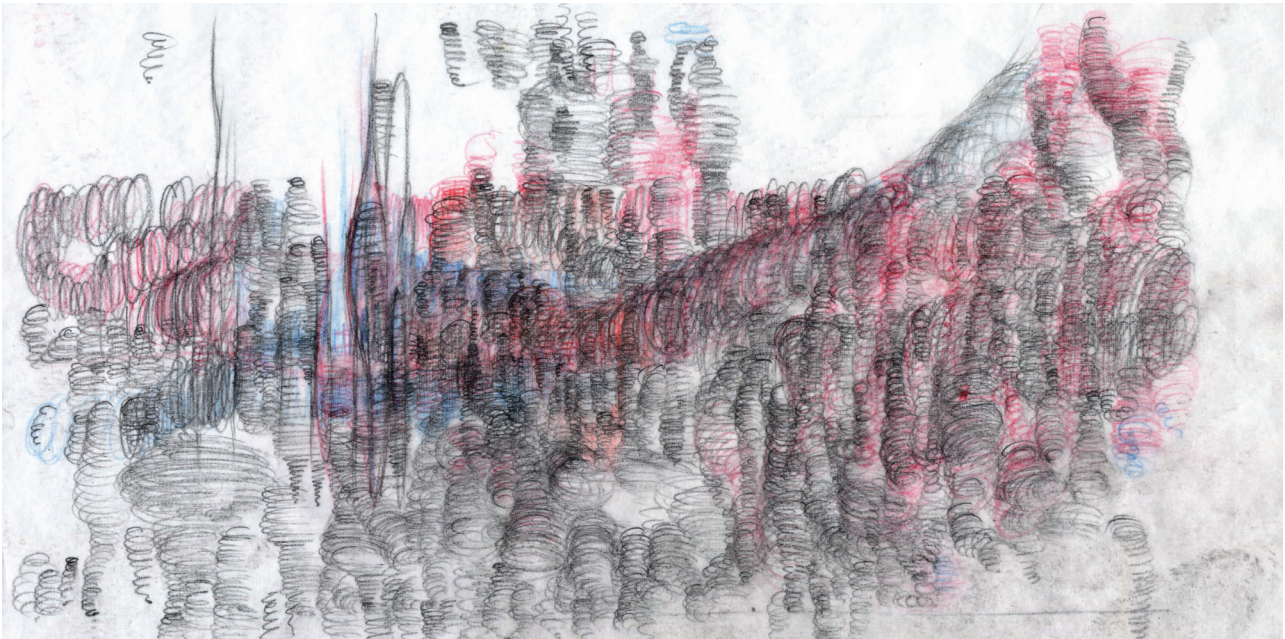

Figure 1.Skender Luarasi, Ideogram, Untitled, 2005

We will argue that minimal image acquires sense and urgency today within the context of digital technologies. The difference between the traditional drafting board and a digital environment is not simply that we draw ["slower"] with a pencil or pen in the former and ["faster" and more "efficiently"] with a keyboard and mouse in the second, but rather the different degrees of possibilities of conjuring minimal images through these tools. The drafting board is essentially a drawing/geometry machine that is based on the Cartesian coordinate system. This means that whatever we draw on a drawing board, it is necessarily metric; it is instantaneously referenced to and through the World Coordinate System as a fixed and particular geometrical form with X, Y and Z coordinates. A digital construct on the other hand is characterized and described parametrically or topologically. This means that although this construct can ultimately be translated geometrically into the Cartesian coordinate system, the internal properties are independent from that particular shape, geometry or coordinate axis. The parametric curve is an example where "the coordinates X, Y and Z of each point of the curve are described in relation to a parameter t in the form:

$$x=f(t); \qquad y=g(t); \qquad z=h(t)$$

It is evident that "the coordinates of any point are independent from each other; they are axis-independent ()."

The Marching Cubes Algorithm is an example of an algorithm whose applications are mainly concerned with medical visualizations such as CT and MRI scan data images, and special effects or 3-D modeling with what is usually called metaballs or other metasurfaces (Appendix I). Marching Cubes Algorithm extracts/visualizes a polygonal mesh of an isosurface from a three-dimensional scalar field, sometimes called voxels (Lorensen and Harvey, 1987). An extracted isosurface satisfies a particular topological relation or condition:

$$f(x, y, z) = c$$

where c is the voxels' numerical/scalar value (Rogers, 2001).

The algorithm visualizes an isosurface through numerical values by "marching" through the voxels and selecting only those whose values are below a certain user input threshold. A series of isosurfaces can be generated from different input qualities according to different thresholds. Each of these isosurfaces can be seen as a "plane of immanence" (Appendix II) that satisfies a particular topological condition. The algorithm suggests a design process that is not based on a geometrical procedure, but on information processing, where a particular geometry is an instantiation or actualization of a particular "slice" of information. The algorithm creates the possibility to design with images, qualities, effects and information. The three-dimensional scalar field can be populated with any image, quality or informational values according to a specific topological condition. The algorithm discriminates or selects particular planes of immanence among these values according to a user-input threshold. Geometrical variance is thus minimally mediated by the variance of the numerical threshold (Figure 2).
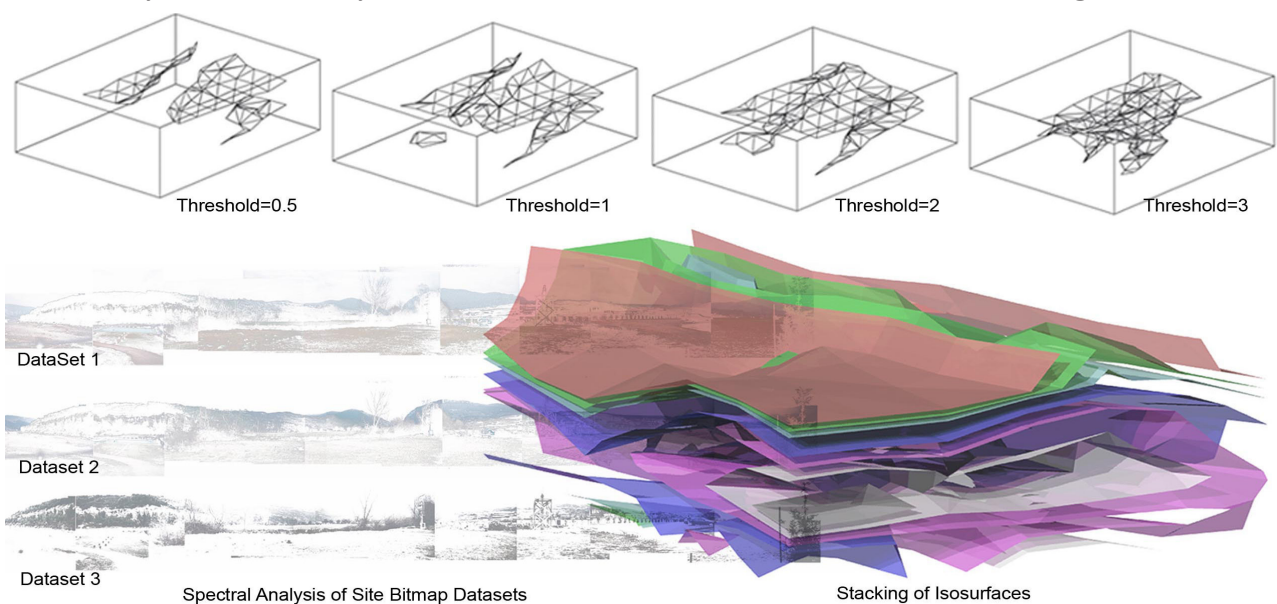

Threshold=0.5 Threshold=1 Threshold=2 Threshold=3

DataSet 1

Dataset 2

Dataset 3

Spectral Analysis of Site Bitmap Datasets

Stacking of Isosurfaces

Figure 2. Generation and "Stacking" of iso-surfaces with different thresholds, Process, 2008 SkenderLuarasi

These examples show that a parametric or topological description is not concerned with Cartesian categories of geometry, shape, size and scale, but rather with an internal or immanentself-relation. These constructions are constituted through a topological quality that acts as an embedded virtuality that could be actualized into different contexts and environments. The minimal image presented here performs as a relation that although cannot but have its genesis in a particular milieu, in its material reality and processes, it is irreducible to this reality. It is a gap, interval or frame that marks an intransitive difference, an inside - outside reciprocity to be later filled with content.

In his seminal text "Earth Moves", Cache asserts that Architecture is "the art of introducing intervals in a territory in order to construct frames of probability" (Cache, 2003, pp. 23). "Interval" is the key word here, and it denotes a particular form of framing, spacing or imaging that fulfills at least three functions: Separation, Selection and (smooth)Variability (Cache, 2003):

The first function [of the interval] is that of separation. Its functional element is the wall. One must delimit an interval in which a form of life that doesn't fit a priori in its milieu will occur. For life naturally transpires in the intervals of matter. Life is that intercalar phenomenon that causes alone can never produce; at best, we can try to circumscribe frames of probability. The causes of life always escape us, which is why we can only provide niches in which it can take place….
…The second abstract function of the frame is selection. The frame thus becomes a window that carefully selects the causes of life in order to produce ever more singular effects….
…Once the interval is delimited and the vector selected, this interval must be arranged in such a way as to allow the frame of probability to produce its effects. The interval is a factor of absolute uncertainty (Cache. 2003, pp. 22-24).

This triadic structure is significant not only in the content of its individual terms by themselves, but also in its discontinuousrelational form that renders the three elements as related, yet incongruent and displaced as if in a parallactic mode. The three terms act as abstract placeholders, whose significance and content changes through substitution, notating an aesthetic that "jumps" or "nudges" through different territories of the production of built-form. This structure helps us see architectural aspects of form, function and program, not as simultaneous and identical, but as displaced, incongruent and different, yet related in a delayed and discontinuous process. Regarding the relationship between form and function, Cache writes:

In the most general terms, functionalism in architecture means that the form serves function. Very often this is misunderstood as meaning that form should coincide with function in the mode of a representative analogy or of a cinematic envelope. Yet in their everyday lives, dwellers are quite capable of carrying out their tasks; the frame is only there to make their completion more probable. A truly rationalist theory relegates architecture to the position of distant cause. Form frames function rather then compressing it as in a mold or reflecting it like a mirror. There is an essential difference between the frame of probability and the effect that is produced within it. This difference in kind between cause and effect prevents us from making congruent frame and function. The rigid form of the frame cannot coincide with that of an effect that is always subject to variations and is only probable (Cache, 2003).

There is a difference in kind and origin between the indeterminate life-function that inhabits built form and functionalism of form. Architectural form "opens up" spatial and temporal intervals for indeterminate life-functions to happen, while the difference between form and functionalism falls within form itself: functionalism of form becomes a formal function of generation and selection of variable singularities in an interval. Thus form becomes something more and lessthen simply a responsive geometry. It becomes an image that is not reducible to any environment, program or use. It is an image that retroactively vanishes at the very moment that becomes a relation among different anteriorities.

The relationship between environment and architecture starts as an empty one. It is empty in the sense that the two terms do not have any positive content. It is pure form, a minimal image that opens up a difference or gap within the undifferentiated environment. It is as if in order to first think about environment and architecture we need to introduce a minimal gap, frame or distinction between the two. We are dealing with a weird topology where the dependency between the two terms changes signs continuously: what was the affective term that produces an effect, is later affected and coordinated by this effect. In his both Hegelian and Deleuzian analysis of minimal freedom, subjectivity and self, Zizek articulates this minimal distinctness as being the minimal ideal life-form:

In biology, for instance, we have, at the level of reality, only bodily interacting. "Lifeproper" emerges only at the minimally "ideal" level, as an immaterial event that providesthe form of unity of the living body as the "same" in the incessant change of its materialcomponents. The basic problem of evolutionary cognitivism – that of the emergence of the ideal life-pattern – is none other that the old metaphysical enigma of the relationshipbetween chaos and order, between the

Multiple and the One, between parts and theirwhole. How can we get "order for free," that is, how can order emerge out of initialdisorder? How can we account for a whole that is larger than the mere sum of its parts?How can a One with a distinct self-identity emerge out of the interaction of its multipleconstituents? (Zizek, 2004, pp. 112)

Zizek relates this notion of distinct self-identity to the concept of Autopoiesis as it isdefined in the work of Lynn Margulis and Francisco Varela. They assert that the trueproblem is not how an organism interacts with the environment, but rather how theorganism emerges in the first place; how it becomes distinct from the environment; howthe inside of the organism is separated from the outside:

Autopoiesis attempts to define the uniqueness of the emergence that produces life in itsfundamental cellular form. It's specific to the cellular level. There's a circular or networkprocess that engenders a paradox: a self-organizing network of biochemical reactionsproduces molecules, which do something specific and unique: they create a boundary, amembrane, which constrains the network that has produced the constituents of themembrane. This is a logical bootstrap, a loop: a network produces entities that create aboundary, which constrains the network that produces the boundary. This bootstrap isprecisely what's unique about cells. A self-distinguishing entity exists when the bootstrapis completed. This entity has produced its own boundary. It doesn't require an externalagent to notice it, or to say, "I'm here." It is, by itself, a self-distinction. It bootstrapsit-self out of a soup of chemistry and physics (Varela, 1996) (Appendix III).

"The only way to account for the emergence of the distinction between the "inside" and"outside" constitutive of a living organism is to posit a kind of self-reflexive reversal bymeans of which, the One of an organism as a whole retro-actively "posits" as its result, asthat which it dominates and regulates, the set of its own causes" (ZIzek, 2004, pp.116). Organism emergeswhen it becomes self-limited; when the external limitations of the environment becomeinternal or self-posited. This emergence is nothing else than a relatedness between part-sand the whole; a relatedness which, although it emerges from the material reality, it is notreducible to that reality.
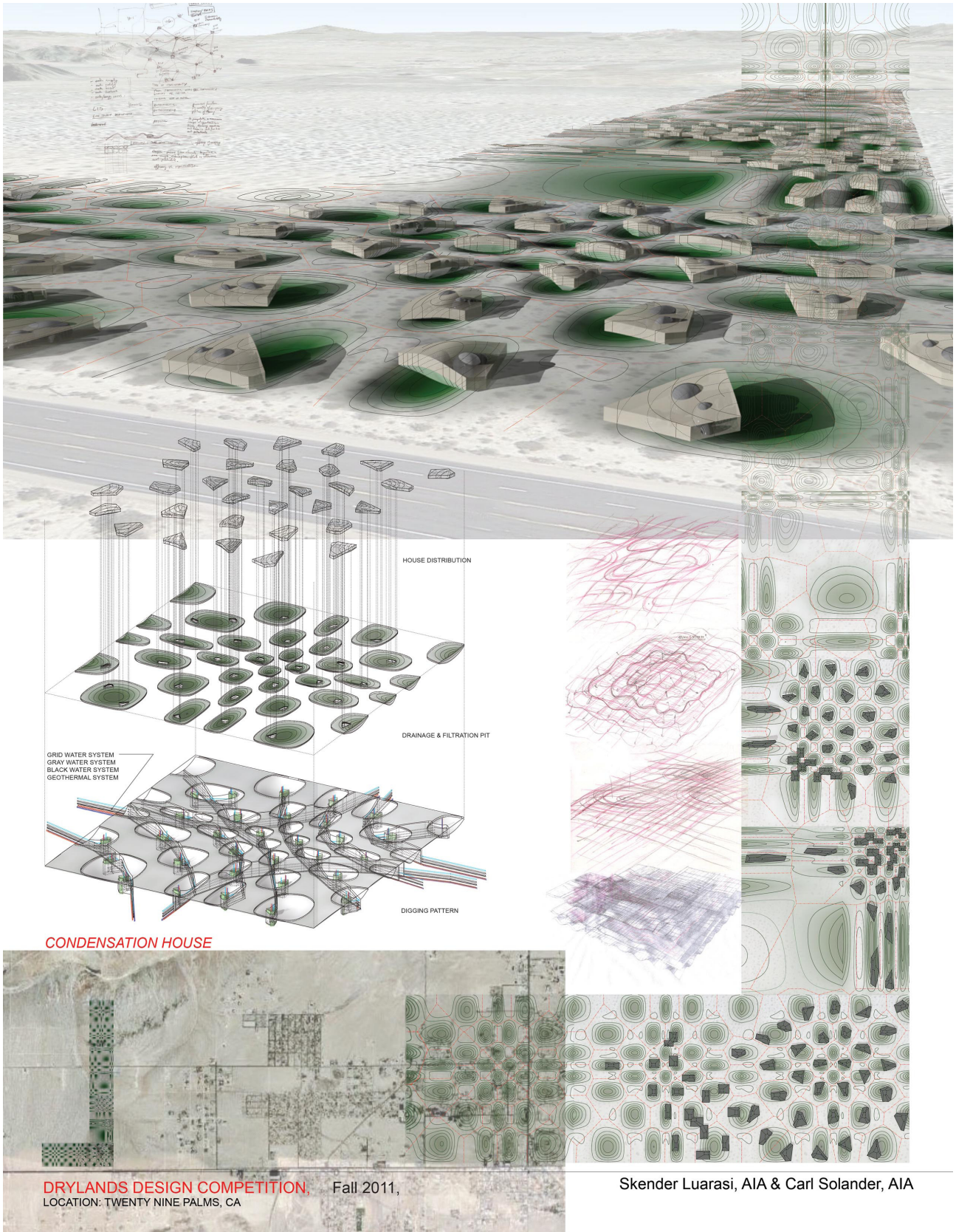
Architectural Project: Condensation House
This is an example where architecture performs as a spatial and thermal differ-ential that conditions the production of moisture and water through condensa-tion. The architecture frames and engages both animate and inanimate objects and processes, whose temperature differences have the potential to produce

condensation, such as human bodies, plants and geothermal energy. The minimal action of the architectural frame is a concrete spatio-thermal monocoque enclosure/shell/threshold that establishes a minimal difference between the inside and outside.

Set in the extreme desert environment of Twenty Nine Palms, CA, this proposal takes an extreme view of water conservation. We are addressing this issue both at the scale of a prototype house design and at the community scale. A major problem with development in the desert is the rapid evaporation of water in the dry air. Without human occupation, there is very little natural water vapor in the air. Twenty Nine Palms averages only 4" of rainfall annually, and its groundwater levels are dropping precipitously. Thus, not only are humans depleting local groundwater, but we are also altering the climate by facilitating a high level of evaporation.

Conceptually the design for the Condensation House relates to the idea of a solar still. The house occupies a depression in the landscape which provides some protection for the scarce moisture from the desert sun and dry air. The home is designed to extract and preserve water vapor from every potential source. The "wet spaces" of the home, such as the bathroom, kitchens, and bedrooms, are clad in foamed aluminum composite panels with integral piping for geothermal cooling. These rooms become like occupiable appliances in the home. Their cool, conductive surface extracts condensation from the air as they cool the home. They channel the condensate into an elaborate piping system which returns it to a graywater storage system.

At the community scale, the depressed site becomes a standard for development. New lots are excavated and lined with layers of filtration media in order to facilitate rapid water absorption and limit evaporation. The center of the excavation for each house contains the hard infrastructure for a municipal system that is naturally scalable. Black water is treated locally, neighborhood by neighborhood. Gray water storage is linked among homes to allow neighbors to balance each other's use. Geothermal cooling will also be a municipal project with local well sites serving a cluster of homes. We believe the future of infrastructure is distributed rather than centralized, and the Condensation House is predicated on this inevitability.

HOUSE DISTRIBUTION

DRAINAGE & FILTRATION PIT

GRID WATER SYSTEM
GRAY WATER SYSTEM
BLACK WATER SYSTEM
GEOTHERMAL SYSTEM

DIGGING PATTERN

CONDENSATION HOUSE

DRYLANDS DESIGN COMPETITION, Fall 2011,
LOCATION: TWENTY NINE PALMS, CA

Skender Luarasi, AIA & Carl Solander, AIA

Figure 3. Condensation House, Drylands Design Competition, 2011
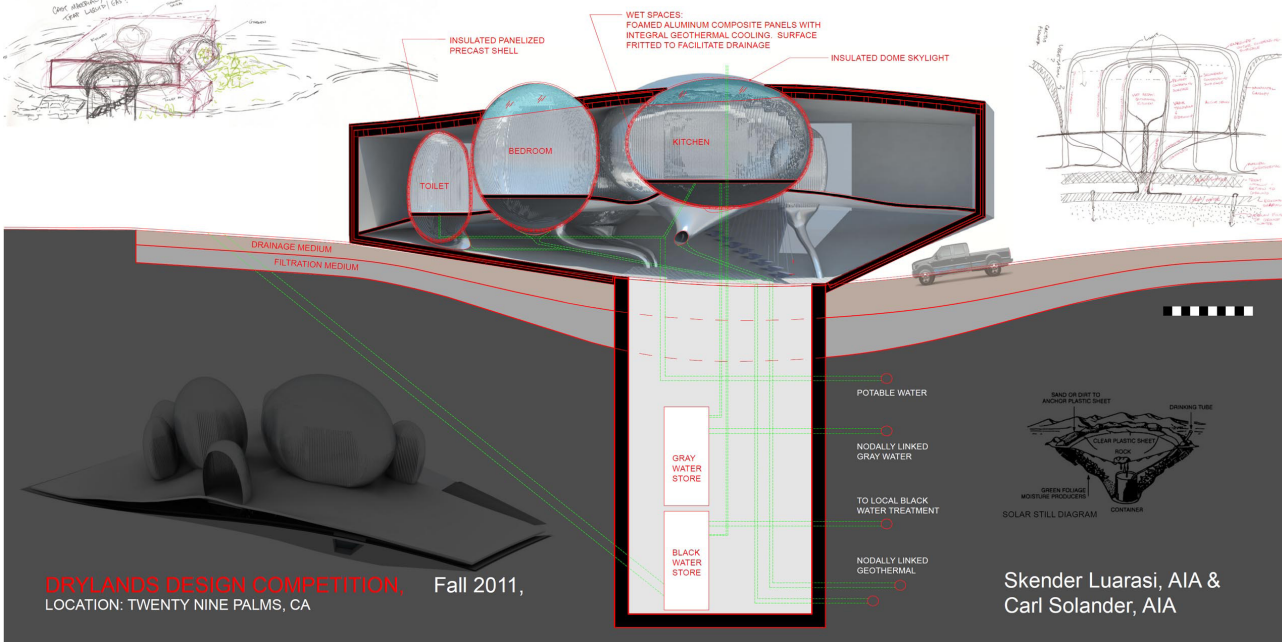SkenderLuarasi& Carl Solander

LOWER LEVEL CAR PORT ENTRY SHOWING
WATER INFRASTRUCTURE OF HOUSE
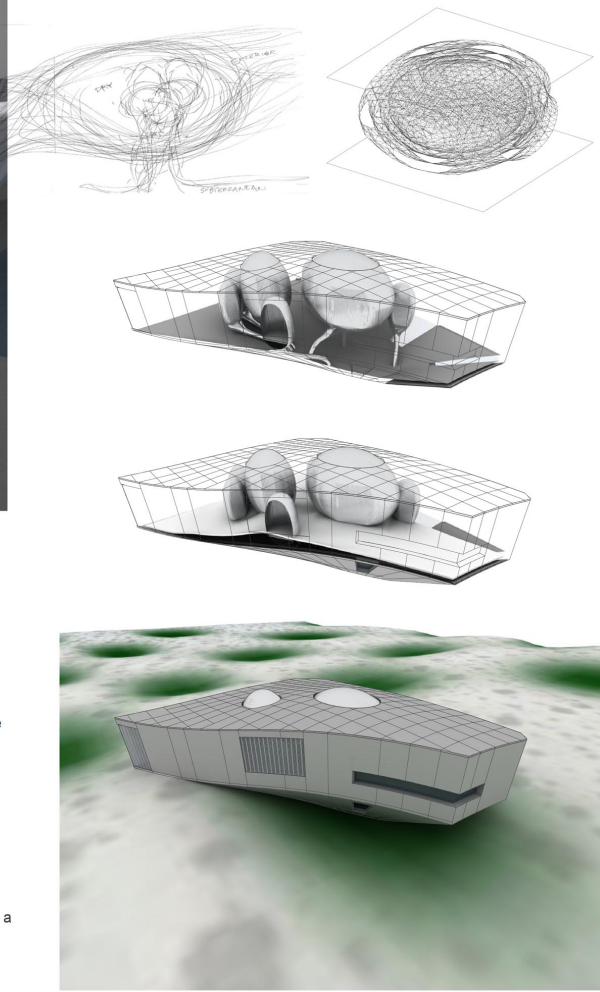CONNECTING TO BELOW-GROUND
INFRASTRUCTURE
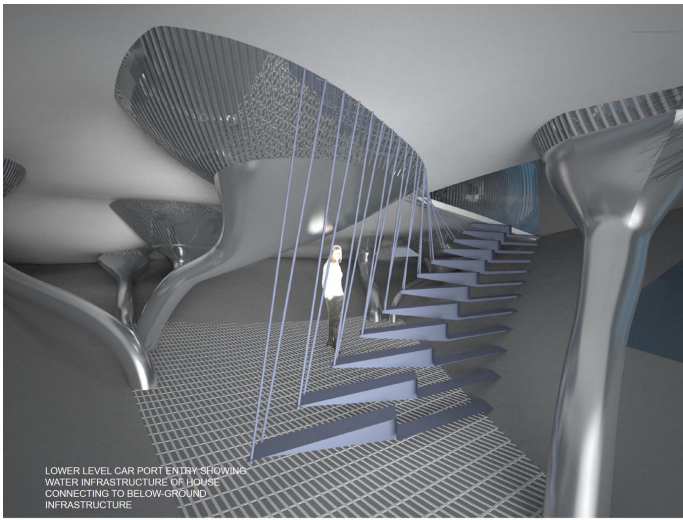
CONDENSATION HOUSE

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Figure 4. Condensation House, Drylands Design Competition, 2011
SkenderLuarasi& Carl Solander

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Appendix I

Marching cubes algorithm proceeds through the scalar field, taking eight neighbor locations at a time (thus forming an imaginary cube), then determining the polygon(s) needed to represent the part of the isosurface that passes through this cube. This is done by creating an index to a pre-calculated array of 256 possible polygon configurations (28 = 256) within the cube, by treating each of the 8 scalar values as a bit in an 8-bit integer. If the scalar's value is higher than the iso-value then the appropriate bit is set to one, while if it is lower, it is set to zero. Each vertex of the generated polygons is placed on the appropriate position along the cube's edge by linearly interpolating the two scalar values that are connected by that edge. For architectural applications of (Voxel)Algorithm see the thesis works of Styliano Dritsas and Sawako Kijima:

Styliano Dritsas, "Design Operators," Master of Science in Architecture Studies Thesis, Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2004, p.48-52.

Sawako Kaijima, "Bridge: Information as Material for Design," Master of Architecture Thesis, Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005, p.28-29.

Appendix II

Plane of immanence is a founding concept in the metaphysics or ontology of French philosopher Gilles Deleuze. Immanence, meaning "existing or remaining within" generally offers a relative opposition to transcendence, a divine or empirical beyond. Deleuze, however, employs the term plane of immanence as a pure immanence, an unqualified immersion or embeddedness, an immanence which denies transcendence as a real distinction, Cartesian or otherwise. Pure immanence is thus often referred to as a pure plane, an infinite field without substantial or consistent division. As a geometric plane, the plane of immanence is in no way bound to a mental design but rather an abstract or virtual design, which for Deleuze, is the metaphysical or ontological itself: a formless, univocal, self-organizing process which always qualitatively differentiates from itself (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plane_of_immanence).

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THE CENTRAL ZONE OF SREMSKA MITROVICA - SQUARES THAT LAST THROUGH AGES AND ADAPT TO ANY PURPOSE

ABSTRACT

Sremska Mitrovica is a town that lies on the ancient Roman Sirmium, and it's remains are easy to be noticed in the urban fabric. But not only they are easy to be seen, but the ancient squares and streets influenced the position of nowadays city. Through the last few centuries, as town was a border town in Austria-Hungarian Empire at first, the defined squares had different purposes and space users. The central historical squares are incorporated in the contemporary town and fulfill the needs of nowadays inhabitants. The paper analyzes the genesis and the multifunctional use of the central historical squares and streets in nowadays Sremska Mitrovica. Seven years after the urban design project for the central zone, two of the authors analyze the success of the planned and realized multifunctional aspect of the central zone.

keywords
Sremska Mitrovica, Sirmium, squares, central zone

The central zone of Sremska Mitrovica
Squares that last through ages and adapt to any purpose

Sremska Mitrovica is a town that has the continious urban life for more than 1700 years. The first existing settlement data are from 170 BC. Since Roman Sirmium, that had been established in pre-historic times, and has lasted since 34 BC untill the fall of Roman Empire in 476 AC, there were different occasions, and different conquerers and peoples that influenced the development of the city.

The name Sirmium was given after the Illyrian tribe - Tribal leader - Sirus, or after the Celtic tribe - Taurisc leader - Sirmus. Furthermore, the name of the ancient city can be connected with the Sanskrit word "SIR", meaning stream (water stream). Until the Roman arrival the settlement on the loess plateau of a big river bend has already had the centuries long tradition (Milošević, 1969). The choice of this location for the Roman settlement - on the cross of the overland and water routes was influenced by political, military- strategic and economic reasons. The settlement was formed with radial street directions near the river Sava , swamps and underwater soil. The position of the water areas determined the concept of the city planimetry (Jeremic, 2008).

Several Roman emperors were born in Sirmium – Aurelian, Maximian Herculius, Decius Traianus, Probus, and finally Marco Aurelius ended his life in Sirmium due to the plague epidemic. Theodosius was crowned in Sirmium in 380, and many emperors spent some time in the town – Constantine Licinius, Iulian, Valens... The city was called the Pannonian metropolis (capital of Lower Pan
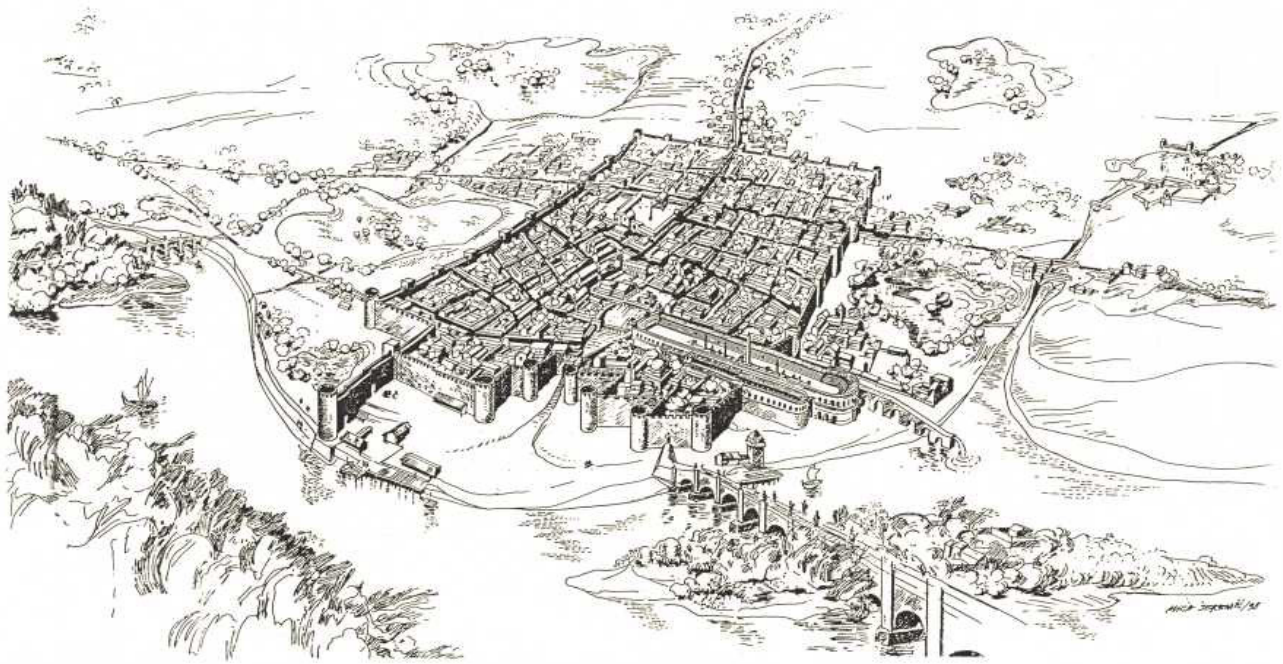
nonia), and in the time of Tetrarchy it became the residential city of the Roman emperors, and therefore the imperial residence complex (imperial palace) was built, a great hipodrome etc. Sirmium had four large granary buildings, a complex of brick industry, complex of ceramics workshops, a river port, a fleet, a mint, a weapons factory ...
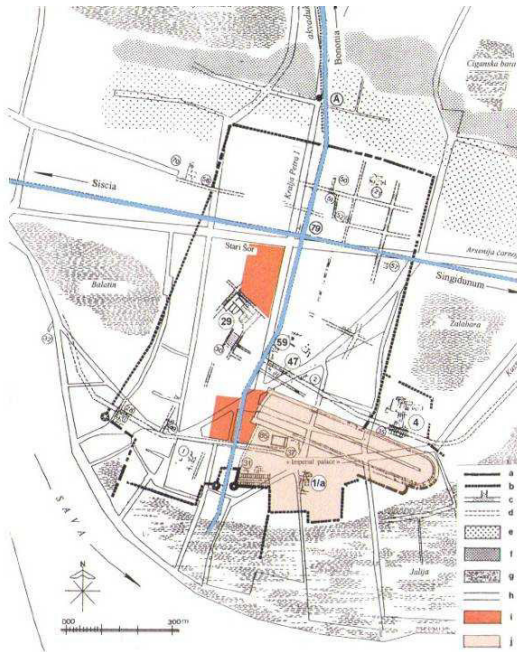
The ancient Sirmium research in the closest urban center of Sremska Mitrovica is a very long lasting and extremely complicated task. On the basis of the systematic research of the last fifty years, the superimposed image of today's town plan and already researched and largely buried remnants of Sirmium can be drawn . According to that, it can be concluded that the ancient city determined mainly central area of today's city. Former bed of the river Sava and its two islands, and marshes, caused the shape of the southern edge of the town. The city had two bridges, lying on two-river islands. The complex of royal residences from the late Roman era and hippodrome, are near the modern city center. The ancient city had an area of approximately 75ha intra muros (within the walls) and the number of inhabitants in the most important period did not exceed 15,000. Weak capacity of wetlands did not allowed the construction of a greater number of monumental buildings. After 380 the political and economic importance of Sirmium weakened , and there started a scattering of Roman citizens, and there was a suffering in 441 under the Huns, and the city experienced a definite downfall in 582 after the invasion of the Avars.
Sirmium (Jeremic)

After the Avars, the city was ruled by the Franks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Hungarians. In the 12th century it was ruled by the Byzantines and the Hungari-

ans, and in the 13th century town changed its name to - Dimitrovica, after the monastery of St. Demetrius, around which the settlement was formed. In the 15th century Dimitrovica was under the rule of Despot Stefan Lazarevic , Djurdje Brankovic and Ujlaki, untill in the 16th century it was conquered and destroyed by the Turks, who ruled until 1718. (Pozarevac peace). After the Turks, the city belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and became the headquarters of the Ninth Petrovaradin Border Regiment in the time of Military border from 1747 to 1881. The oldest preserved building which is still operational is the church of St. Stefan on the Sava River from the 17th century . The oldest profane building is the building "Customs" located at the St Stefan square and it was built in 1729. The Military border epoche with a military establishment has determined the new street regulation on the previous urban matrix and has brought the construction of specific military architecture and new commercial zones on St. Stefan square and Zitna pijaca ("grain market")square. In this period the two churches were built – Orthodox Cathedral of St. Demetrius in 1794 and Roman Catholic Cathedral in1811, and after that the building of the Presbytery in 1827, the building of the Serbian People's Primary School 1867 (today Gallery- Lazar Vozarevic). In the period after the abolition of the Military border, when the city got the first civil administration (the first mayor was Cira Nb Milekić who was appointed in 1881), there happened the intensive construction of representative one-storey buildings, such as Petrovaradin municipal property building (today the building of the Police) and the Serbian House – „Srpski dom" (fam.arch. Vladimir Nikolic), Primary School (today's gallery Lazar Vozarevic) from the end of 19th century. In the vicinity of the Catholic Church , the Synagogue was built (mined in 1942) and the Greek Catholic Church, as well, both in 1905.

Downtown in Sremska Mitrovica today, according to the habits of our citizens, consists of three connected squares. Each of these squares has a different role in the lives of citizens. The peculiarity and uniqueness of Mitrovica's squares is in continuity from ancient times to nowadays and in the irregularity of the shapes of triangles. The layout, directions and forms of trade are conditioned by the hydrogeological impacts, but also by the state of the urban fabric that has been built through the ages one through another. Based on archaeological research it is evident that the construction layers have thickness of 5-6m in central zone. The central space - three squares is the area where people mostly gather, the place

where exists the largest number of shops, cafes, summer gardens, ... This area is a pedestrian direction from group of office buildings at the east, to the end of the Zitna pijaca square on the Sava quay at the southwest. According to the European project "Agora" (made by cities of Malmo, Utrecht, Barcelona and London) (Korolija Fontana Giusti, waterfronts in the Danube region, 2006.), four important things are recommended to improve the quality of life in urban cores: the pedestrianization of central areas , the reduce of the use of motor vehicles, the use of more environmentally friendly vehicles - bicycles, rolling stock, etc., the vicinity of the central zone to the water surfaces and creating of an association of water in the pedestrian zone - fountains, ponds. The squares of Sremska Mitrovica of nowadays would have great advantages in this analysis- pedestrian zone is to be expanded, cycling is traditionally represented, Zitna pijaca square comes to the river quay, near the pedestrian bridge that connects with the center of Macvanska Mitrovica town – on the other bank.

The squares Cira Milekic, St Stefan and Zitna pijaca were analyzed according to criteria of the shape and framework, historical development, past and present functions and landscaping.

Square Cira Milekic

Cira Milekic Square is bounded by a row of town houses from the late 19th-early 20th century on the north-west side, the intersection of Kralja Petra Prvog st, St. Dimitrije st and Masarik st, with the dominant buildings - the building of the police (Petrovaradin municipal property bldg) and Post Office building (arch. M.Mitrović, 1961), Military border buildings from the 18th and 19th centuries, which surround the park to the east and south sides , and by buildings of Srpski dom (1895) and Gallery (Serbian people's elementary school, 1867), to the west side. The square consists of a modern paved plateau in the shape of elongated

trapezoid and the connected and permeated park that is actually the expansion of the square. The square was paved in this shape in the last reconstruction (2006) as a more regular geometric form, while the shape of the park remained irregular. Buildings surrounding the square and the park mostly have no more than one storey with the steep roofs directed to the square. Approximately equal height of the buildings makes the enclosure and the identity of the square . In the park there is a central fountain, "Stone Flower" (arch.Irina Nepokoichickaia, about 1946), and the pavements are formed according to the directions of flows of movement through the park. In ancient times, this area was near the Imperial Palace and the Hippodrome. West cut of end (not semicircular) of the Hippodrome (which is stretched from the east to the west) was finishing somewhere near the current Police building (the eastern border of the square). On the paved area of the plateau there was probably a secondary urban Forum, which was created near the Imperial palace, and at the same time. At a distance of approximately 100m to the north there are remains of the granary buildings (Horrea) and the building of Licinius's bath situated on the main forum. From the western end of the Hippodrome there was located one of the two main streets to the north of Sirmium (the way to the Danube port of Sirmium – Bononia – street Cardo – today Kralja Petra Prvog street) and at approximately 400m north of the square it crossed the street to the east-west (direction Singidunum-Mursa- street Decumanus – today Stari sor street).

At the time of the Military border, the Cira Milekic square was dominated by Army exercising place (a place for exercising and parades of the army). On the north side of the area there was a street with private homes. Capital buildings of this period are the Main guard building (the Archive of Srem), the Brigade headquarters building (the Museum of Srem), the Courthouse (Sirmijumart and Youth club) that enclose the area on the east and south sides. At the end of the 19th century Mitrovica has ceased to be a Military town and got the first civil administration and the first mayor. Exercising place for the army was turned into a city park. On the eastern side of the park and square there was raised the Petrovaradin municipal property bldg, and to the west - buildings of the Serbian people's elementary school and Srpski dom (Serbian house bldg).

In the 20th century, North Street between Park and row of houses, becomes a popular promenade , which initiated the idea of abolishing the traffic. In the mid 20th century, the Park was redefined by forming the plateau - the square in the northern part. The Pedestrian area project which was implemented in 2006. finally abolished vehicular traffic and other ancillary facilities of the street, formed a plateau and a clear boundary of the park.

Today Cira Milekic Square is the square of the everyday events in Sremska Mitrovica. On the square there are exhibitions of books, classic cars, flowers, the stage during concerts, temporary exhibitions in the park , children's programs, playground, old fountain, the entrances to the Theater, the Gallery, the Library, the Museum ... With the realized Pedestrian area project, the physical appearance of the street has gone, the area of the park and the square has become unified. Park did not become an isolated green oasis, it is located exactly between the city's most monumental architectural peaces (as a square on the first place), but has become a more peaceful part of the square. It is also a place for events and gatherings as well as the paved square. Trails in the park are designed to follow the directions of the most flows- from the Square to the

river Sava (Archives bldg) and from the Theater to the Museum, with lots of small organic curved shape tracks and with clear marking stone fountain flower as the central content. Trends of the organic forms and types of materials are chosen to give the impression of natural stone path , it is a concept that is supposed to show that the park is dominated by nature and peaceful

activities of people, as opposed to square which is paved with ornament in an orthogonal system. "Square should be open, free space, a place where people gather, where democracy was conceived," agora ", orderly, pleasant, according to the size of the city that attracts citizens during major events, attracting the gathering, meeting, communication , ... "(Lukic, 2006).

Cira Milekic Square is an area that is remembered for nowadays users as - "Korzo", "Monkey island", "Wave", "Clock square ," .. It is ideal for a daily break from work, school, it is equipped with benches and a large number of summer gardens. Broad plateau with indirect luminaires (not to interfere with life in the neighboring apartments on the first floors) and a high pillar lighting, allows the organization of each event - concert, New Year's spectacle, fair, open skating ring, ... The bike path is pulled through the square, for those who are in a hurry. In the afternoon, this is a place where parents bring children to play, running around, ... In the hotter days, the park is used more. At night, there are some other users in well-lit and safe environment - so they have their meetings, after theater events, prom nights, nights out, ... Square and park along are the place for trade in the peripheral stores, open exhibitions, performances, concerts, fairs, occasional sports events, meetings, summer gardens, children playing, roller-skating, riding bicycle, vacations, sun, waiting for the theater, internet communication - hot spot, ...

St Stefan Square

St Stefan Square is basically a triangular space that is created at the point where the street of Cira Milekic and the street of Vuk Karadzic cross. There is also the entrance to the courtyard of the Cathedral Orthodox Church of St. Demetrius. The square is surrounded by one-storey Baroque houses of the 17th century. In addition to these old buildings on the square there are two modern commercial facilities - "Fashion House" (arch.B.Mitrovic 1973) and Department Store - "Stoteks" (arch.M.Matovic 1981). The square is dominated by the church building.

According to the written sources and research results from 1999 in the ancient times the area of the church of St. Demetrius probably there existed a Shrine. For the needs of the church construction, the Serbian community bought 14 houses in this place in 1786. The church was completed in 1794. In front of the church, there was the square space, a market for a long time, and until World War II there stood a stone cross, which was then removed and in its place there was set a concrete Monument to the fallen soldiers (architect Irina Nepokoich

ickaia), which disappeared due to the poor construction quality.

Since the nineties when the custom of marrying and baptizing in church was restored, the square has become the place of happy events and mostly photographed place . Because it touches the north side of street of Vuk Karadzic, where the regime of motor vehicle traffic in the near future could not be changed, the square represents a break of exclusive pedestrian - bike area. In its central part there is also a room for the bus stop. For the flows of movement of pedestrians, this square is highly significant because it represents the hub of all flows through the center - from the green market to the hospital, from the administrative center to the Sava river quay, from the the street Ribarska obala ("fishing coast") to the east part of the city – Kuzminska st.

The square is paved with the same materials as the square and street of Cira Milekic. In front of the gates of the church there are benches and a fountain with drinking water. The square is lighted with the same lightnings and reflecting surfaces.

Zitna pijaca Square

Zitna pijaca square ("Grain market" square) is surrounded by houses from the 18th and 19th centuries. Three rows of houses completely enclose the triangle that defines the edge of the square. Since the sixties of the 20th century,

the square has received an unusual look because of an open archaeological site located between the stylish facades of the surrounding houses. The buildings around the square are mostly some one-business-residential urban houses. The square is surrounded on two sides by pavement and motor vehicle streets. South street direction comes out to the Sava quay. After the project is anticipated, the north street will be turned into the pedestrian-bicycle space.

In ancient times this area was the border area near the southern and western walls of the city. In nowadays open archeological site, the south stone wall can be clearly seen. The site includes the remains of the nine insulas , and 3 of them can be seen the whole, as well as the antique street through which there is a street sewer system . The houses , judging by the remains found in the vicinity, were actually handcraft workshops (glass fragments found in the workshop).
At the time of Austria-Hungary, this district was inhabited by wealthy people - shopkeepers and landowners. Thanks to trade and craftsmanship, this district has developed. In the middle of the triangular there was a cobbled grain market. Since 1961 when the research of Sirmium started , the square has become an open air museum.

The open archeological site of Zitna pijaca managed itself to survive without a lot of restructuring and protection in the last 50 years. For the future care of the site there are two conflicting ideas - to protect it or to backfill it with soil to protect it and give it a clearer role. In the past 30 years, except as an unsafe area for children to play, the site was the venue of the festivals – the Rhetoric festival and the Folk dances festival. On the scarp they usually lay mobile stairs, and in the site they put the scenery of the ancient triumphal arc. In front of the scene they set up chairs for the auditorium. With a good sound system and night light-ning, these festivals are moments when the ambient of the city gets glow of a real metropolis, as Sirmium once was. The stage and the auditorium are at the ruins of ancient bricks, with the baroque backdrop fronts ...

The Pedestrian area project of three squares intends to construct the perma-nent amphitheater steps (Greek Theatre). As a barrier between the everyday world scene, there should be the colonnade. Open site would be revitalized and the space between ruins would be paved. One of the buildings surrounding the site belongs to the Music School, which would be given the opportunity to pres-ent frequent outdoor concerts in the amphitheater.

The design project

The project team was named by the municipal authorities from the circle of local architects (one architect from the local city planning office, one architect fromThe Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation of Sremska Mitrovica and one politically active private architect) , one geodetic engineer , one traffic engineer and one politician. The task they were named for was to make the documentation for the design project competition. After analysing the projects for the towns that came from competitions and the local documentation , the commision decided and asked the authorities for the permission to work on the project themselves– and got it. The design project was not the work of someone who comes to the town for the first time, as they found on the other examples, but the work of people who love the town and live in it for the whole life. During the design project work, there was a little public interest for it, but afterwards, when the realisation started, there were very strong reactions of the public. At first , the public had to be well informed by tv sessions and local newspaper articles with images that the park will not be destroyed but reconstructed, that the old fountain will not be removed, that some of the old trees must be removed, and will be replaced with new ones... The paving materials were not provocative for the public, but the lighting design actually was. There had been a lot of people who thought that the design look of lightings should be more conservative, although there already were several towns with this new style. Every peace of urban furniture was designed by the project team, so that they fit together, although they were made by different producers. Also, grouping the benches on the square was strange to the public, as it was the quantity and strength of the lights in the park. Before the project, the park used to be rather dangerous place during the night, and unfortunatelly the place for gatherings of marginal groups, so the families or the theatre public could not safely pass through it. So every big change was followed by the strong reaction – of likers and dislikers.

The project got the annual municipal prize , the authors were asked to write an article for the professional magazine (Dans, Novi Sad), and there was an article in the national daily magazine (Politika). But the most imortant thing is that the squares and the park are used and much more crowded then before in every

day time. Even the group of benches on the square (called „ the train") is never unused, usually there is no place enough, and the park is not a dangerous place at any time, but very popular and crowded in summer nights.

Conclusion

Three Squares of Sremska Mitrovica have different purposes. Cira Milekic Square is the square of the constant daily gatherings, throughout the year events, fairs, concerts, ... It is also a commercial zone, and the area with the most summer gardens, and it contains the city park. St Stefan Square is a square that has the purpose of traffic and crossing passes and purpose of the church square. Zitna pijaca Square is the most peaceful square in everyday terms, and only in exceptional situations it serves as a place of festivals, concerts and becomes a manifestation square.

Any intervention in the living and the dense urban fabric includes long-term succession planning and action. Intervention in the city that has layers of 2000 years includes it more than anywhere else.

Despite the complexity of the work in this environment, and thanks to intertwining eras, and almost the same events in the same area through the ages, the space of squares in Sremska Mitrovica has a special -out of time- spirit .

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RESURRECTION OF A LEGACY
AN URBAN VITALITY ENHANCEMENT PROJECT

ABSTRACT

Although the new administrative capital city of Malaysia, Putrajaya is about 60 % completed, the focus on projecting a powerful image has not been emphasized in the overall masterplan. The desired physical and spatial structure of the completed parcels of the various precincts have not achieved the expected image of a Garden City mainly due to the extensive network of roads and the excessive projection of architectural imagery to evoke a mnemonic sense of place. The intent of this paper is to summarize an urban design exercise on Dataran Rakyat, which is one of the four public squares embellishing the 4.2 km Boulevard of Putrajaya's Core Island. It is set in between two parks, namely Taman Rakyat 1 and 2 connecting both the eastern and western portions of the waterfront, which are crucial as they will be the main transit hubs connecting the two monorail lines. The centrality of the park provides a much needed urban intervention to further enliven the city. The main idea of this intervention is to project monumental urban spaces that act as a political device that instills a

sense of patriotism for Malaysian. The legacy of our prime ministers will be resurrected through built form dedicated as public space for all. The proposed intervention encompassed the contributions of these great leaders and manifests them into abstract urban spaces along the new park that enhances Putrajaya's walkability. The new orchard park will be a fine example of urban landscape that merges into a seamless symbiosis that enhances Putrajaya's image as a Garden City. A huge measure of sustainable systems has been appropriated in the scheme, upholding Putrajaya as the leading green city in the world. The saturation of borders between entities bring strong attachment between man, god and nature, as it was intended to be the soul of the city establishment.

KEY WORDS: Garden city, symbiosis, public space, boulevard

1   INTRODUCTION

Putrajaya was designated as the new administrative center of Malaysia as the Government decided to relocate the federal administrative capital from Kuala Lumpur to the district of Sepang in Selangor. Putrajaya is a model city planned with "great respect for the environment" The city is planned to embrace two main themes, city in a garden and an intelligent city. The planning and development of the new city is guided by the "Garden City" concept guidelines. A master plan was subsequently prepared based on this concept. The Putrajaya Master Plan was approved by the Government in February 1995. Putrajaya Holdings Sdn. Bhd., a government listed company, was established to be the master developer of the city. The Master Plan covers an area of 4,931 hectares. The Garden City concept is clearly portrayed with 37% of the land area dedicated for green and open spaces within the city.

Among the key features of the Putrajaya Master Plan is 4.2 km long boulevard that forms the central spine of the city and designated a large portion of the city as green open spaces. The city is divided into 20 precincts with the core employment and commercial precincts located on an island surrounded by the man-made lake and wetlands. Therefore, a 38 kilometers long waterfront area is formed from the creation of the lake.

The main objective of this design escapade is to generate creative and practical ideas to re-enliven the existing urban spaces in the Core Precincts of Putra

Fig. 1 The core island of Putrajaya is surrounded by an artificial lake. The proposed project site is shown in red.

jaya. The exercise will result with a viable proposal concept that reflect vibrant, sustainable and successful urban places.

Among others, the proposal has taken into consideration the followings:

i A viable masterplan that is responsive to the existing and future needs of the community and end users.

ii The proposal has to be environmentally friendly. Adoption of sustainable approaches to design such as the Malaysian Green Building Index and Zero Carbon Footprint.

iii A development proposal that addresses the infrastructural, economic and social issues faced by the end-users/community.

iv Generating interesting concepts that further enhance the garden city image in the urban space design proposals.
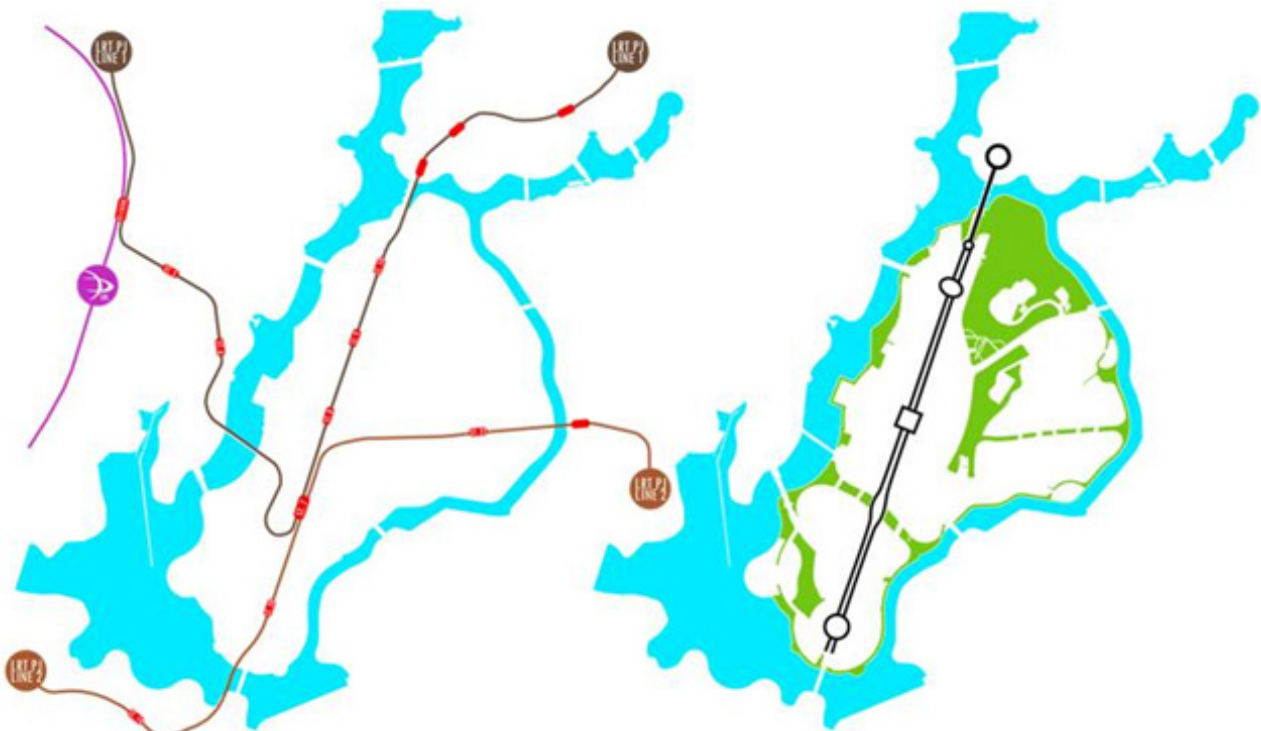
2 SITE BACKGROUND, PUTRAJAYA

Figure 2. Putrajaya's core island transportation network and greenery network.

Dataran Rakyat is flanked by two parks, namely Taman Rakyat 1 and 2 creating the axis of the people. Informative boards containing descriptive writings about our former Prime Ministers, as well as procurable information of flora and fauna within the vicinity of Putrajaya are set along the park. This stretch of open public space connecting both the eastern and western sectors of the waterfronts hold a crucial role in the future Putrajaya development as it will become the main transit hub connecting two intersecting monorail lines. The centrality of the site provides a much needed urban intervention to further enliven the city.

3 ISSUES

The traffic volume of Putrajaya is expected to increase sevenfold by 2025, contributing to an enormous amount of carbon emission by this operation alone. Putrajaya's effort to be a Garden City is backfiring as the maintenance effort to keep up its greenery is actually taking a toll on the environment. Both these unsustainable urban operations completely deprive Putrajaya from achieving its Green City status by 2025. Taman Rakyat itself was intended to celebrate our Prime Ministers, yet its effort is poorly presented.

4 HYPOTHESIS

The legacy of our Prime Ministers will resurrect through built form dedicated as public space to the people. The new orchard park will be the catalyst of an eco-system resurrection by creating a hub for the natural processes of pollination to become a self-sustaining park network. The new development will be the prime epicenter of Putrajaya as they can relax, works, live, eat and shop while contemplating the contributions of the Malaysian legacy within a premium connective hub.

5 STRATEGIES

In order to guarantee the success of this proposed development, a number of implementation mechanisms have been listed. The main stakeholder that will participate together with other investors in a unique strategic partnership. They consist of government and private organization associated with Putrajaya's development including Putrajaya Holdings and Perbadanan Putrajaya.

There are eight major groups that include the federal government and its agencies; resource and energy agencies; tourism, commercial, environmental and health; agriculture and logistic partners as illustrated in the diagram above. Each component intersecting on top of the lines show a mutual consent between dif
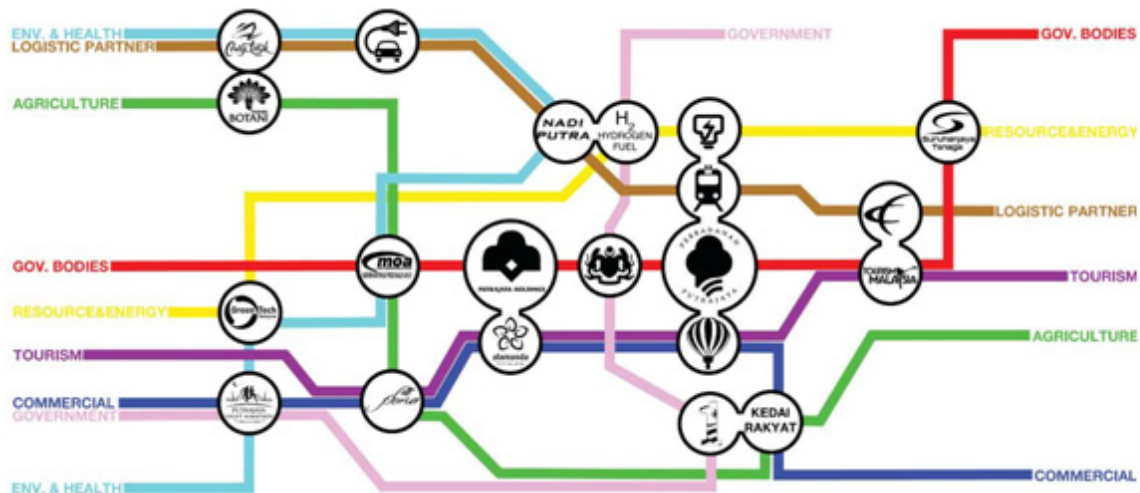
Figure 3. The collaborative networks between stakeholders.

ferent parties

Figure 4. Introduction of urban and management policies.

5.1   INSTRUMENTS

There are three main instruments used to execute the proposed development. These instruments pose vital necessity that contributes to the general success of the scheme.

Figure 5. Target user program base storyboard diagram

5.2 USER PROGRAME: MASS MIXTURE

A variety of target users have been classified as commuters, local community and tourists. An analytical study of their daily activities has been transposed into a program base storyboard as shown above. Their activities, and space requirement have been mapped out to suit their needs. From here they are able to catch a ferry taxi or a cruise to enjoy a one- hour ride around the lake of Putrajaya.

5.3 PROGRAM ZONING MORPHOLOGY

The proposed urban intervention is established from direct response to contextual relative zoning such as the major pedestrian network, connection between blocks, and by carving the entrance foyer and the waterfront square. The program layering is based on neighboring zoning and penetrating the traffic artery.

The design started by zoning the potential programs and identifying the existing allocated land use near the site. The existing commercial surrounding is taken into the site to create a seamless shopping experience even when shoppers walk across the park. The next step was to identify projected potential pedestrian routes. This new pedestrian pattern will influence the movement pattern of the site through urban blocks, which later serve as circulation routes.

The development will consolidate by blurring the boundary of neighboring sites so as to complement the surrounding development. At both ends of the waterfront, there are two open public squares that are carved in relation to the water body. These semicircular bays provide a longer perimeter view line of the waterfront.

Retails and commercial services are placed nearby the main roads, giving much needed exposure towards merchandise or product to the passing traffic. Small and mid size enterprises are inserted to support the surrounding development consisting of several mixed developments and residential blocks. Complimentary programs such as entertainment, leisure and sports are added to increase livability.

6 URBAN REALM

The development will maintain 70% of the landscaped area despite the large
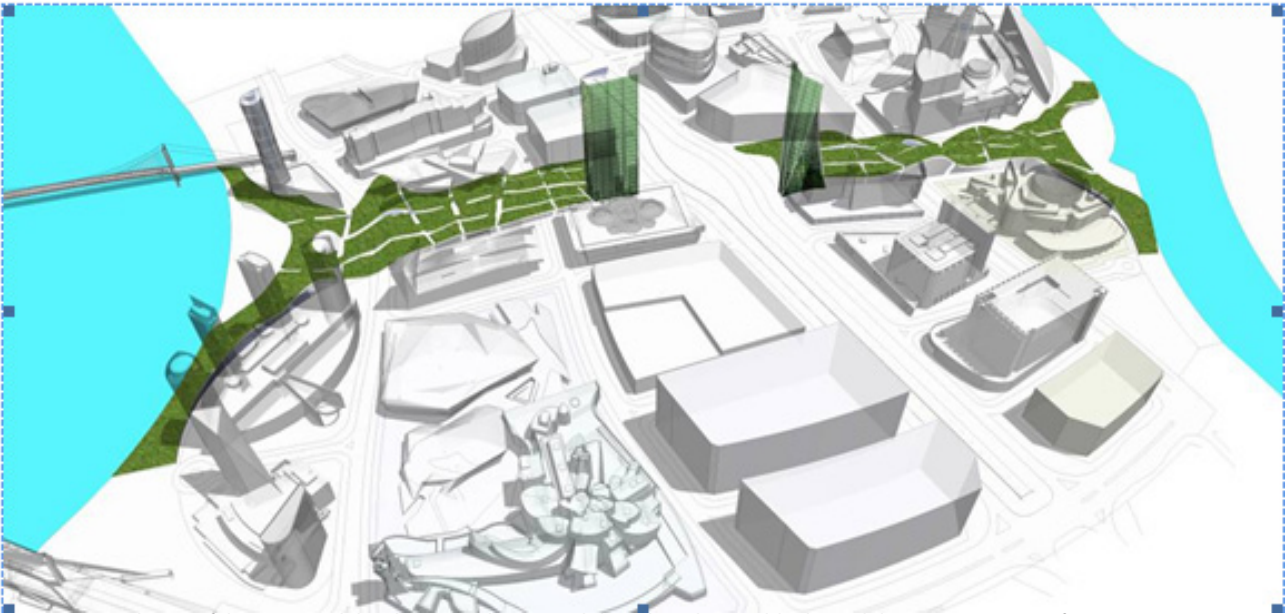
Figure 6. Aerial view of the proposed development that consolidate the adjacent blocks and the two main waterfronts.

structure. This number accumulates to a figure of 16 acres of cultivated area and serves as a carbon sink within the city. The development is capable to absorb 28.6 tons of CO2 a year. The diverse variations of flora accumulate to 4809 different species and attract more than 700 native fauna as well. With the help of pollination, the lush greenery is expected to increase to about 32% more than ordinary planting methods.

7   A NATIONAL TRIBUTE TO MALAYSIA'S LEGACY

The public urban realm is divided into two major components. First, is the Prime Minister inspired urban space that serves as unique nodes along the spines. The surface of this spine creates the second component, a large continuous park build for the people that connect all the nodes together. The legacy of our Prime Ministers will be resurrected through built form dedicated as public space to the people. This permanent tribute encompasses the contributions of these great leaders and manifests them into abstract urban spaces along the new park that


Figure 7. Taman Rakyat, park of the people

enhances Putrajaya's walkability.

7.1 TAMAN RAKYAT: PARK OF THE PEOPLE

A process of formation through archipelago or islands, sparking new opportunity for the park future created the new park along the newly created axis of the people. The formation of these building blocks that formed the islands is a direct response of the existing building form, urban connection and programmatic configuration. This island consists of 4 main typologies, which include the following:

a)   Isolated and steep islands (Rainforest). Totally inaccessible with extremely steep slopes. Not recommended for any program and highly dangerous to public. It is the main carbon sink area and animal habitat.

b)   The long and gentle slope (Flower Enclave). The undulating landscape and gentle slope of the land give a relaxing walk. Provides a lot of relaxation and leisure activity potential. Suitable for gardening and recreational activities.

c)   Open flat delta (Turf Field). An almost flat land with large open space. The surface is large enough to hold and host a lot of outdoor recreational activities.
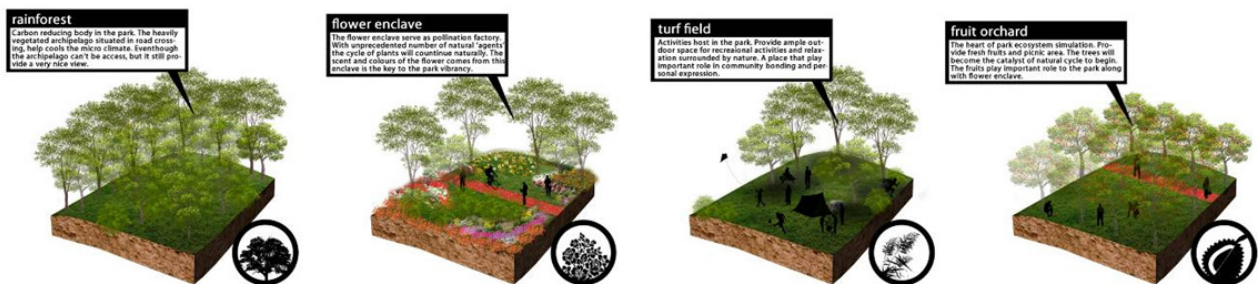
8. The typologies of the archipelago blocks that form the Park of the People.
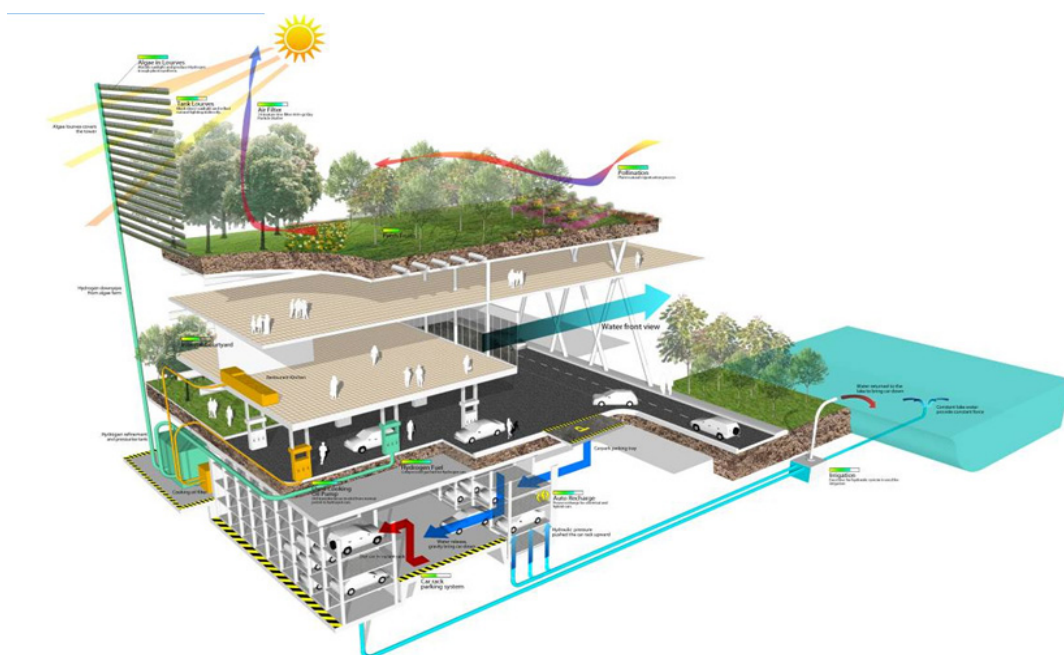

Figure 9. Sustainable design features

d)   Interconnected islands (Fruit Orchard). Fairly accessible from all other islands. Suitable to be the prime program host of ecosystem revival. Fruit orchard provides urban dwellers opportunity to enjoy fresh grown fruits.

7.1.5 GREEN CITY 2025

Figure 10. The celebration of Independence Day at the Oval of Independence.

The whole urban project was grounded on a sustainable development for the city. Since its inception stage, various green design strategies have been molded for the entire program. Figure 9 shows a few green design systems such as internal courtyards, large opening towards the lake for natural cooling and air filters on the roof to ensure sufficient indoor environmental quality. Other measures undertaken for the development such as double volumes to promote natural ventilation, water bodies to keep the interior temperature low, under floor cooling and rainwater harvesting systems have been implemented. A few technical aspects have been injected to realize a future green city such as algae farms for cars that run on hydrogen as well as a stack car park that runs simply by hydraulic pressure from the lake. Active and passive space design have been maximized towards generating a responsive living in a tropical climate. This massive development in Putrajaya's core island will be a major contributor for Putrajaya to achieve its green city status by 2025.

7.2   TUNKU ABD. RAHMAN: OVAL OF INDEPENDENCE

The Oval of Independence is a formal plaza dedicated to Tuanku Abdul Rahman as he brought the nation to its independence in 1957. This space has a semi circular seating overlooking the lake, the Tuanku Mizan Mosque and the Seri Saujana Bridge. The ambience portrays openness and freedom, reminding Malaysians to be grateful for achieving independence and living in such harmony. The plaza is host to small retail kiosks, lakeside cafes, a chess park and waterfront picnic pods. Its oval shape allows maximum viewing for any formal events, such as the annual Flower Festival and Independence Day Celebration.

7.3   TUN ABDUL RAZAK: SPIRE OF PROGRESSION

The Spire of Progression is an environmental cone dedicated to Tun Abdul Razak, the Father of Development. The form of the spire derives from an upward movement, resembling the nation's progression towards a bright future. This is the most significant component that makes Malaysia what it is today was introduced during the tenure of the second prime minister, Tun Abdul Razak. Townships spruced up during his time, including Petaling Jaya, the country's first satellite town. Razak charted the development of the nation physically, politically, socially and economically. The aftereffects of which are felt and witnessed to this day. The Spire of Progression is a sophisticated space with the various technological advancements. The inner shell of the spire is overgrown with wall creepers allowing natural light to be filtered before it penetrates the space.

7.4   TUN HUSSEIN ONN: AMPHITHEATER OF UNITY

The amphitheater is dedicated to Tun Hussein Onn, the Father of Unity. Therefore the idea and concept of this space involves much with the unification of a wide range of people together in one location no matter what age or race. The amphitheater is the main informal event host located on the east side of the development, where the waters are much less busy than the open water body on the west side. Here, a simply carved semi circle is converted into an open-air amphitheater. The movable floating event pod is a floating stage hosting concerts and screenings so that the audience gets a full viewing pleasure without any obstructions. LED pixilated floor provides extreme versatility of event presentations. The beautiful background and the traffic isolated location enables reality shows to broadcast live coverage. The wide variety of possibilities to transform the amphitheater into multi functional spaces contribute to a sustainable development as no wastage of space occurs for occasional events.

7.5   TUN DR. MAHATHIR MOHAMAD: POINT OF VISION

Vision 2020 is a Malaysian ideal introduced by the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Mahathir Mohamad during the tabling of the Sixth Malaysia Plan in 1991. The vision calls for the nation to achieve a self-sufficient industrialized nation by the year 2020, encompassing all aspects of life, from economic prosperity, social well-being, educational world class, political stability, as well as psychological balance. The Point of Vision manifests the visionary thinking of Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad when he set a goal for Malaysia to be a developed

Figure 11. Fountain of Inner Peace

nation by 2020. One of his instruments in order to achieve these set of goals, was the birth of the administrative capital city of Putrajaya. Despite many objections and different views about Putrajaya, the city will eventually take its shape with a brand of a Malaysian city.

7.6   TUN ABDULLAH AHMAD BADAWI: FOUNTAIN OF INNER PEACE

The Fountain of Inner Peace lies within the premises of the transportation hub, and functions as a main waiting area. It acts as a solitary enclave which provides ample space for social and learning activities within its public space for daily commuters and other users as it is located near the public transportation hub. The fountain consists of 3-tiered sunken plazas, each with its individual privacy gradient facing the Fountain. The deepest plaza has the highest privacy level, as it is located nearest to the water body and the fountain, named the Reflection

Ring as it is in this area where Tun Abdullah's Poem can be heard.

7.7   DATO' SRI NAJIB ABD RAZAK: DATARAN RAKYAT

Dato' Sri Haji Mohammad Najib bin Tun Haji Abdul Razak is the current Prime Minister of Malaysia since 2009. As this urban development was proposed dur-

Figure 12. Full stretch longitudinal section

ing his appointment as Prime Minister, the Dataran Rakyat will be dedicated to him as it represents the starting point of the development as it expands to both east and west ends. Dato Sri Najib stresses national unity and ethnic tolerance through the 1Malaysia campaign. The 1Malaysia slogans give emphasis on the people (rakyat) and therefore 'Dataran Rakyat' of Putrajaya will be a dedication to him when he steps down in the office and steps in as the 6th legacy of Malaysia. The project will become Putrajaya's crown jewel as an exemplary development that embodies the Garden City concept. The closeness between man, and nature in an urban setting enhances living quality and liveliness. The prime minister inspired public spaces become an urban cultural melting pot where people from different races eat, shop and work with deep appreciation to the leaders. The new park will not only become the green lung of Putrajaya, but also enhance biological network of pollination processes to affect other parks in other parts of Putrajaya, thus creating a sustainable city by 2025.

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JAPANESE AESTHETIC IDEAL OF NATURE AND CONTEMPORARY ECO-DESIGN

ABSTRACT

The text explores the relationship between architecture and nature, in the context of modern, environmental and green-oriented approaches to architectural design. The current state of the architectural profession cannot be viewed isolated from a broader social situation in which the economic recession and an energy deficit, caused by unplanned exploitation of natural resources, have polluted the environment. In respect, the applied architectural strategies overcomes the problems of technical and technological improvements, and includes a cultural, anthropological and philosophical dimension. The starting point of the analysis is the relationship between man and nature, which evolved through history into two socially and culturally conditioned approaches: Western and Eastern - in this case the Japanese model. A close relationship with nature, which originated in the local tradition, is incorporated in modern Japanese architecture. However, this type of architectural creation is not only a result of socially engaged understanding of the importance of ecology. It is a specific combination of nature and beauty, which makes the traditional backbone of the Japanese aesthetic understanding. Taking into consideration relationships established be-

tween the man, culture, nature and beauty in Japanese tradition, the goal of the text is to establish a theoretical framework that will allow a deeper understanding of environmental trends in contemporary Japanese architecture, such as Tadao Ando narchitecture and Kengo Kuma anti-object. Through projects the respected authors examine not only architectural manifestation in nature but also how nature is manifested in the architecture.

KEY WORDS: GREEN ARCHITECTURE, NATURE, TRADITIONAL CULTURAL VALUES, ECOLOGICAL ORIENTED BUILDINGS

1   INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the specific importance the ideal of nature takes up in Japanese aesthetics we first need to understand these questions in relation to our western views. The way in which western and Japanese culture perceive the world and existence is fundamentally different. In the first place, the very concept of culture is differently defined in the West and in Japan. In the West, the binary system of thought based on duality and diversity puts the culture and the man against nature. Within Japanese view of the world there is no opposition between culture as a human sphere and a nature that lies outside of it. The man and the nature are not two poles, they are rather understood as joint parts of a comprehensive cosmic whole.

Viewed through the prism of religious comsology, Judeo-Christian idea of a man as final creation, ruler of the nature and the Universe, privileged object of God's attention, whose historical destiny is linear, is opposed to the view of the world in which human existence extends to an infinite cyclic continuum (Kyburz,1997). While western humanism develops an idea of a man as the center, eastern philosophy and religion perceive the man more like a peripheral entity – part of a larger and central natural course. In this kind of environment, human species is just one of the many possible forms of being, without a claim to assume any form of domination (Hendry, 1997).

Since there is no fundamental discontinuity between the man and other categories of creations in the word, there is also no dichotomy between the man as representative of culture and the nature. Continuity of elements, common conditionality of all things and beings comes from, indicates that the man, culture and the nature are united.

Ideas of fusion with surrounding elements and extension towards cosmic unity are not unknown in the history of western thought, but they existed only as episodes. In contrast to this, in Japanese culture, in a large part of its history, these ideas represented the absolute ideal of existence, the way of living and realization of the cosmic principle. Understanding nature as a spontaneous self-existing totality and the essence of everything, including the man, the nature is no different from the comsic whole, integral parts of which are the man and the culture.

Traditional unitary perception of Universe is partially doubted from the ends of XIX century until today, when the acceptance of western, empirical and rational thought has led to weakening of correlation culture-nature. In the period of the most radical rupture with tradition (Meyi restoration, 1868), separate concepts of culture and nature found verbal expression in the terms shizen and bunka/bumei, that corresponded to western concepts. Although these two terms existed previously, western dichotomy brought them to the fore only in modern use. Shizen, consists of Shi, means itself and Zen means to be so. Thus, Shizen means to be as it is from itself.

2 CONCEPT OF NATURE AND BEAUTY IN JAPANESE AESTHETICS

Unlike the West, philosophy and aesthetics as disciplines in Japan did not evolve independently from everyday life, they were rather embodied in a certain kind of practice. Japanese term for philosophy – tetsugaku was conceived only about a hundred years ago and it was used to designate European systems of thinking, studied in Japan after its opening towards the West (Parkes, 1995). Existence of this word does not suppose there was no previous texts that contained the thought considered philosophical in the West. The main topic in contemporary Japanese aesthetics as an academic discipline is the western aesthetics. Japanese term for aesthetics is bigaku. Bigaku did not refer to the theory of sensory abilities in its original European sense (aesthesis - sensory, pereptible), it referred to the science of beauty. The reasons for that acn be found in the complexity of the historic moment in which the Japanese assimilated the European aesthetic thought. In the first place, in the second half of XIX century Germany aesthetics was already understood as a science of the beautiful and art. For European philosophy, aesthetics in that particular time was unambiguously defined as the theory of beauty and art. Therefore, the Japanese scholars simply used the most convenient way to directly translate the terminology of European thinkers. The second reason is related to the particularities of Japanese tradition by which all

elements are treated as inseparable parts of a whole. Because of this, not evem the arts and the beautiful were separated from life. This kind of Japanese aesthetic tradition caused easy establishment of aesthetics as the science of beauty. A general property of traditional oriental cultures is the absence of radical disparities between theory and practice. The study of Japanese aesthetic thought before the Meyi restoration, which was oriented towards the practice and life, does not instruct us so much to turn to the text analyses, how much it instructs us to turn to study of the lifestyle and traditions that are reflected in art, architecture, food and other aspects of everyday life.

Aesthetic ideal of nature in Japan also exists on the religious level, especially in the Shinto religion. Shinto, which preceded all the outside influences, indicative of the many aspects of today's Japan, literally means the way of God's spirit. The main characteristic of this religion is animism according to which the whole world is spiritualized and animated by the spirits, which is similar to the religion of ancient Greece. The main components of the Shintos are the cult of nature and the cult of forefathers. In the cult of nature the sun, mountains, trees, water, rocks, and some species were considered divine. The first records on the relation of beauty and nature in Japanese culture, show that the word beauty refers to the beauty of nature. Teiji Ito (1972) mentions the reflection of Zen priest Ikkyo, dating back to the XV century, and referring to the way in which the beauty is rooted in nature. Beauty in general terms as an idea does not exist, it is always connected to the object it relates to. Beauty cannot have a separate reality in relation to the material forms, which are made possible through it. These ideas take on specific resonance in Japanese aesthetics, where beauty and nature are unbreakable series of components, beauty cannot be abstracted from the experience of nature but only in the context of nature.

3 IDEALIZATION OF NATURE AND NATURAL METAPHOR : JAPANESE LANDSCAPE AND PORTRAIT

The dialectic relationship between the nature and the man as the central theme of Eastern thought, produced in the western world many clichés and literal interpretations. It is true that the traditional Japanese way of life primarily means respect for nature and coexistence with genuine natural principles. In this sense, mostly cited is the difference between Western and Eastern understanding of the attitude towards nature. Indicative is the setting up of a relation in which:

-       the Western model, views nature as an object to subdue and transform in suit human needs;

-        the Eastern model, primarily the Japanese model, traditionally respects nature and the coexistence with genuine principles of nature.

However, the Japanese way of spatial planning and construction produce contradictions, if you look at the underlining of life in harmony with nature, which is allegedly different from the one of the Westerners, aimed at conquest of nature. It is obvious that through the centuries the Japanese also tried and managed to conquer nature in the same way the Westerners did. Creating rice fields by cutting into hill slopes, building dams in order to secure ports and shipyards, prevention against earthquakes and volcanoes, typhoons and floods are just hints of Japanese activities that contradict the harmonic relationship with nature (Hendry, 1997).

According to Japanese traditional understanding, naturalness always carries a certain level of artificiality. Although the nature is reality, its representation in Japanese culture is not objective, it is rather aestheticized and idealized in the conventionally styled way. Idealization as a form of embellishment suggests a kind of a cultural process and the production of meanings that are understandable and close to the members of Japanese culture. Closeness of the Japanese with the nature therefore is not interesting in itself, it rathrer involves a broader cultural ideal of beauty that is represented through nature. What they see, the Japanese represent in the nature, indicating the intimate connection between the concept of nature and the idea of beauty. The need for adding beauty to the reality is expressed by the term Kyojitsu (Sen'ichi, 1963).

A strong, uncontrollable, wild side of nature is largely ignored and subordinated to its beauty. In the nature the Japanese in the first place valuate grace, sophistication, elegance and beauty, rather than a strong character and wild side. This was not the case in XIX century Europe, where romanticism promoted the admiration for the power of the wild (Figure 1 and Figure 2). Wild nature is associated with uncontrolled passions which take possession of the soul, current in the era of Romanticism.

The phenomenon of idealization, widespread in Japanese art, poetry, landscape architecture, may best be traced through the portrait of a beautiful woman – bijinga (Figure 3). It shows the idealized female beauty that is practically surrounded by nature, either literally - graphically, or over an allusion. In the tradition of Western painting, dominated by the portrait, still life and landscape, the genre of beautiful women's portraits is neglected, especially in the manner applied

Figure 1: Hokusai – Vague en haute mer, 1820.
Figure 2: J.M.V. Turner – Shipwreck, 1810.

in Japan. In bijinga, the women - Maiko is represented in a kimono, with ornaments in her hair, face completely made-up in white and set in a natural context.

This kind of conception of a beautiful woman is different from the one that appears in paintings of Western artists. Beginning with the Greek ideal of beauty, embodied in the classical sculpture of Venus, the Western artists imagined a beautiful woman as naked, paying attention to the figure, the body (Figure 4). Nudity of goddesses was complete, which allowed the viewers to enjoy the platonizing, ideal proportions of the figure. A literal-naturalistic way of representing a woman continued to be topical in the centuries that following, throughout the history of Western art, despite the periods of social and moral norms disapproving of the display of nudity. In contrast to this, representation of naked female body was avoided in Japan, except in the erotic painting - Slung (Cabanas, 1997). The beauty evoked by the Japanese artist is related to the shape and color, so he uses folds and colors of the kimono to express it, not the nudity of the body.
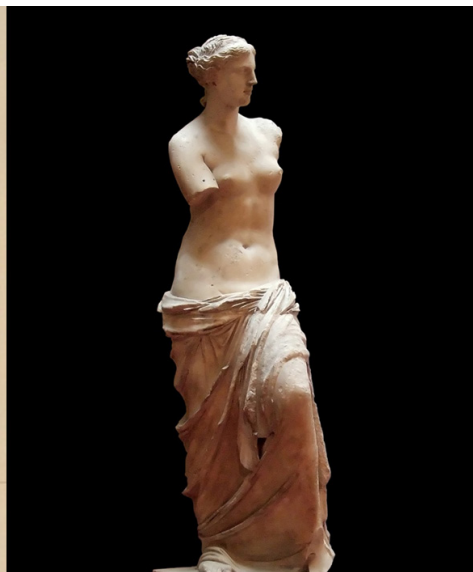
Given the pronounced Japanese connection with nature, it may seem paradoxical that female beauty in the portrait is expressed in a very unnatural and mystified way. A Westerner would rightfully wonder how can we appreciate the beauty of a woman if her body is completely covered with clothes, and her face painted in white. Dressed, adorned, made-up

Maiko is a complete contrast to Venus, which had the purpose of showing the true beauty, without anything added and inauthentic. It is clear that the naturalness and the nature are interpreted differently in Japan and the West, not only in the context of primacy and seondariness in comparison to the man (as shown in Kordic), but also in relation to beauty. In the West, the word nature evokes the spontaneity and lack of preparation. On the other hand, in Japan nature and beauty are inseparable. Therefore, instead of enjoying the spontaneity of nature, the Japanese are trying to improve it in line with their aesthetic ideals. All this suggests that the Japanese might most of all enjoy the beauty even more than the nature itself.

Women'a kimono on Maiko is decorated with flowers because the romantic vision of female character in Japan has long been identified with flowers because of their delicacy, fragility, beauty and freshness. Cherry blossom (nature) and Maiko (women) form a harmony in which two subjects are becoming a portrait of an ideal. The nature and the women are the unique beauty (Cabanas, 1997).

In bijinga, the woman is not identified only with flowers, rather through the flower she connotes a broader relationship with nature. While in western painting the connection between the two subjects (women and nature) is not developed, and nature is only a little more than a background, in Japanese bijinga the characters are displayed as parts of nature that is not only an ornament or background. Portraying a woman surrounded by nature, Japanese artists reveal the aesthetic ideal in which the subject (the woman) serves as a metaphor of the ideal.

4 ATTITUDE TOWARDS NATURE IN CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

Post-war economic recovery made Japan a technology giant, and Japanese identity over time ceased to be linked with tradition and culture. The Western visitor who now expects to see the spectacular beauty of Japanese tradition at every step, is likely to be disappointed and might even be shocked by meeting with Japanese contemporary culture. Fast food restaurants, striking light advetisements, empty facial expressions of people rushing to their jobs, identify Japan more with the contemporary models of life in the West than with their own tradition. Although modern Japanese culture does not differ too much from the west, the Japanese aesthetic past is not abandoned (Keene, 1995). The picture that Western visitors can experience in Japan should not be confused with the

sources of Japanese tradition, which have not been forgotten even in the era of constant change. The theological and philosophical principles developed in the early periods of Japanese history are still part of the national heritage, significantly affecting the present way of thinking.

The aesthetic ideal of nature in contemporary Japanese tradition is manifested by two architects, whose work can be considered a natural-oriented paradigm, ecological and green design. These are Tadao Ando and Kengo Kuma. Although similar in terms of the final outcome, these buildings by the wear characteristics of the engineering approach. It can be said that Ando uses the method of idealization of nature, while Kuma elaborates natural metaphors.

Ando's main purpose concerning the relationship between nature and architecture is changing nature as-is to a domesticated nature (Co, 1995). He describes his way of designing using the term narchitecture. As Ando states, narchitecture, i.e. the naturalization of architecture and architecturalization of nature is the true interaction between architecture and nature. At the end, two opposing poles are integrated and become one unified new landscape through which the opposition between architecture and nature vanishes [9]. By nature, Ando alludes not to raw nature, but domesticated nature. Domesticated nature is not nature perceived-as-is, but the changed one. It is a constructed nature, i.e. architecturalized nature. Architecturalized nature implies changing the site and modifying it through construction. As a good example, we can refer to the Naoshima Museum in which we can not find a considerable gap and distance between architecture and nature. It seems that architecture has blended into nature, and achieved a new entity, a narchitecture. The given natural site or landscape is changed by means of construction to lead to a new entity that has been given

order by man (Co, 1995).

On the other hand, Kuma emphisizes the concept of site specific as the guide in his work. It is an idea that implies taking into account the building site, to comprehend the meaning of place (Kuma, 2007). It is the concept that Kuma calls anti-object and is fundamentally based on relations between buildings

and the environment. He tries to create transparent architecture, architecture that doesn't dominate and violate the existing state, even losing a visible form.

It is the medium between user and the environment, the flow interior and exterior, thus conforming to the technological requirements design, with its verdant roofing, mimetic facade panels, is fully blended in a natural context.

Kuma argues that mindset prevents us from establishing a healthy relationship with the external world and suggests that an alternative form of architecture is not only desirable but possible as well (Kuma, 2008). His approach is illustrated with a discussion of works by his office in which he has sought, by various tactics, to avoid objectification. The ideas embodied in these diverse projects have much in common with the Japanese tradition.

Kuma also mentioned that the material that can be obtained from the site is perhaps the material that is best acclimatized to the local climate. Also, when these materials come from local sources, it reduces the transportation costs incurred. Architecture in the 20th Century was very much about creating contrast between the building and its context. Placing a building on a podium was standard practice in classical architecture: it isolated the work in the same way that a pedestal isolated a sculpture (Kuma, 2008). But in the 21st Century buildings should blend in with its environment and should make harmony with its surroundings. "In contrast with the technological architecture of the 20th century, traditional Japanese architecture is ecological and Shinto-oriented, and its methods can guide current architectural practices. In using traditional materials, I'm returning to tradition to capture something of its aesthetic perspective" (Kuma, 2010).

In his opinion, architecture must not be an object, but merely a device for the framing of life and the environment. Because, we`ll repeat: man and nature are not polarized, but the common parts of a comprehensive entirety. So when starting a project architect should always spend time at a site, trying to understand its changing nature — such as the variations of light and wind. Through this active, physical experience, some inspiration for the building could come.

According to that relation: "Architecture is an art of condition. If the condition changes, the architecture should change, as well. My architecture is like an animal; it's always adapting" (Kuma, 2010). In these words we can find is the key of beauty - constant changes. As we sad, beauty can not be abstracted from the experience of nature but only in the context of nature. That is specific resonance in Japanese aesthetics, where beauty and nature are unbreakable series of com-

ponents. Beauty is not the shape od nature, it is the life going trough nature, dinamic of life, transience and disappearance. Constant changes.

In project for Kirosan Observatory on Kirosan mountain Kuma tried to erased architecture, to minimized the damage to the beautiful environment. At first he wanted to use glass, transparent material, but it wasn`t enough to erase an object. Therefor he made a slit-like excavation at mountain apex. At the end the observatory became a facility for stealing look at visitors, with several decks from which one you can make a wondefull view, on nature and catch other views of visitors. "Well, it doesn't look a lot like a building, right? It looks like a mountain. That's how I conceived this project. Invisible is better, the building does not exist for its own sake, but to emphasize the beauty of the natural environment" (Kuma, 2010).

Water/Glass house is a project with glass surfaces that refract images of their overgrown surrounding landscapes. It is a house with pool at the seaside. The

pool is essentially a veranda made of water, and about 100m below there is another surface of water - sea. In this constalation pool represents architecture and the sea represents the world. That is example of anti-object architecture, based on relations and changing mood of nature. Depending of the wheather, in one moment you feel like sea and the pool is one surface and you floating on the sea, in some other moment if it rains, like sea, pool and the sky are one. In such moment environment and the building are the one, the building for itself disappear.

Figure 7: Kengo Kuma - Water/Glass pavillon, Atami, Shizouka, 1992-95

CONCLUSIONS

Implementation of green design, based on the use of natural materials, blinds and usefull green areas results in truly sustainable and ecological architecture accessible to all. Contemporary design strategies discussed in context of works by Ando and Kuma, can be seen as a specific instance of the East in the corpus of contemporary environmental trends in architecture and design. Narchitecture and anti-object can be answers to contemporary architecture, not only in a sense of engineering but also social responsibility.

Accordingly, Japanese praxis can be used in a different framework than pre-

sented in this paper. Specifically, it refers to a wider context that includes not only the environment but also the urban environment - urban area. It is a way of thinking, an attitude, implying a general stand towards the environment. In the context of re-appropriating the city as an important theme, we can identify brownfield issues, urban recycling, and reuse and remake. In this sense, Eastern ad-hocism applied in the natural environment, may be an active approach on a city level.

Exploiting the potential of a place according to Kuma, use what is given, without violating the context or modifying and adapting as Ando does, may be an important elements in architectural education and implementation in re-appropriating the city.

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