



High Density and the Investigations in Collective Form

ANA TOSTÓES

Chair of **docomomo** International

The argument of this 50th **docomomo** Journal is High Density. In other words, the goal is to discuss the great metropolis growing process on the scope of the Modern Movement concepts. Discussing the emerging Asian city and following the *Investigations in Collective Form*¹, this theme is the result of a challenge which is related to the impressive Asian cities high density created by the link between the buildings and the space within. This year of 2014, when **docomomo** major Conference is hosted at the MOCA, the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, South Korea, the inspiring stimulus of Seoul amazing city and the “Expansion and Conflict” conference motto are the starting point that justifies going deeper in the relationship that connects urban design and contemporary cities; the connection that stands between technology and human need.

The debates that followed the World Design Conference (WoDeCo, Tokyo, 1960) on the search for a “total Image for the 20th Century” pointed out among worldwide designers, architects and planners, viewpoints and intellectual ideas concerning the future of the city, particularly in the wake of technological and scientific advancement in industry. At the time of the WoDeCo, progressive architects formed the “Metabolism” group and proposed their concepts for dealing with the increasing complexity of the cities rising. Debating over the ideal city and promoting a kind of experimental architecture based on ideas of life styles and communities for a new era, its biological name suggests that buildings and cities should be designed in the same organic way that the material substance of a natural organism propagates adapting to its environment by changing its forms in rapid succession.

As Fumihiko Maki argues, searching for new formal concepts in contemporary cities lies in the magnitude of recent change due to the unprecedented rapid and extensive transformations in the physical structure of society, the rapid communications methods, the technological progress and its impact upon regional cultures: “we must see our society as a dynamic field of interrelated forces, a dynamic equilibrium [...] which will change in character as time passes.”²

The plan turns program and the time dimension became one of the keys for the future. As Távora stated, after participating at the WoDeCo in Tokyo, “everybody insists in the same idea: the necessity to create a link between the man and the technology regarding the formal matters.”³

Redefining collectivity implied that elements and linkages become designed with a contextual consideration. Finally,

the concerns over the dramatically change in contemporary city has led us to face environmental questions, ecological requirements and sustainable needs as vital values to ensure. Starting this new cycle of our Journal signaling the symbolic DJ50 plus 25 years of work when we settled the **docomomo** Headquarters in Lisbon at the Técnico, Lisbon University⁴, we wish to come to this important issue introducing the post Second World War dimension related to the future of our environment and the increase complexity to deal with it. The late CIAM discussions brought social and intensive public aspirations in order to develop strategic tools in making our physical environment. Fifty years ago, at WoDeCo the urban designers asked why, what and how we should design.

Therefore, in our days, between North and South, East and West, the aim is to deepen understand the process and to find the paths for the future. A future that we may create with such awareness that may, generously give us, the tools for increase nowadays architecture and city planning.

I wish to thank Eui-Sung Yi who, from the first moment, accepted to be guest editor of this new **docomomo** Journal. Due to his commitment and energy, and to the skill of a wide range of experts that contribute with their knowledge and dedicated work, it is with great pleasure that we present this Journal. A variety of disciplines and points of view represented by professionals and scholars, show the vitality of **docomomo** people’s network based in Asian cities, from South Korea to China, Japan to Hong Kong or Singapore, and promoting linkages to the great São Paulo megalopolis as well as to Chandigarh or New Gourn. And in that sense envisaging the meaning of habitat and the concept of high density, low rise. The question of meaningful collective forms is discussed using PREVI case study in Peru approaching its relationship with the metabolism emergent movement and the housing policies in Latin America. The statements of Fumihiko Maki and Peter Land make clear the process of making a comprehensive and humanly evocative urban environment.

As we all know Modern Movement main mission stands for the creation of a better world made with the active participation of architects and planners. For 25 years **docomomo** has been working for improving and enlighten the importance and innovation of the modern project. Since then, modernity has been addressed as a “world heritage, and has been faced as a sustainable design tool, a project method, and finally, as being crucial to the future

of architectural production and cultural debates.”⁵ The “Absorbing Modernity: 1914-2014” Venice *Biennale* Architecture 2014 motto is the evidence of **docomomo** practice and theory relevance. We all know that architecture as a social production imposes a great responsibility on the architect. That’s why I wish to recall that today we live a time that requires, as Hubert-Jan Henket said, an “integrated effort of sciences, technology, arts and ethics”, in order to fulfill a better future “based on social, technological and cultural responsibility and innovation.”

Looking towards the future is also to remember the dearest friends that passed away. Therefore we honor the memory of our dear friend **docomomo** member, Professor Hiroyuki Suzuki (1945–2014). Being the first **docomomo** Journal produced by the new International Secretariat settled in Técnico-Lisbon University, and provided with facilities and working space, we wish to increase the quality and efficiency of our work and we invite all members to visit us in Lisbon.

References

- 1 Fumihiko Maki, “Investigations in Collective Form”, *The School of Architecture*, No. 2 - A Special Publication, St. Louis, Washington University, June 1964.
- 2 *Idem*.
- 3 Fernando Távora (Rita Marnoto, ed.), *Diário de “bordo”*. Estabelecimento de Texto, Porto, Associação Casa da Arquitectura, 1960.
- 4 Since its creation in 1911, Instituto Superior Técnico is the largest and most reputed school of Engineering, Science and Technology and Architecture in Portugal. IST provides top quality higher education, strongly exposed to Research, Development and Innovation (RD&I) activities, immersing our students in an exciting and global environment geared towards solving the challenges of the 21st Century.
- 5 Ana Tostões, “Continuity and Change”, *Docomomo Journal* 41, Paris, 2009.



Técnico, Lisbon University © Filipe Jorge, Aerial image bank Argumentum, October 2013.

Introduction

BY EUI-SUNG YI

This 50th issue of **docomomo** Journal honors a proud milestone for **docomomo** and **docomomo** Journals. Auspicious in its timing, it coincides with the 13th International **docomomo** Conference that will take place in Seoul, South Korea, under the theme “Expansion and Conflict”. In honor of this symbolic alignment, the 50th issue offers its editorial platform to the special and relevant theme of Density with a special focus on Asian urbanism.

The 50th issue aims to expand and explore the relevance and definition of conservation and documentation through the lens of urbanism and density. Therefore within an urban context, can conservation and documentation of urban fabric become agents of growth rather than a static and an enclosed act? Can it instigate layered and colliding programs and meaning? If great city dynamics emerge from these complex integrations of differing fabrics, does the existence of past environments promote the very activity that makes cities so relevant?

In this issue, the parameters for the conservation and documentation of the city are defined through multiple lenses of economy, culture, politics and history reflecting critical and acute positions within the 2014 global hegemony. Following **docomomo**’s focus, this issue expands the Modern Movement legacy by advocating that the holistic understanding of architecture must include the study of urbanism. Unlike architecture, urbanism is an open-ended organism and its *raison d'être* is reinforced through layers of history. It is through these layers that we advocate for conservation and documentation.

In broad terms, modern Asian urban development, especially in the Far East, are shaped by two extreme forces: colonial wars and aggressive economic growth. The wooden cities of Asia became instant *tabula rasas* in the face of modern warfare as fire carpets incinerated 95% of the cities. Absolute ground zeroes were created overnight in all the major capitals of Asia. The urban scholarship of **docomomo** into Asia — especially the Far East Asia — deals with this physical erasure of the city’s fabric. An open canvas has been created for aggressive strategies for growth in city planning, housing development and modern infrastructure. As accelerated development inspire new typologies to respond to the increasing urban density, this recalls Europe’s urban challenges 100 years ago. Therefore, as scholars and champions of the Modern Movement aspirations, values and strategies, it seems entirely appropriate and relevant to examine these similar issues of urban density in this new context and era.

The last two decades have seen enormous urban growth for the cities of Asia, as many city populations have grown

exponentially and Asia has moved up as a global economic power. Financial and economic potential have caused international companies to acquire offices on the continent, often more than one. The high migration of people from the countryside as well as from other countries further adds to the economic possibility of the city as well as its physical growth. The speed and magnitude of development of the fundamentals of society — housing, health, education, and infrastructure — were realized from Seoul to Tokyo.

What remained of the traditional low-density fabric were quickly razed and replaced by structures of *Hilberseimeresque* housing slabs in Japan and Korea. Beijing and Shanghai saw *hutongs* that had belonged to the urban landscape for centuries replaced by super block towers in the fashion of Le Corbusier. The cities of Asia are growing and will continue to grow at great speed and modernity. Though the preservation of even a single building is difficult within the chaotic and high-speed energy of development, it is not enough to preserve the single structure. The urban fabric, what creates each city’s dynamic individuality, is not a single sheet but quilted and layered fabrics — pieced together over centuries of cultural shifts and historical eras.

The essays in this issue frame the controversies and opportunities that have challenged modern development in Asia, and worldwide, through very different lenses. Andrew Liang’s economic pathology and Young Min Koo’s criticism of the global political machinations reframe the growth of Asian urbanism. Miles Glendining’s ontological analysis of Hong Kong’s housing, and Renato Anelli’s survey of São Paulo’s aggressive growth, chart two great cities and provide a dynamic global comparison. Other essays focus on strategic interventions, from Inha Jung’s insightful expose on Swoo-Geun Kim’s surgical urban redevelopment, as well as Vinayak Bharne’s sobering depiction of a local community’s resistance toward new development, despite the integration of vernacular language. Peter Ferretto and his team offer a poignant and critical photo essay (as well as the cover image) of Seoul that touches on the collisions between East and West and the unrelenting march of housing. Finally, a pair of essays on the Metabolists revisits this stalwart group in a new perspective, as Souhei Imamura’s study on the larger aspirations of the group provides a firm foundation alongside with the interviews with Fumihiko Maki and Peter Land on the group’s first and only built project ever done, for a low-income social housing in Peru, the *PREVI*. These essays layer our own understanding of the dense city — in particular Asian cities — and help us establishing the patterns and peculiarities that form the urban fabric. ■





Seoul, South Korea © Peter Ferreto, 2014



Seoul, South Korea © Peter Ferreto, 2014

Converging Fragments

Seoul: A Portrait of a 21st Century City

BY PETER FERRETTO

Seoul is a city of discontinuities, a sequence of fragments that collectively converge to form an urban settlement set against a dramatic natural backdrop. At the heart of Seoul's DNA is absence, or rather the absence of any grid. Unlike its neighboring capitals – Beijing and Tokyo, Seoul is a capital whose urban fabric expands in direct symbiosis with its topography.

The urban fragment is the very marrow of Seoul life; apparently incongruous elements that continuously generate new reciprocities. For this reason Seoul is a difficult city to comprehend on first encounter; each fragment subverts preconceived notions of the familiar, where what you see is definitely not what you get.

There is no better example to demonstrate the validity of this conjecture than to dissect the Seoul Church. The typology of the church has remained (at least in western society) unquestioned for centuries, design follows strict canons that control both its layout and latent symbolism. The Seoul church subverts all these preconceptions to produce a notion of a genetically modified church that at first sight might remind us of past post-modern pastiche exercises but on closer inspection reveals a highly complex hybrid.

First you have the sheer numbers of churches, according to various search engines; Seoul has more than 48,000 churches, it is simply impossible to navigate the city without encountering a church. Then you have the scale, literally from micro to macro with every possible in between permutation.

All these characteristics still barely scratch the surface of the real complexities behind Seoul churches, which can only be understood through a direct example. The bell tower is the ubiquitous symbol of any self-respecting church; over the centuries it has acted as both as landmark and performed the key function of announcing the commencement of the proceedings.

In Seoul, like in most other contemporary metropolises, bells have long stopped ringing, leaving the tower to become a redundant symbolical gesture. However rather than accept this superfluous act the Seoul church reinvents the tower as a vertical car-park, an ingenious solution to stack cars and at the same time keep the traditional aspects alive.

A more familiar Seoul fragment for both architects and urbanists might be the apartment, the quintessential element of Seoul's modernization program which since the late 60's has transformed the city into one of the biggest

metropolises in the world. There are numerous books that explore the evolution of this ubiquitous building typology; my fascination lies more in the context the apartments generate.

These apparent incongruous dwelling machines, the sign of tomorrow's utopia have here become the reality of today. Just like in Godard's *Alphaville* the Seoul of today is where we can find our future. Gone are all subtle relationships with the surrounding landscape, that for centuries have characterized Korean traditional architecture; the apartment blocks with their imposing concrete structures, reign supreme over any terrain.

Apartments never work alone; they work in formations composing clusters much like coral colonies on the sea bed. One perceives that their design follows a series of strict parameters, yet there is an underlying tone of dictatorial control. They are inevitably surrounded by ample public space, but on closer inspection one can recognize the *True-man Show* shell hovering above.

Converging fragments is a series of photographs that I have taken over a five year period while living in Seoul. They belong to wider research project that will be published in 2015, which aims to create a systematic record of Seoul that escapes from preconceived notions of how we should read the city. ■

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Seoul Fragments is a research Project by Peter Ferretto, Associate Professor of Architecture at Seoul National University. The work was carried out by a research team including Heeyoung Pyun (Research Assistant) and Byunggon Shin (Photographer). All Photos on this essay: Photos of Seoul, South Korea. © Peter Ferretto, 2014



Seoul, South Korea © Peter Ferreto, 2014





Restored old city wall, a part of climbing road to Mt. Bukak, area of Seo Dae Mun. © Young Min-Koo, 2013.

Post-Global? Fantasy and Crisis during the First Decade of the Global Era

BY YOUNG MIN KOO

"Post-global" is a coined word signifying a chaotic state or a transitional period after the violent gale of globalism that created a large gap between the new and the old. Reproving the global power game for having created evil paradises that repress individual evolutions and highest value of lives, the essay attempts to refute the historic and cultural agenda in global standard propagating them as a new paradigm that holds the key to accomplish the global mission, and to conjecture that small plans toward local community would offer guidelines to recur gradually to the state of "milieu", a collective balance.

A Decade after 21st Century

Cities in Asia have experienced enormous changes during the first decade after the 21st century. Controversy erupted over the "axis of evil" at the turn of the century, but in global political discourse which turned its direction toward the "axis of power" countries across the globe waged a war of words against the United States over the reconstruction of an international order.

China and India have emerged as the top two countries at the core of this axis and China eventually became the second largest economic powerhouse in the world in late 2007. The reason this "power" could gain universal consent was that there was no "axis of good" in opposition to an "axis of evil" and people expected that this new power as an independent and changeable force could serve as a driving engine leading to decentralization and novelty.

Post 9.11, Arab countries began to withdraw their money in the amount of billions of dollars from the United States to invest in the irrespective home countries. The huge amount of "fluid" capital immediately transformed into "massive concrete" as sets in the desert. With this change, the Middle East has become the second largest construction market in the world following China which was a gigantic consumer market of steel. The so-called "Dubai-effect" began to shine through. The fanatical "vision" of China which pledged to build 400 new towns by 2010 and Arab countries aiming to attract 15 million tourists annually by 2010 grabbed the attention of investors across the world. At that time, the architectural community was excited and thrilled in the face of this enormous power of globalization¹.

If the "subprime mortgage crisis" erupted in the United States did not trigger the global financial crisis, around that time when China settled as the second largest economic power, the "global" discourse would have created hundreds of ghost cities through the speculative relocation of urban spaces.

During this period, some cities were recreated as they were imagined and sometimes other awkward spaces that

were forced to have burdensome buildings are now barely surviving as global cities in the name of globalism. Now, architects have reached the conclusion that the number of urban dwellers accounting for 50% of the world population makes it difficult for them to settle the physical limit of urban spaces, and this very fact is preventing them from predicting the essential urban shapes that cover social, cultural and political factors. Also, they would finally realize it is impossible to create an urban scenario satisfying both fact and probability.

Axis of Power to Evil Paradise

Situated on the axis of Power, anyhow, Dubai and China which belong to the "axis of power" are not without sin with the "big plans" of modern architecture committed given that they are dismantling the human rights that should be protected under no circumstances, for the sake of money and vision. Realizing how absurd a so called "Global City" is, which seems to be built in a single day, Mike Daves & Daniel Bertrand Monk warn us of the city painting an isolated new terrain with landscapes of wealth, as did Dubai, will ultimately fall to "evil paradises". They seem to consider this as a matter depending on how significantly human rights are respected².

For this reason, the recent speculative relocation issue of urban spaces which has been pursued in global discourse seems to take many forms. It often implies an optimal environment under the theme of "ecology", "carbon", and "energy", or offers the illusion of a techno-utopia in the name of being "ubiquitous" or "smart". Moreover, the "historic environment" has been selected as the theme of the city. These were always propagated as a new paradigm but hold the old habits of modernism seeking fanatic functions, effectiveness and economic values.

Among above mentioned forms, it is needed to pay particular attention to the theme of historic and cultural environment. Because speeding global venture nearly misses



02 Restored Cheonggyecheon. Area of Gwanggyo. © Young Min Koo, 2006



03 Old city wall penetrating the present context; Naksan Changsin Dong Area © Young Min Koo, 2014.

out on regional culture, the global policymakers raises the issue of “history and culture” to the surface, seemingly, in order not to go the way of modern architects’ mistake. Obstinate accentuating history and culture as *conditio sine qua non*, however, entertains a doubt that history and culture are merely propagated for the entire the world as if they are critical factors to counterbalance the violent move of globalization. However, it must not be missed the fact that they are commodified to generate profit. Even though they seem to argue seriously on the persistence and permanence inherited in the city, whatever is called to be historic preservation or restoration operated under the guise of globalization in regards to cultural politics of space, foreshadows the political vision and money.

A restoration of the Seoul city wall might exhibit the above fact well. Masquerading under the good name of preserving the six-hundred-years of the capital history, the government has been restoring the old wall around the city to its original shape. The problem is that bringing the six-hundred-years-ago back to the present at once has to have destroyed the all the other memories layered on the neighboring context. In other words, gaining the past has lost the present perfect progressive form in the city. These habits always appear to return to the starting point to pursue a new city. However, we should remember that they conflict with the reality of life and create another tragedy.

A State of Milieu

A city is, whether global or modern, the greatest invention of mankind. A city is not just a place where people live together. Rather, it is a stage where they promote individual evolutions and accomplish the highest value of lives. Thus, new plans should be able to offer patterns to which urban dwellers properly respond. This means the new

plans should recover and improve whole areas by adjusting certain areas and induce positive responses from people. It does not mean “we should never allow big plans”.

We should not rush to predict an urban shape only through perspective drawings produced by rule of thumb. Instead, we should build up a slow ignition to allow architecture and urban spaces to trigger chain reactions through human living. Namely, we should wait for a counteraction that creates an essential urban shape through a series of intervention among the local communities, the inducement of relationships between spaces and the establishment of cultural communities by people leading their lives in such areas. When injected with the possibility for creation and change through such transformation, cities will respond to changes to form specific shapes by themselves.

All we need to trigger the conduct of these changes is a small but firm ignition point. It can be likened to the nature of “acupuncture”. A skilled acupuncturist can identify a cause that influences the central nerve network and applies acupuncture to critical points to restore the balance of the human body. As such, like acupuncturists, architects and urban planners should be able to plan to enhance the living conditions of urban dwellers through the harmony and balance of human relationships.

In fact, the key to urban design is niche spaces created by confrontations between new towns controlled by mega structures and powerful management factors and local areas. Thus, the task of architects and planners in the near future lies in how they convert such niche space made of multiple conflicts into the city place.

Therefore, if we want to maximize the efficiency of global cities, we should not overlook such spaces. Furthermore, it is really unprofessional to exclude regional characteristics from a world of multinational population. Including leftover



04 The view of the Central Seoul from Nusang Dong. © Young Min Koo, 2013.

pieces of land or niche spaces as an option for future urban planning can serve as a unique shield to control the violence of “big plans”.

Niche as a Live Border Condition

One of the problems in the discourse over global cities is worshipping the system reverence led by the process and flow that transcends rootedness and places. Globalism in proportion to the growth speed of cities tends to force dwellers to experience the city in relation to flow, rather than objects. It considers humans as a factor of the entire system. In this sense, there is no room for emotional space or places left in cities. Architecture or cities void of emotions have no stories. Having no stories means there is no “memory” to deliver people. Here, the “stories” mean a similar way of an operation method that stimulates the circulation of blood through acupuncture.

So far, we have put the discourse on global cities at the center of our discussion under the cause of another development. However, downsizing gigantic plans that have been advocated to date and planning them as understandable standards are prerequisite before blindly jumping into planning for mega cities. Although small plans would have no magic in stirring up men’s blood and they might not be realized because they are neither elegant nor logical, they would be better than big plans. If we remember the “axis of evil” created by big plans, we might not as well plan anything as pointed out by Schumacher. Passed a decade after the 21st century, in fact, the key to urban design is niche spaces created by confrontations between new towns controlled by mega structures and powerful management factors and local areas. Thus, the task of architects and planners in the near future lies in how they convert such niche space produced by multi-layered conflict into urban place.

Conclusion

During last decades, many political leaders in Asia have made a great effort on putting global sizes clothes encompassing their vision and money, history and culture on their small countries and cities, driven by the propaganda of “global” discourse and equally sensational ideas. However, what has become clear today is that the intent and achievable goals should be absolutely regional. This is because a city is a place where an individual’s desire is to be satisfied, because local communities are the places where voters make their own decisions, and thus all plans should eventually fall in line with the scale of local society in order to establish democratic cities. ■

Notes

- 1 Amale Andraos, “Dubai’s Island Urbanism: An Archipelago of Difference for the 21st Century”, *Cities From Zero*, London, AA Press, 2007.
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Swoo-Geun Kim, Arko Theater, Liver Research Institute of Seoul National University, Seoul, South Korea, 1977-1979, © Inha Jung, 2014

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The Correlativity of Building Form and Urban Space: Swoo-Geun Kim's Daehangno Projects in Seoul

BY INHA JUNG

Swoo-Geun Kim's building projects in the Daehangno area of Seoul provide a remarkable example of how architects can respond to high-density environments. They also illustrate both the theoretical and the practical dimensions of the concept of correlativity, still having the potential to show us a way forward. Inspired by the urban equivalent of a traditional village structure, Kim sublimated into modern building types the fluid indeterminate spaces created by its alleyways and courtyard. This legacy is what has enabled these buildings to survive handsomely for some thirty years amid the omnipresent threat of high-density development in Seoul.

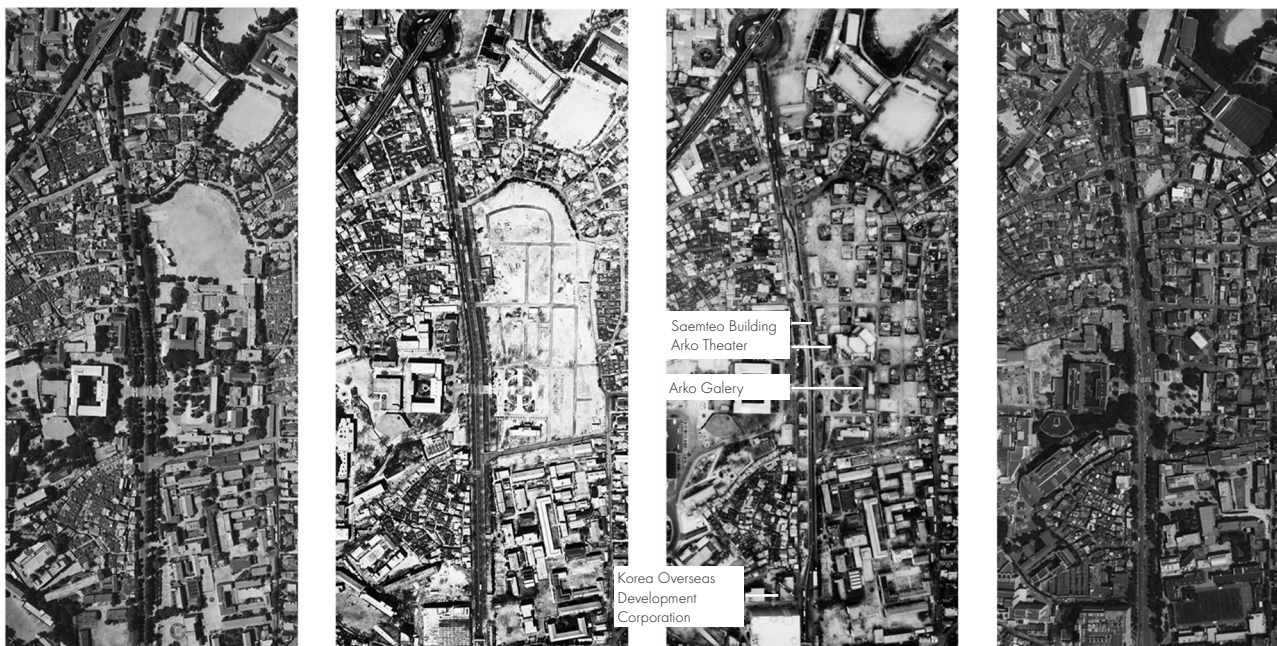
Introduction

Swoo-Geun Kim's building projects in the Daehangno area of Seoul provide an illuminating example of how architects can respond to high-density environments, and they still have the potential to show us a way forward. Indeed, a close look at Kim's approach to these projects will reveal how one architect, in particular, was able to mount a creative intervention to regenerate the old town and give it a new urban identity. The American scholar Kevin Lynch has identified four distinct roles that planners and architects can play in the decision process of urban planning: they can act as advocates, informers, project designers, or public planners, depending on the situation¹. Among the four, the role of the project designer or the project planner predominated in East Asian cities because its practitioners were able "to pursue highly centralized top-down procedures in planning and building regulation"². Not only did they work for a specific client, such as a corporation or government agency, but they were only charged with "preparing a solution to some limited, well-defined problem, according to an explicit set of purposes"³. In the 1960s, Swoo-Geun Kim had played this role in the development of large-scale plans for Yeouido Island and the Sewoon Commercial Complex. But in the 1970s, when he turned his attention to the Daehangno area of Seoul, he began to search for new options. The choices were limited. The role of the informer who seeks to educate the public with accurate information about planning issues is predicated on traditions of citizenship and grass-roots self-governing that simply did not exist in East Asia at the time. The role of a planning advocate who seeks to be persuasive on behalf of an interest group was also problematic, because most of the urban concepts then in use had been abstracted from the experience of Western cities. How then could one respond adequately to the reality of East Asian cities?

The remaining option of a public planner — a planner, that is, who works in the public interest — was the role that Swoo-Geun Kim began to assume as he executed a series of projects in the Daehangno area. Implicit in this approach was the concept of *correlativity*, a term derived from the *correlative thinking* that some scholars have placed at the core of Chinese thought⁴. With a long history in East Asian architecture, the concept has dual meanings in the context of urban design: first, it means that architecture is seen as an integral part of the whole city. In fact, architecture is a microcosm of the city, with building form analogous to urban structure. Second, it means that a close linkage is maintained between buildings and the urban tissue through the complementarities of the void and the solid — in other words, through a continuous flow between interior and outer space. These mutual relationships, as Swoo-Geun Kim saw, become more compelling when an architect is able to uphold the public interest as the top priority of his design. Unlike the large-scale projects he pursued in the 1960s, when he sought to insert radical new mega structures into the tissue of old Seoul, the Daehangno projects revealed his subsequent awareness that heroic mega structures destroyed the historic identity of Seoul, producing an urban chaos that could only be resolved with an entirely different approach.

Three Layers of History

The name Daehangno literally means "university street" and refers specifically to the 1.55 km long and 25,00–40,00 m wide main road leading from Jongno 5-Ga to the Hyehwa rotary. When Koreans say Daehangno, however, they also mean the larger area spreading from the main road to Mt. Naksan, and from Korea National Open University to Dongsung High School. In 1985, the city government designated this area as Seoul's Art and Culture District,



01 Urban transformation of Daehangno: the aerial photographs of 1974 showing the buildings of Seoul National University in the Daehangno area, of 1977 showing its empty campus, of 1981 showing Kim's completed buildings, and of the current Daehangno, Seoul, South Korea. © Seoul Metropolitan Government.

and Daehangno soon became the center for youth culture. With a concentration of schools, theaters, and other cultural facilities, the area also features stylish stores, restaurants and galleries, making it one of Seoul's major tourist attractions.

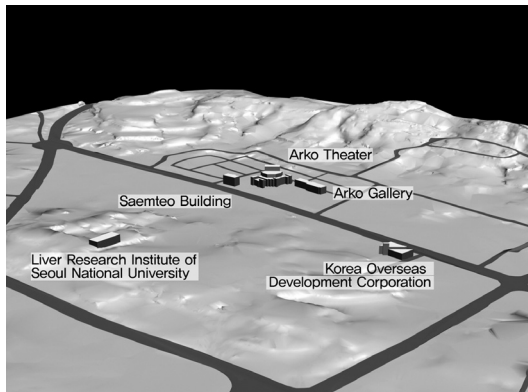
During the Joseon dynasty, Daehangno was located on the periphery, a small distance from the city center, but it was subsequently engulfed by the rapidly expanding downtown area of Seoul in the years following the Japanese colonial occupation. The history of Daehangno can be seen in the rich layering that characterizes its urban texture. There are three major layers superimposed. The first was laid down after King Taejo, the founder of the Joseon dynasty, designated Seoul as his new capital in 1392. After selecting its location in accordance with traditional *fengshui* precepts, he placed major public buildings within the great city wall linking the inner four mountains of the region⁵. The Daehangno area is located just below Mt. Naksan, one of the four mountains and the eastern boundary of the city wall.

The second layer was created amid the modernization that took place during the turbulent twentieth century. In 1907, the Gyeongmogung palace, which had served as a shrine dedicated to Crown Prince Sado, was turned into Seoul's first modern hospital, Daehan Hospital, whose main building and various wards were located near Daehangno. In addition, Western-style buildings were built for the capital's Industrial Laboratory at the foot of Mt. Naksan in 1916. The changes continued when the decree for the creation of Gyeongseong Imperial University was promulgated in 1924. Many university buildings lined up on both sides of the main street in Daehangno. After liberation from Japanese

occupation, the Imperial University was reorganized as Seoul National University, and major academic buildings including the university's headquarters took their place here. Daehangno became the center of college life and remained its hub until the university moved to its Gwanak campus in 1975.

The third layer consists of what was created on the newly empty campus. While the buildings of the medical college still remained to the east, the rest of the academic buildings, except for the headquarters, were demolished. The university's land was sold to the Korea National Housing Corporation, which initially planned to construct a luxury apartment complex on the former campus. But when this plan met with fierce public opposition, the corporation altered course and decided to subdivide the area into small lots (each about 400 m²) and offer them for sale to the public. This abandonment of top-down planning and openness to the market is what allowed a new urban form and identity to emerge. Swoo-Geun Kim, who was among those who had objected to the creation of a luxury apartment complex on Daehangno, became directly involved when he acquired one of the three parcels intended for the new Arko Gallery of the Arts Council Korea. He wanted to use his lot to build staff housing for Arko and promoted the idea of developing the entire area as a cultural center for Seoul. As influential figures in the cultural and political arenas got on board, the idea reached fruition when Chang-Bong Choi, deputy director of Arts Council Korea, endorsed the full-scale development of Marronnier Park as a cultural centerpiece on the former campus.

02-03 Traditional hanok village of Bukchon in 1954 and its spatial diagram, Seoul, South Korea. © In-Sik Lim, 1954, In In-Sik Lim; Chung-Eui Lim, *Geuttae Geu Moseup*, Seoul, Baleon, 1993, p. 17.



04 Swoo-Geun Kim's five Daehangno projects, Seoul, South Korea. © Jung-Hee Yoon, 2014.

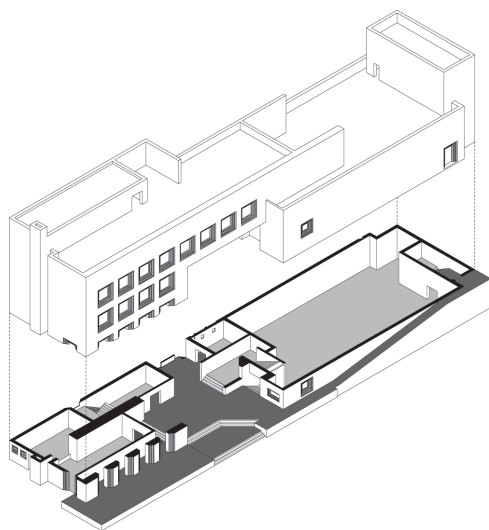
The Urban Spaces Between

Swoo-Geun Kim's inspiration for his projects in Daehangno was the distinctive urban space found in the Bukchon area of Seoul. Located between the Gyeongbokgung and Changdeokgung palaces, Bukchon has maintained its character as a traditional residential village since the Joseon dynasty. Its urban structure is unique because it was spontaneously formed. In other words, the topography of old Seoul, surrounded by its four inner mountains, spawned here an irregular, tree-like street system with many *cul-de-sacs*. As a result, the alleys of Bukchon are closer in character to the indeterminate spaces that lie between houses than to the thoroughways of modern cities. They serve as semi-private spaces for the use of neighbors. During the colonial period, these alleys were lined with traditional houses, or *hanok*, each with a courtyard, called the *madang*. The interpenetration of the alleyways and *madang* created the kind of fluid urban space that later Western architects have explored since the 1960s, dubbing it the "urban void"⁶. Swoo-Geun Kim's family settled in Bukchon when they left Cheongjin in 1938 to educate him in Seoul. When he returned to Korea after a long stay studying architecture in Tokyo, he settled in Bukchon again. Accordingly, he knew thoroughly every inch of the village, including its curious alleys and *madang*. He later said, "Urban roads consist of the space between houses. They are the living room and playground of the city, and a stage where different aspects of life unfold. As multifunctional places and the ever-changing core of the city, they are essential urban elements generating a unique lifestyle"⁷.

The Arko Gallery was the first of Swoo-Geun Kim's projects in Daehangno. The architectural program for the building was based on spatial concepts explored in his Space Group Building (Gonggan Saok), completed in Bukchon a year earlier. The Space Group Building, which served as his office and residence, was the crucial achievement of Kim's long career. Through a series of experiments and revisions over a six-year period, he had arrived at the creation of an innovative building type that layered vertically overlapping spaces. In particular, a long sequence connecting separate places and the many intermediate spaces of the building recalled the alleys, stairs, and *madang* of Bukchon. For the Arko Gallery, Kim proposed to modify that format, placing more weight on the implications of the building's urban context. From the initial phase of design, he clearly intended to create a continuous flow from the park to the surrounding urban space. To this end, he opened up the central part of the building so as to link the small alleys on the Mt. Naksan side to Marronnier Park, promoting a direct communication. Even though buildings located on the edge of a park can act like a fence⁸, the architect wanted his building to serve as the gateway for a continuous flow, not a last terminal. This vision was a profound interpretation of the site's potential, and it stemmed from the architect's emerging view of the public interest. He understood that cultural buildings should not be closed spaces separated from the outside, but intimate places where many people can easily take part in cultural events. To him, a museum wasn't simply a space for the exhibition of art works but a total system meant to provide an opportunity for ordinary

people to come into contact with potentially life-changing perceptions and events. In his view, “architecture ceases to be a backdrop for actions, becoming the action itself.” In other words, “space and events affect each other”⁹.

Swoo-Geun Kim’s wish was that his buildings would catalyze a spurt of cultural activity in the city, and that those activities would enrich the urban experience of its citizens. But during the design deliberations, his view was opposed by city government officials who still believed that cultural facilities should have a monumental and authoritative character. According to their thinking, the gallery needed to be controlled, and it was imperative that permission be obtained whenever anyone wished to use the exhibition space. Faced with this opposition, Kim was forced to compromise, modifying his initial scheme. He retained his basic idea but installed a temporary fence to prevent the arbitrary passage of visitors through the site. Nowadays the passageway is open to the public.



05 Swoo-Geun Kim, Arko Gallery, Daehangno, Seoul, South Korea, 1977 - 1979.
© Mina Kim, 2014.

After completing the gallery, Kim immediately began the design of Arko Theater. Its form would be determined by the relationship between its inner function and its urban context. The building occupies one side of the park, and at the same time is located at a sort of node connecting newly developed urban spaces with the park. Kim hoped his building would draw visitors away from the street. Toward this end, its surface is characterized by unique brick wall compositions. The architect wanted it to reflect the changing views of the building as one accesses it from Marronnier Park. The two highest brick walls act as focal points when approaching the building from Daehangno street, and the gradually set backed walls usher the visitor’s eyes into the building itself. Through these means, the massive brick wall of the theater has been articulated into segments on a human scale.

Within its urban setting, the building form of the theater has proved to be highly influential in the design of cultural spaces in Korea. Until its creation, the authoritative manner as represented by the high colonnade and grandiose hall of the National Theatre or Sejong Cultural Center was common to the design of cultural centers. Instead, Kim introduced the concept of an intimate theater space. Even though Arko Theater with 700 seats is classified as a large performance facility, the architect succeeded in creating a performance space that feels like a small theater but yet is capable of accommodating a wide range of dramatic performances. To do this, Kim treated the slope of the auditorium down to the stage more steeply than the existing design standard, with a height difference between the front seat and the top seat of more than 3.00 m¹⁰; the result was to transform the operation of the theater. Performance works that would seem ill suited for a large theater have been regularly staged, to the applause and approval of audiences and critics alike.

Continuous Spatial Flows

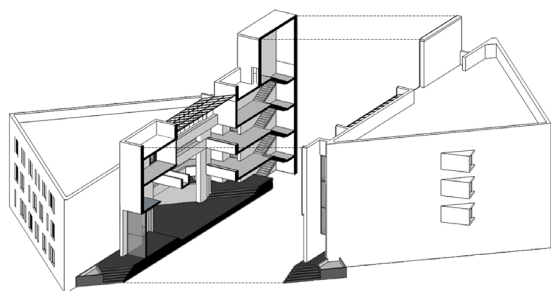
After completing his first two buildings in Marronnier Park, Swoo-Geun Kim added three more with a similar presence. Together, they lend consistency to the urban tissue of Daehangno. One of them is the Korea Overseas Development Corporation building, constructed on the site of the former College of Fine Arts of Seoul National University. This building was intended to incorporate offices previously scattered throughout several buildings into one. Its site, 50m away from Marronnier Park, is located on a corner where two roads meet at a right angle. A few willow trees adorn the eastern edge of the site.

The most impressive feature of this building is that a rectangular site has been divided into two triangular masses by a diagonal, all of them slightly slipped, with a band-shaped passage inserted between the two shifted triangular masses. Swoo-Geun Kim proposed this solution after fully considering the site requirements. The two issues he struggled with initially were how to secure adequate parking space while still connecting the new building to an existing one located at its rear. Because the site was confined, these were not easy issues to solve. He addressed the problem by creating a corridor and central courtyard that serve to connect the main entrance on the Daehangno side to a secondary entrance leading to the parking lot. In addition, positioning the main entrance on a corner can put undue emphasis on the frontality of a building. But with the front mass diagonally pulled back by the middle corridor, the building’s rear mass now acts as a backdrop that grasps the visitor’s eyes. Setting a brick tower between the two triangular masses accentuates the presence of the main entrance, and Kim added stairs in front of the entrance, preserving the willow tree.

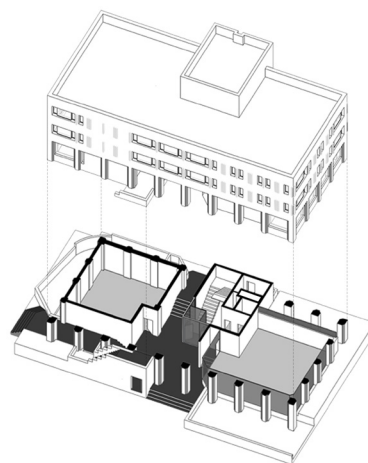
The interior space of the Korea Overseas Development Corporation building consists of a central courtyard formed between the two diagonally shifted masses, lit by a skylight. Bridges between the two masses overhang the courtyard, creating a variety of spatial effects. In spite of the alterna-

tion of opening and closing walls, the inner space is relatively stable thanks to the unity of the material and texture and the illumination from the skylight. One drawback of this design, however, was a net reduction of available space, due to the diagonal courtyard. In addition, triangular rooms proved awkward when it came to equipping them with furniture.

The design of the Saemteo Building, adjacent to the Arko Theater, was a commission awarded to Swoo-Geun Kim through his personal relationship with Jai-Soon Kim, former chairman of the National Assembly and the founder of Saemteo Magazine. They had known each other before their work in Daehangno and found that they really hit it off well when they commonly resolved to develop the area as a cultural center for Seoul. Drawing on his innovations in the Space Group Building, Kim accommodated complex functions such as a *café*, a small theater, and several galleries in one building. His method of distributing those functions through the interior space was also very similar. One difference is that the Space Group Building has a skip-floor circulation system, because it is sited on a steep slope, while the Saemteo Building does not. Furthermore, while the Space Group Building is composed of two articulated masses, the Saemteo Building is treated as a single mass. More crucially, while the Space Group Building had no need to consider the passage of pedestrians, Kim felt it important to create a circulation flow in the Saemteo Building that would fuse the building indissolubly with the urban space around it. To do so, he turned part of the ground floor into a communal space. Today, seen from the perspective of the communality of architecture, this building was very much ahead of its time, displaying major features of what has come to be called landscaped architecture.



06 Swoo-Geun Kim, Korea Overseas Development, Seoul, South Korea, 1977–1979. © Yung-Sun Jang, 2014.

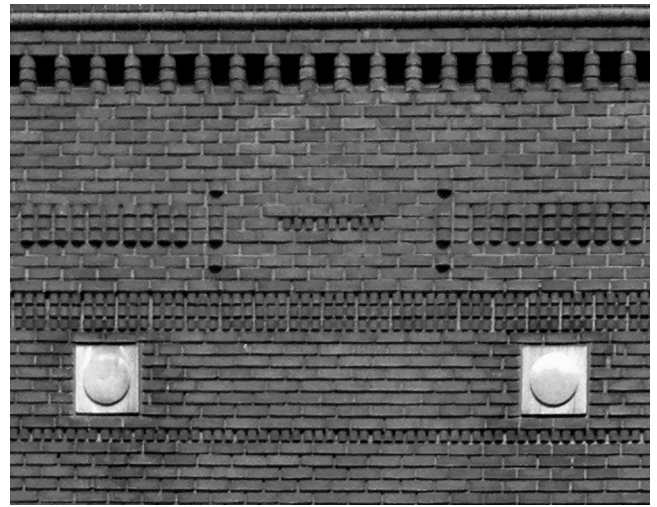


07 Swoo-Geun Samteo Building Daehangno, Seoul, South Korea, 1977–1979. © Yung-Sun Jang, 2014.

Bricks and a Consistent Urbanscape

In Daehangno, Swoo-Geun Kim continued his practice of using the most affordable local materials to secure a consistent urban landscape. One of the prominent changes in the works he undertook in the 1970s was his adoption of the use of bricks. Previously, he had tended to use exposed concrete, under the influence of the New Brutalism movement in architecture, but a close study of Frank Lloyd Wright's houses in Oak Park, Illinois, convinced him that bricks also held a strong appeal. As he later recalled, he had been struggling to find proper materials to express the locality of Korea when a producer of traditionally made bricks offered to supply them to him free of charge. But as he discovered, bricks were far from a simple material. In an interview, when asked why he used bricks, he replied, "Bricks are easy to obtain, and their texture appeals to Korean taste." He went on to elaborate: "I was greatly influenced by the traditional Korean bricks called *jeondol*. I think bricks stand for something that can be easily handled by people. I love their warmth, but I also want to point out the plasticity of the material. Bricks must be piled one by one. To me, this implies a process of gradual humanization"¹¹.

This fondness for bricks was a good fit for the particular urbanity of Daehangno. Prior to the opening of Korea to foreign countries in 1876, *jeondol* bricks had been used occasionally but were not mass produced, so brick buildings were rare. After the country's opening, bricks were mainly imported from China, but that supply was interrupted by the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. When Korea became a protectorate of Japan in 1905, the colonial administrators created the Takjibu brick factory to supply bricks for the new buildings planned for the empire. Dahan Hospital in Daehangno was the first of these to be constructed. In a similar vein, the new buildings of Gyeongseong Imperial University, conceived by the Japanese architects attached to the Government-General of Joseon, went up in 1924. These buildings adopted simplified Romanesque forms and used yellowish brown scratch tiles as finishing¹². On major buildings, multi-layered arch porticos were used to accentuate their frontality.



08-09 Swoo-Geun Kim, Arko Theater, Liver Research Institute of Seoul National University, Seoul, South Korea, 1977-1979. © Inha Jung, 2014.



10 Swoo-Geun Kim, Arko Gallery, Daehangno, Seoul, South Korea, 1977-1979. Brick details. © In Space Magazine, Jan. 1980, p. 76

Swoo-Geun Kim's buildings in Daehangro were designed as reinforced concrete structures with red brick cladding. To enhance the surface of the brick façades, he added a number of inventive details. In the Arko Gallery, a remarkable motif is the irregular protrusion of bricks from the wall on the Marronnier Park side. This feature dramatically emphasizes the visual properties of the material, lending a singularity to the entire building. Since the wall is oriented toward the west, the shadows cast by sunlight as it plays across the protruded bricks project so strongly that they seem to stand out in stark relief on the wall. To Kim, this method of articulation was a succinct way to add texture to a plain wall whose scale would otherwise seem too immense. To realize his idea, in the absence of desktop computers (which had not yet been introduced), the architect indicated the location of each protruded brick with a dot drawn directly on the wall. Assistants then made 1:20 drawings to guide the plan's execution¹³.

Swoo-Geun Kim also used other methods to reduce the weight of massive brick walls. In the Arko Gallery, he experimented with multi-layered openings reminiscent of Gothic portals. He had been impressed with the arch porticos of the former headquarters of Gyeongseong Imperial University, and he wanted to acknowledge that inspiration with these visual cues. In the Arko Theater, he segmented large brick masses to make them feel more approachable on a human scale. Indeed, when the Sun shines, casting deep shadows, clear articulations of the theater's massive wall can be perceived as independent towers. In the Liver Research Institute of Seoul National University, he placed rows of rounded bricks in the exterior wall to impart subtle changes to the grid-like brick-laying pattern. Their effect is to vary the rhythm and make the building appear more fanciful.

Conclusion

Swoo-Geun Kim's projects in Daehangro illustrate both the theoretical and the practical dimensions of the concept of correlativity. Inspired by the urban equivalent of a traditional village structure, Kim sublimated the lessons of Bukchon and translated into modern building types the fluid indeterminate spaces created by its alleyways and *madang*. This legacy is what has enabled these buildings to survive handsomely for some thirty years amid the omnipresent threat of high-density development in Seoul. What's more, the innovations in Kim's buildings merit evaluation as *practical* methods of adapting building forms to changing urban environments. What they show, above all, is that the public interest must be placed at the center of the design process if buildings are to function properly as reciprocal loci in high-density environments. Their form needs to correspond appropriately to the scale of the buildings around them, and their circulation system need to be closely linked with the urban tissue to secure a continuous flow. Their ground floor should be open to the public to preserve social commitment to common urban spaces, and they need to employ consistent building materials to achieve an integral identity. Finally, the interflow of space between interior and exterior environments, both in the public and the private realm,

has to be treated with the utmost delicacy and candor in order to disclose the correlativity of the architectural and civic dimensions of existence. Swoo-Geun Kim's attempts to realize these goals in Daehangro might serve as important references for other Asian cities that now find themselves at risk from the familiar issues of disorderly development and urban sprawl. ■

Notes

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- 11 "Gim Su Geun to Renga" (Swoo-Geun Kim and Bricks), *SD Magazine*, Dec. 1983.
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- 13 Interview with Boem-Jae Lee, Seoul, June 1994.

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Massive urban built-up just outside the old Xi'an city wall. © Andrew Liang, 2011

Capital Production and Social Equity: Finding Balance in Chinese Cities

BY ANDREW LIANG

China's massive capital accumulation, economic ascent and wealth production has largely been the result of their rapid urbanization effort. While it is indisputable that the country has largely succeeded in its economic reform efforts given its status as the world's second largest economy and in that process lifted hundreds of millions of its population out of poverty, it has also, in that process, created severe social inequality and friction. This essay largely argues that Chinese cities are purpose-built financial instruments for capital accumulation, a result of the forces of globalization which could only have happened in sync with the time and space of a global economy. Though highly successful, so far the process has marginalized the objective of social integration into its performative matrix indexing. In this regard China has pursued an exploitive model of market driven urbanization and the resultant morphological and spatial attributes of the Chinese cities, while having achieved spectacular results on many levels, are nevertheless disjunctive. They are commodities of generic sameness that are mass-produced and exhibit the same anesthetizing effects of the spectacle that are ever prevalent in today's global market production process, product and place. Recognizing that globalization and capitalism are here to stay in the immediate future, it begs the question if China, while having already undertaken extreme economic reform experimentations allowing it to now bask in its temporal success, will be able to leverage its acquired market knowledge and wealth creation to prospectively overcome the incredibly complex challenge of creating equitable cities in the future—ones that balance the demands of capital production on the one hand and social equity on the other—or rather will it sink deeper into the “neoliberal modern society” that it has already become.

It doesn't matter if a cat is white or black, so long as it catches mice.

Deng Xiaoping

Through the looking glass into the China of today, we no longer need the sheer density of statistical data to reinforce the notion that China's global ascent has been massive and rapid. This has already been affirmed. In 2010, it unseated Japan's four-decade long title as the world's second largest economy and it accomplished this in a mere three-plus decades since it began its market reform in 1982. Projecting forward, it is poised to surpass the US economy by 2028. This for a country still maturing and far from being fully developed says much about China's ambitions and growth capacity. Simply measured, China has achieved a lot more in much less time and in greater scale than any other country, thereby simultaneously validating itself in history while also setting itself apart from history. It is important to recognize, however, that China's rapid economic ascent, though largely unevenly distributed, was achieved through urbanizing; to that end, China's economic boom is an urban boom¹, where its economy and the urbanization processes are intertwined, making the Chinese cities the “growth machines” driving the country's economic growth.

Billed as the greatest urban build-up in the history of urban evolution, China's urban population has reached 700+ million, constituting over 50% of its total population in 2011, an increase of 32% from 1980². According to projections, 1 billion Chinese (76% of China's population) will be urbanized by 2030 — roughly three times the total population of the United States by the same time. This massive statistical accumulation, both in terms of scale and speed, of China's urban growth subverts the typical quantitative concept of “more is different” and maps an alternative concept that more is not simply different but more *becomes* different³. Pointing to that, Chinese cities, while sharing many genealogical traits with other historical and contemporary cultural urban precedents, are in fact complex byproducts of global transmutative processes that are both morphologically and phenomenologically difficult to synthesize and categorize through pre-existing urban taxonomical classifications and analysis methodologies. It is important to recognize that the majority of Chinese cities and urbanism did not happen in a cultural vacuum but in close interaction with the global economy. This type of complex market driven urban hybridization has fast become the most physical and visible markings of globalization. Much of this points to a distinctive shift in the socioeconomic role of cities in a deterritorialized global market space.



01 Rural industrialization. Multi-phases of rural transformations can be seen in this photo. Dense patches of original farming villages bordered by now mostly browned farmland are the original settlements of the area. The patches of industrial facilities are mixed from the TVE era of the 1980s and some more recent larger scale factories (blue roofs). In the center of the photo is a patch of newly built government backed high-density social housing development, often referred to as "tombstone slabs". This area is just outside of the greater metropolitan area of Beijing and it is starting to see the early stage of urbanization rising out from Beijing. © Andrew Liang, 2012.



02 Shanghai Pudong CBD, prior to 1993. This area was rural consisted mainly of farmland. © Andrew Liang, 2011.

China's reform-era urbanization process involved two evolutionary stages. The 1980s were preoccupied with urbanization through rural industrialization. The mechanism used to facilitate this developmental process was the Township and Village Enterprises (TVEs). In many respects regarded as a bottom up form of urbanization, there were many different variants of TVEs but they were all for the most part industrial operations located in rural areas outside of the central government's control mechanism. Governance of TVEs was through local governments and this interrelationship between government and business created mutually beneficial socioeconomic incentives of balancing social benefits and economic prosperity. For over a decade, TVEs were the most dynamic and enterprising sector of the Chinese economy with what can be characterized as the country's "inward" reform agenda⁴.

The 1990s saw the shift of China's urban development focus. Despite the socioeconomic success in industrializing the countryside, by the late 1980s, the growth agenda shifted from a rural-centric (socialistic) to an urban-centric (capitalistic) focus that would completely reshape the country's economic growth trajectory and transform the country into the economic powerhouse that it is today⁵. This refocusing directive was strategic; it entailed experimenting with policies that would attract and induce the rapid deployment of urban development and infrastructure build-up. The main mechanism was the designation of key strategic urban policies, among which the most robust and effective has been Special Economic Zones (SEZs) where through market, labor and policy engineering, those areas would become "business friendly" urban targets. In this regard, the second stage of China's urbanization process was orchestrated by the central government and is a top-down directive in stark contrast to the first stage of reform initia-

tives. Experimentations started in the early 1980s and would go through successive stages of expansion and formation; by the early 1990s approximately 20 plus SEZs of varying sizes were on the map and they were accompanied by a number of other economic and urban policy mechanisms with varying "preferential" policies all put in place to induce economic growth by attracting and absorbing foreign capital. While China's economic rise began through the TVE initiatives, the majority of the credit has to be given to the large-scale urban-centric policies⁶.

In this mode of city-centered urbanization inflated by strategic policy mechanisms, China has rewritten the book on *place* making by subverting an inherent requirement of balancing use value to that of exchange value — a once sociological process through which land and buildings order urban form and city life⁷. Through the urban activities of the last two decades, the notion of *place* making for China has evidently become a market driven exercise of consumption through commodification — where the use value of *place* is only as necessary as its ability to maximize the exchange value. In this regard, China's urban generative processes drastically departed from historical accounts of city evolution into a kind of mutative process where urban assets and developments were temporal in so far as they are meant to be generated and regenerated as rapidly as the market justified the process. In essence, by tapping into the slipstream of globalization, China shortcutted the necessary evolutionary stages of social integration during urbanization. The speed and scale for which China urbanized simply didn't afford it the time and space needed to gestate social policies alongside urban growth and economic policies. In the case of China, the unlikely relationship between capitalism and an authoritarian regime proved to be a union of efficiency. Ironically, what started as the "socialist modern-



03 Social propaganda: "Honest Hard Work to Build Happiness for Huanggang". Urbanization and urban assets as wealth production mechanism. © Andrew Liang, 2011.



04 Circa 1980s factory town in Dongguan City. © Andrew Liang, 2013.

ization" of the post Mao era turned into a new revolution — the great economic revolution⁸.

But this is not entirely surprising. China's economic reform coincided with and subsequently integrated into the evolution of a new world economic order. Market decentralization and privatization through geographical deterritorialization aided by robust technological advancements and velocity have increased transnational economic integration and interdependence. Capitalism within globalization, borrowing a concept from Henri Lefebvre, has created a "space of sovereignty"⁹. It is a space where the only rules for engagement are there to enhance the market demands and where all other intrinsic civilizing values, such as social, cultural and historical, upon being absorbed into this space are neutralized of their inherent differences, commodified and made to be subservient to the market so it can control them and make them negotiable. The resultant is that this space is one that fragments, separates and is hierarchical based solely on its exchange value. It is in this spatial purgatory that the world's economic actors from the matured to the developing find themselves and where they are enticed to participate with impunity.

China explored this capitalistic spatial territory where the only constraint for growth was the lack of prior market knowledge. It has made itself into an economic laboratory for financial instruments through many different economic experiments, most of which were leveraged in market privatization and commodification of public assets — largely turning rural land into urban assets. Through this process it was able to gain vast amounts of market knowledge and with that knowledge remade much of its existing cities and created new ones that facilitated its rapid industrialization and urbanization process¹⁰. Through each successive stage of growth China not only garnered the attention and

acceptance of the world's marketplace which created a beneficial capital feed-back loop, it also gained exploitative confidence and an insatiable appetite to rescale its already massive economy. While it took approximately 25 years, already short by historical accounts, for it to reach the standing of the world's third largest economy, it only took 4 years for it to become the world's second largest economy. For a government that is still officially atheistic, the doctrines of capitalism have emphatically become China's *de-facto* religion. In amassing capital, China leveraged two of its most abundant assets: its population to industrialize and land to urbanize, and through this process has achieved what Lefebvre refers to as the capitalist doctrine of "trinity" — the unity of land-capital-labor.

Today, through rough census data estimates, there are approximately 160 cities in China with a population of 1 million or more. Out of that approximately 10 have well over 10 million inhabitants and are considered megacities compared to the US's two. This, together with a large number of other prefecture and county level cities, puts the total number of cities in China well over 700. Though the majority are second tier cities located in central China that have not enjoyed the same prosperity as the first tier cities, through strategic stimulus packages that provided robust transportation infrastructure and connections, many are quickly rising to becoming key nodes within China's growing urban network, each attracting new talents, market enterprises, developing industries and their share of migrant population. Of particular challenge in China's urban evolution as its cities continue to expand and urban boundaries began to blur is the emergence of a new, even larger scale and more complex urban geography — the mega-region. In all, there are 10 mega-regions in China with populations ranging from 20+ to 100+ million inhabitant¹¹. The unity of land-capital-



05 Circa 1990 unsanctioned urban village housing emptied and slated for demolition to make way for a new bigger and denser mixed-use market development. © Andrew Liang, 2013.



06 Dongguang earned its city status in 1985 and stands on once agriculture land. It is now one of the major manufacturing hubs of China, with over 8 million in population. © Andrew Liang, 2011.

labor has had a transformative impact on China's urban landscape and it has contributed immensely to China's rapid modernization and economic prowess. Through this process, roughly one third to one half, pending source, of the country's population has been lifted out of poverty status. Regardless of one's perspective either as a promoter or critic of its processes, undeniably, a staggering large number of Chinese people, greater than the total population of the United States, are better off post market reform era. By any measure, that is an incredible social accomplishment, yet, the schizophrenic nature of the issue is that its reform activities have also created an increasingly stratified society where socioeconomic inequality has become a burgeoning threat to progress and social unrest. Contributing to this social tension is also the spatial inequality of its cities resulting from aggregating market drivers that created preferential communities and severe socioeconomic divisions.

As already mentioned previously and important to keep in mind, Chinese cities are complex transnational market mechanisms; they are financial instruments purpose built through a networked economy, flow of information and expertise¹². In this regard, they are much better adapted to perform for capital accumulation than as vessels for socio-cultural manifestations. This would have a profound effect on their morphological, spatial and performative dynamics. Undeniably, many key Chinese cities have become the iconographic poster child of "global cities" — terrain where a multiplicity of globalization processes assume concrete, localized forms¹³.

Three particular physical and spatial attributes directly contributable to globalization and embedded in Chinese cities are worth noting.

One, globalization's creation of a vast, international audience of potential participants¹⁴. This is true in two regards:

the first being the growing participation of transnational economic actors in the global markets — geographic dispersal of economic activities necessitated the decentralization of corporate functions that generated a new kind of place specific aggregation of specialty resources — mixing of service firms, talents, expertise, technology and other related service functions all required that a large part of the urban environment perform as a information center¹⁵. The need to take part in the fast paced global economic activities resulted in the necessity to be in a city's concentrated information system and supportive functions¹⁶. This has created the perfect prerequisite for gentrification. Office space, conference halls, convention spaces, housing, malls, museums, entertainment centers and other daily life amenities are all needed to facilitate and support this kind of economic and cultural agglomeration; the second being the ease in travel made possible by advancements in technology, optimized frequency and efficiency and geopolitical liberalization. With the marked increase in the Chinese middle class, China now has the largest domestic tourism market in the world and inbound travel to China has risen steadily since the 1980s topping 129 million in 2013 and has become a \$52 billion industry¹⁷. Both factors had significant roles not only in shaping the form of Chinese cities but also their consumeristic characteristics and tendencies. For the better part of two decades China has practiced this exploitative and opportunistic model of urbanization.

Two, global marketization and commoditization has had an indelible impact on smoothing out the global geographical and cultural differences on the one hand and striating local spatial continuity on the other. Brand identities that were once only found on the national stage are increasingly propagating onto the world's stage and expanding the brand's geographical presence — a simultaneous geographic/cultural



07 Beijing's latest architecture. Newly completed Galaxy SOHO in Beijing, design by Zaha Hadid, a mixed-use, office/mall complex looming over the old Hutong fabric. © Christian Gomez, 2013.



08 Rural industrialization. Large factory town in the background with low-lying factory buildings mostly hidden from view in this photo by overgrown largely unproductive farmland in the foreground. © Andrew Liang, 2011.

dispersal and market concentration¹⁸. Debord refers to this process as the world of the commodity ruling over all lived experience creating a simultaneity of consumption and spectacle that is at once *here* and *there*. This phenomenon has come to dominate the Chinese urban experience and exemplifies the effect global marketization has on the disjunctive spatial experience of its cities where the modern upscale developments of massive proportions are merely islands of concentrated market and consumer activities within the old socialist fabric. Despite the sociopolitical differences of the Chinese city to that of their western counterparts, the morphology and urban performance are increasingly similar. This, of course, is not accidental as marketization and consumption requires spatial recalibration, reformulation and ultimately reconfiguration, and China has done this on a massive scale in its cities by mostly importing transnational services, expertise and precedents; in effect commodifying what were once considered elements of cultural production required for its transformation.

These transformations all point to the third attribute of globalization — sameness, where the idea of the *original* has long been relegated to the domain of the generic readily consumed and rapidly deployed as commodities through copies of the copy. The practice of knowledge transfer and appropriation in societal transformation is not new; throughout history, whenever a society undergoes a transformation, the “materials” used in the process derive from another, historically or developmentally, anterior social practice¹⁹. While each successive duplication over time moves the target subject further from the original, the process has relied on social practice to imbue cultural authenticity. In modern capitalistic societies, social practice has largely been replaced by the expediency of market practice and in turn cultural authenticity replaced by the spectacle.

To this effect, the spectacle is a function of the marketplace and the urban spectacle of China is certainly no different. New urban assets ranging from fantastical buildings, glitzy central business districts, massive public work projects to entire satellite towns mass produced at will and built on short order all point to China's audacity for the spectacle. While spectacular in their own right they sorely lack cultural authenticity, rendering most to be nothing more than a “Kodak moment”, however, their strategic engagement with the cultural space of capitalism demands *duplicity* in order to reinforce the market mechanism of commodification. Through this process, market, product, place and culture from across the geographical spectrum are all game for appropriation, duplication and redeployment with the anesthetizing effect of sameness.

Despite China's massive economic build-up, its prescribed process has not been without its share of controversy, the most prominent of which is accumulation through dispossession²⁰. While capital accumulation has so far resulted in the creation of spectacular urban growth and facilitated great wealth production, it must also be reconciled with the severe rise of inequalities in its social fabric. This is a testimony to the simple fact that while China's overall economy is massive, it must also provide for 1,3 billion people and that poses a policy, developmental, implemental and management challenge of unprecedented proportions as nothing in history has had to deal with or can offer precedents to this kind of quantitative vs qualitative complexity in the economic, urban, social and political realms, let alone to do so on both the domestic and international stage simultaneously. To date, China can be said to have found success through embracing the matrix of capitalism but the fruits of which has only reinforced what Marx geographer David Harvey refers to as a form of “neoliberal



09-10 New gated community. View from inside the development and view looking out to the surrounding outside the development. © Andrew Liang, 2012.

modernity” — a modernity in which dispossession plays a large role, and where the capital class is gaining power at the expense of the labor class and this also has had, arguably, a detrimental impact in China’s urban geography and spatiality. For better and for worse, China’s massive urban build-up of the last couple of decades has set the wheels turning for the country’s modernization. But as it is with any matured or maturing market, with knowledge and wisdom gained comes timidity for change. By all accounts, China has played the free market game far better than the west: learning, assimilating and willingly adaptive along the way, however, Chinese capitalism is in a severely efficient early stage of formation devoid of the burdensome regulatory measures and other inconveniences of capital accumulation²¹. The looming question, however, is with the mounting social friction can it continue on its current trajectory without strategic policy reform to reposition itself within the demands of capital production on the one hand and social capital accumulation on the other? Wealth generation in China has largely been the function of market driven urbanization. In this regard, how can the urban processes be recalibrated to also facilitate wealth redistribution and social integration? What knowledge has yet to be learned in the complexities of city formation set within the market demanding forces of globalization that can also allow the building of social and cultural resilience in one respect and morphological and spatial cohesion in another?

Recognizing the interrelationship and interdependency of geopolitical and socioeconomic spatiality that is globalization, one thing is for certain: urbanization challenges are not unique to Chinese cities. Urban management policies and executable strategies, even in nations with much smaller populations and more mature market economies (us included), have had and continue to have their share of

urban challenges, so as the world’s most populous country, China is faced with an immensely more complex challenge going forward. All eyes, from the developed nations to the developing, are on China in its ongoing urbanization and ambition to now redirect the country’s economic growth trajectory towards domestic demands as it continues to assert itself in experimenting with new urban arrangements and possibilities - an urban laboratory on a massive scale. China’s central government’s recent announcement of preempting the urban migration of 100 million more rural population and to better integrate 100 million migrants that are already urban by 2020 is case in point of the challenges lying ahead for them and reinforces the urgency of recalibrating and reformulating its urban policies and developmental strategies to include social and public policies. Contrasting with China’s internal challenges is its expanding global economic reach. Its already decade long economic development in Africa validates China’s larger geopolitical ambitions and the dire proposition that market activities as economic soft power are sole drivers of urban activities across geopolitical boundaries. In an extremely expedient, duplicative and transferable global market space and with many emerging nations and economies vying for growth, progress and prosperity on the horizon, the danger that faces urban evolution is that it will take the path of least resistance. Our best hope for a sustainable and socially integrated global urban ecosystem going forward is both a critical and conceptual framework to better reconcile global market demands to that of local social and spatial needs. In light of China’s rising level of socio-economic and spatial inequalities despite its newfound economic stature points to the complexity of urban system thinking and cautions a more critical engagement with and a reciprocity of urban morphology to that of urban society. ■



11 Model of a new suburban-gated resort community in the development's sales office: the new Chinese dream. © Andrew Liang, 2011.



12 The new Chinese consumeristic culture. Any western mall developer's dream: consumer density. © Andrew Liang, 2013.

Notes

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- 2 World Bank Statistics.
- 3 Mark Buchanan, "Complexity Management", *Strategy + Business*, 34, 2004.
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- 6 *Idem*, p. 31.
- 7 John Logan and Harvey Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1987, p. 17.
- 8 Ronald Coase and Ning Wang, "How China Became Capitalist", *Cato Policy Report*, January/February 2013, p. 2.
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- 13 Saskia Sassen, "The Global City: Introducing a Concept", *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Winter/Spring 2005, p. 40.
- 14 Rebecca Gomperts in Shumon Basar and Markus Miessen, *Did Someone Say Participate: An Atlas of Spatial Practice*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2006, p. 59.
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- 21 Thomas Campanella, *The Concrete Dragon: China's Urban Revolution and What It Means to the World*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 2008, p. 25.

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Aerial view of the downtown of São Paulo, Brazil, crossed by South North structural axis. © Alexandre Leitão Santos, 2013

São Paulo: Urban Planning Efforts and Metropolitan Growth

BY RENATO ANELLI

São Paulo started the 20th century as a 240 thousand inhabitant town and concluded it as a 10 million inhabitant center of a metropolitan zone of 17,8 million inhabitants. The congestion and disorder disguise the planning efforts conceived since the first decade, but only partially implemented. This article highlights some of the most important urban planning proposals as the Avenue Plan (1930), the Robert Moses's *Plano de Melhoramentos* (1950), the Basic Urbanization Plan (PUB, 1969) and the last Review of the Master Plan (2013–14) to São Paulo, and the challenges resulted of the pace of demographic and urban growth in that century.

History and Geography

Brazil is a South American country that was colonized by Portugal and that became independent in the beginning of the 19th century. Up until the 1930 National Revolution, Brazil was controlled by the rural coffee oligarchy based in São Paulo¹. It was the wealth of the coffee economy that explains the town's urban growth in the first decades of the 20th century.

Year	São Paulo		Brazil	
	City	Metropolis		
	Inhabitants			% Urban
1890	64.934			
1900	239.820		17.438.434	
1920	579.033		30.435.605	
1940	1.326.261	1.568.045	41.236.315	31,3
1950	2.198.096	2.622.786	51.944.397	36,2
1960	3.825.351	4.739.406	70.070.457	44,7
1970	5.924.615	8.139.730	93.139.037	55,9
1980	8.493.226	12.588.725	119.002.706	67,7
1991	9.626.880	15.449.410	146.825.475	75,6
2000	10.435.546	17.878.703	169.799.170	81,3
2010	11.244.369	20.309.647	190.732.694	84,4

This table compares the demographic growth of São Paulo city, of the São Paulo Metropolitan Region and of Brazil². In the last column stands the percentage of inhabitants living in urban areas.

These are amazing numbers, and very important to understand the challenge that Brazil's planning technicians faced.

The small 65 thousand inhabitant town of 1890 entered the 20th century with 240 thousand people, and it reached

580 thousand in 1920. Between 1882 and 1934, 2,3 million immigrants disembarked in the port of Santos, in São Paulo state. German, Italian, Spanish, Japanese and Syrian-Lebanese immigrants poured into the South and the Southeast of Brazil.

The surpluses generated by coffee production formed São Paulo industrialization bases throughout the 20th century. A powerful impetus was given to it during the WW2, when local companies' production replaced imports, hindered by the conflict. Population growth increased due to waves of migration from the North and Northeast, the poorest regions in the country.

In 1940, São Paulo reached the figure of 1,3 million inhabitants, 2,2 million ten years later and 3,8 million in 1960.

Throughout those years, the Brazilian population left the countryside and headed to cities and towns, seeking more job opportunities in the industry sector and services. From an urban population of 31,3% in 1940, it amounted to 44,7% in 1960, in an urbanization process that today totals 84% of the Brazilian population living in cities and towns.

In São Paulo, this growth caused the horizontal expansion of the outskirts over the city borders. From the 1960s onwards, its urban expansion decreased; however, it accelerated in the other 39 cities of the Metropolitan Region in a fast conurbation process.

Urban Planning to Occupy the Territory

Several plans were conceived throughout the 20th century to support this rapid increase in size, producing many transformations in the urban form and architecture of the city.

São Paulo was founded in 1554, in a mountainous region cut by the plains of three rivers, which flow into the inner part of the continent. As it was typical of the Portuguese, the town was built on the top of two hills, which bolstered its defense. The sloping borders of two valleys defined the triangular site. Apart from improving the colonial town's protection, the slopes limited urban expansion when the city started its growth in the middle of 19th century.

At the turn of the century, the town had already gone beyond the valleys to reach the railways built on the plains, and urbanization works in the first decades of the 20th century focused on this transposition.

In 1911, the French architect Joseph-Antoine Bouvard designed a plan for downtown São Paulo, which guided improvement works carried out by the City Hall over the following years. Parks in the valleys, viaducts and squares built in those years add a European air to the old colonial town.

However, the city grew at phenomenal rates. In 20 years there was a two-fold increase in the population and growth became an issue. Unlimited expansion models, presented by Stüben and Eugene Hénard, were adapted by Ulhôa Cintra and Prestes Maia in order to organize the town's growth through a radial and concentric road system³. The old town center and its expanded areas beyond the valley joined within an irradiation ring, from which radial roads and a series of concentric rings emanate.

The plan had two scales: the road system and the architecture of the city at local scale, conceived in the North-American urbanist Burnham's *City Beautiful* conceptions. City's code proposed to control the concentration of high-rise buildings along the main avenues of Maia's plan, and relate high-density with mobility facilities.

Despite the efforts of many to introduce urbanism control instruments in public administration, the incredible growth of São Paulo and the main Brazilian cities occurred with no efficient urban planning. The extensive occupation of the impoverished outskirts was singularly combined with the wealthy towers in the major neighborhoods.

Modern Architecture Without Modern Urbanism

The irradiation ring road and some of the radial roads were concluded during Prestes Maia administration as mayor, between 1938 and 1945. In the center of the irradiation ring the verticalization was intense and it produced new programs with a metropolitan character.

The kind of architecture used along the new roads did not follow the *City Beautiful* conceptions of the original plan. A modern architecture developed in São Paulo since 1927 produced the new image of this urban modernization. The new programs generated by this metropolitan condition, such as movie theaters, commercial centers, hotels and apartment buildings, were designed by modern architects who played an important role in urban modernization.

In a restricted region, the New Downtown, in fifteen years, an amazing concentration of modern architecture was built for real estate entrepreneurs. In these blocks, not conceived as modern urbanism, a great concentration of modern buildings reveals the potentiality of the juxtaposition of modern form and non-modern urban tissue. Tall buildings and a network of commercial galleries formed a new-sophisticated cosmopolitan and modern ambience, where the International Style approach did not mean a conflict with the old urban space of São Paulo's Downtown District.

In the post-war years, as São Paulo grew at a fast pace, modern architecture spread all over the city, in new

districts for the middle class, in the form of apartment buildings or houses. However, the situation in the workers neighborhoods and in the areas of urban expansion was completely different.

The need for low-cost laborers for this industrialization reveals the wild face of capitalism in Brazil. Industrial development and terrible housing conditions were visible at the same time, in the same city.

The social housing issue has been a subject of debate since the beginning of industrialization. In Brazil, the offer of housing to workers was considered a private investment until the 30s. However, the major part of the huge group of urban workers lived in inadequate housing. Subdivided real properties turned into overpopulated and degraded slums.

The social conditions became a political issue for the State and for the architecture and urban planners. Two main fields of this action can be highlighted: the public housing and school programs.

After the 1930 Revolution, the State began to provide social housing, but the first huge housing projects appeared only at the end of the decade. It made use of retiring and social security institutes, which developed important modern housing projects. Most of them were placed near downtown or the radial avenues of Maia's plan.

State education diffusion could also count on the contribution of modern architects, as it is possible to observe in the development of school partnerships. 52 schools and cultural facilities were built in São Paulo in five years (between 1948 and 1953)⁴.

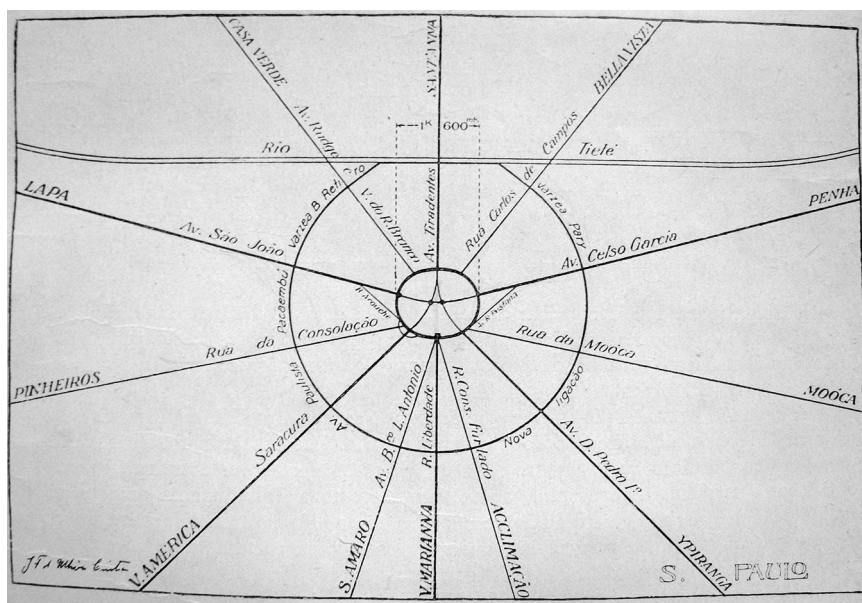
The plans were developed based on the concept of *New School*, a Brazilian adaptation of John Dewey's ideas. Schools were supposed to work as social integration centers for migrants living in the city outskirts. With areas for the use of families at weekends, schools played an active role in the social structuring of São Paulo's urban expansion.

The distribution of schools in the city was based on utility networks and can be compared with other networks of the city in 1954, such as gas, telephone and public transportation. Nevertheless, school and housing construction volume was far from keeping up with the growth rate. From 1937 to 1964, only 10 thousand housing units were projected, of which only thousand were actually built.

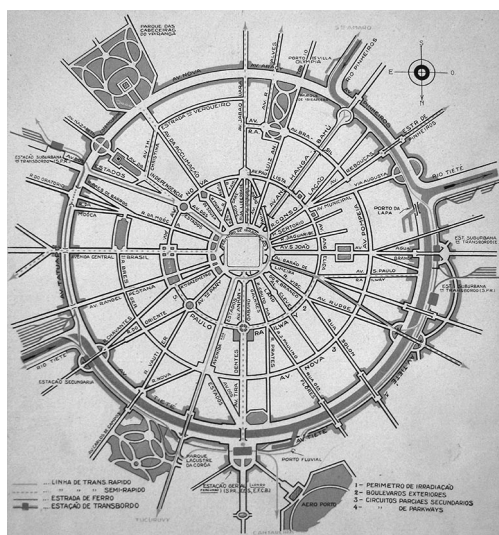
The limits of a mononuclear city became clear. São Paulo spread out quickly, but utilities and infrastructure networks did not keep up with this expansion. In the late 40s, despite all efforts and the fast pace of road works, what was implemented of Maia's Plan did not keep up with the horizontal expansion of the city.

São Paulo reached 2,2 million inhabitants by 1950. City government then hired the American Robert Moses through Nelson Rockefeller's International Basic Economy Corporation⁵. Moses warned that the city road system planning should articulate the state motorway system. The non-limits city was acquiring an unexpected dimension, far greater than the models adapted by Prestes Maia for his plan.

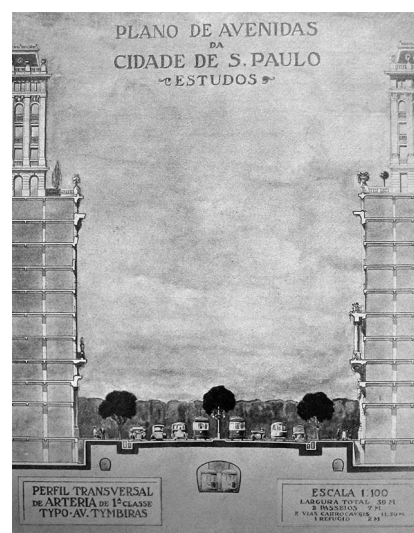
Besides the territorial approach for the urban structure, Moses introduced a new kind of concept for the road system on a local scale: the urban highway concepts, which would



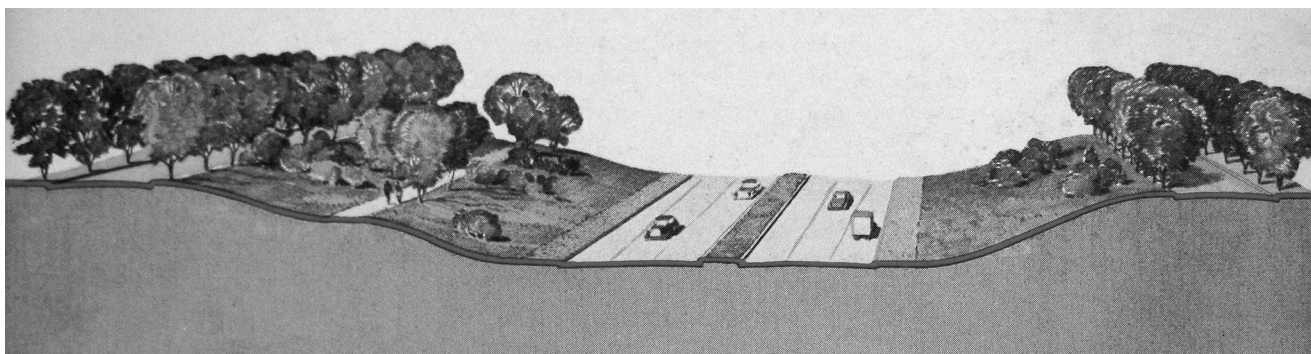
01 Lhôa Cintra and Prestes Maia, urban schema for São Paulo, Brazil, 1930. © In *Plano de Avenidas*, 1929, p. 51. FAU-USP Library.



02 Ulhôa Cintra and Prestes Maia, urban theoretical schema for São Paulo, Brazil, 1930. © In *Plano de Avenidas*, 1929, p. 52. FAU-USP Library.



03 Prestes Maia, section of a first class avenue, São Paulo, Brazil, 1930. © In *Plano de Avenidas*, 1929, p. 86. FAU-USP Library.



04 Robert Moses/IBEC, section of an urban expressway, São Paulo, Brazil, 1950. © In Robert Moses, *Programa de Melhoramentos Públicos para a Cidade de São Paulo*, São Paulo, IBEC Technical Services Co./Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo, 1950, p. 86. FAU-USP Library.

be used in São Paulo expressways, especially in the river-bank roads along the Tietê, Pinheiros and Tamanduateí.

Due to industrialization development, growth throughout the decade of 1950 was dramatic. The population of São Paulo skyrocketed from 2,2 million to 3,8. It exceeded the population of Rio de Janeiro, the country capital at that time as well as of Buenos Aires, in Argentina, becoming the largest city in South America.

Some urban planners were opposed to the mononuclear model of the Prestes Maia Plan and proposed a poly nuclear limited growth city model⁶. Based on François Lebrete's research of 1958, the poly nuclear model was adapted so as to find a network of existent centers, some of which work as regional centers. Therefore, a complex network of multiple centers would be formed.

In spite of that, the mononuclear structure of Prestes Maia was used to guide expansion for over 10 years.

In 1957 the plan for Brasília was launched, and for the first time, the modern Athens Chart principles were applied on a large scale in Brazil. The entries of "Paulista" architects to the Brasília plan competition were concerned with the metropolitan reality of São Paulo. This is the reason for the mega structures proposed by Rino Levi (300 m high and 400 m wide residential buildings) or for a subway structured linear city proposed by Joaquim Guedes. Both entries were rehearsals for their main challenge: to face the unprecedented metropolitan condition of São Paulo in a Brazilian urban scenario.

The Urban Policy in the Years after the Military Coup of 1964

The urban policy in the years after the military coup was based on two large institutions: the BNH (National Housing Bank) and the SERFHAU (Federal Service for Housing and Urbanism). They centralized all the national efforts on social housing and urban planning during the military rule years. The Brazilian cities were in such a critical situation that even a conservative right wing government needed a centralized policy to rule the several conflicts in the intra-urban space.

This created a strong paradox: the first comprehensive national policy for urban planning and housing was created and conducted by a non-democratic government, a paradox that would be questioned in the re-democratization years by a new generation of architects and urbanists who accused urban plans as a technocratic matter.

In 1968, when the city population was close to reaching 6 million, city government proposed the Basic Urbanization Plan (PUB). A multi-disciplinary team composed of Brazilian and foreign technicians developed an in-depth survey of the city situation⁷.

The plan proposed a multi-centered city model, connected by public transportation systems and expressway networks that broke with the radio-concentric and mononuclear model. An increase in density along public transport lines was planned, while the multi-directional expressways network encased environmental areas, as Colin Buchanam and Doxiadis promoted in other cities plans.

Mass rapid transit systems were strategic to the PUB, due to its 400 km dimension of subway and commuter trains. Despite only 72 km of subway lines and 230 km of commuter trains being built since the 1970s, the scale of services grew dramatically. It had introduced new challenges, not only for urban planning and urban design. It pushed architecture to new methods of design for mass scale equipment.

Throughout the 1970s, only a part of the PUB concepts were incorporated in projects and plans. Despite the regional dimension of these plans, it was usual to find architects that acted developing building architecture, urban design and urban planning.

The link of scales was visible in São Paulo in urban plans integrated with rapid transit networks. Conceived in the PUB as multiple-activity corridors along the lines and stations, most of those plans were included in the national CURA program (Urban Community of Fast Recovery) for São Paulo. Although it did not come up to what the PUB included, since the lines of the projects were much shorter, the articulation of urban renewal as urban densification of the areas served by the rapid transit network was innovative in Brazil.

Conceived as one of the PUB's sub-centers, the plan of Itaquera was the one among all of them, which had the greatest impact concerning the combination of a housing action and policies of city population decentralization⁸. Itaquera was planned in a rural area 18 km away from the city center. It was in an unusual moment of articulation of urban policies of mobility and social housing that the extension of the red line of the subway was planned, reaching the sites of the two large complexes, which had a total of 34 thousand units.

Next to the station that serves both complexes there was a lot of equipment that should have led to the creation of an urban sub-center, fostering the supply of jobs and services. One of the pieces of equipment was a soccer stadium that only after 30 years was built to host the opening of the 2014 World Soccer Cup.

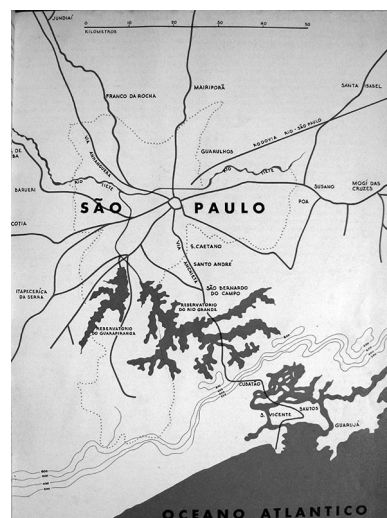
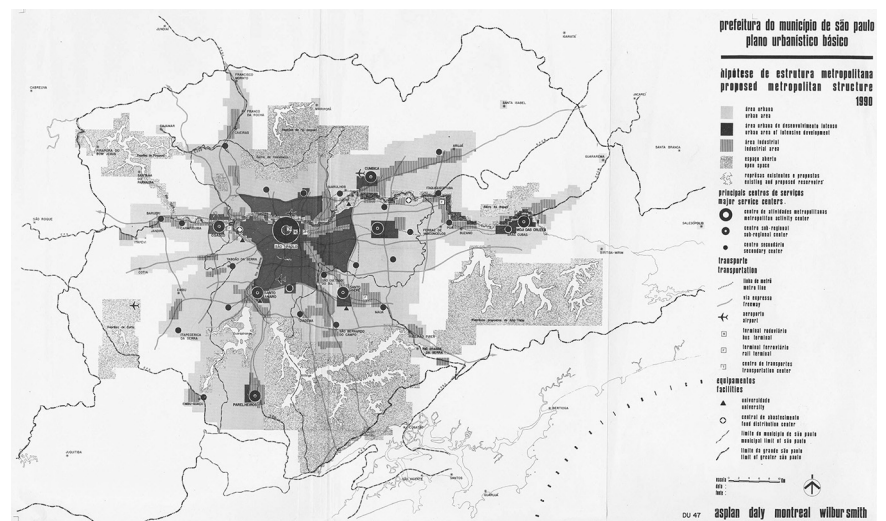
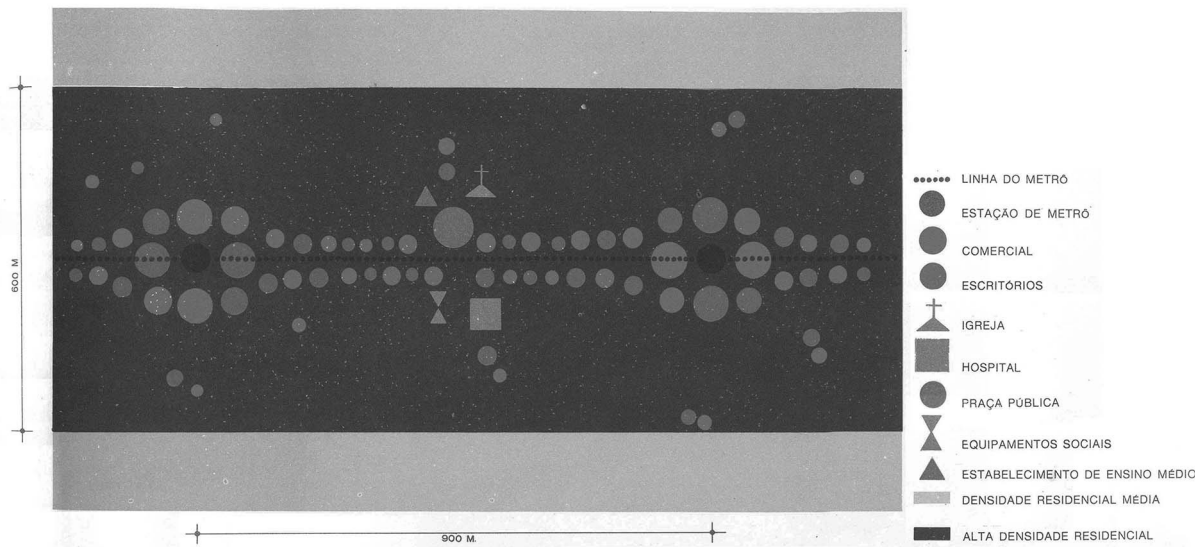
Economical Crises and Urban Democratization

The economic crisis that began in the late 70s, as a consequence of the heavy debt of the country, led Brazil into two decades of recession. The 80s were known as the lost decade and the 90s were spent to cover the bills according to the international economies revenues.

The shortage of funds hindered large scale planning strategies just when the country began to have democratic governments.

Between the 60s and the 90s, despite São Paulo reducing the pace of growth, the poor informal housing invaded the shores of drinking water reservoirs in the South, watershed areas and unstable mountainous areas. In the 60s, the city of São Paulo grew by 2 million inhabitants while the other cities of the Metropolitan Region grew 1,3 million.

In the next decade, this relation was 2,5 million in São Paulo to 1,8 million in the other cities of the Metropolitan Region. In the 80s, the other cities of the Metropolitan Region grew by 1,7 million inhabitants, exceeding for the first time the growth of 1,1 million in the city of São Paulo.



Due to the limits of public initiatives, the poorest people tried to find other ways to live in large Brazilian cities, and it was mutual assistance and self-construction that allowed them to build their homes. The real face of the free market city in Brazil was this kind of settlements, in most cases, subject to environmental restrictions, occupying forest land or riverbanks.

Between 1996 and 2000, the metropolitan region population grew in a centrifugal dynamic form, resulting in a population reduction in central areas of São Paulo and major growth in the outskirts and in the other cities of the Metropolitan Region. In this new dynamic, the high-density zones were dislocated from downtown high-rise building areas to the *favelas* in the outskirts: a cruel combination of density, informal settlements and poverty.

In 2001, São Paulo city reached 10,4 million inhabitants, only 800 thousand more than the figure of the 1991 census, while the other cities of the Metropolitan Region grew 1,6 million.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the new social movements for democracy distanced themselves from the urban planning experience associated with the military rule. A kind of liberal democratic approach emerged, pointing to the creation of a civil society without the intervention of a strong state. This appeared with the new left parties not engaged with the old soviet communism. And also with the entrepreneurs associations, which defend a weak state to allow the strengthening of the free market. Those were two faces of the same political phenomenon.

Some initiatives undertaken in two programs of city management aimed at working directly with the organized social movements.

Between 1989 and 1992, the first government of this new left wing party at São Paulo city government introduced a number of architects and urban planners that had been acknowledged for carrying out research on alternatives to the military regime housing policy⁹. They started organizing groups that demanded housing into cooperatives and they managed state investments themselves. Specialized technical teams were organized in order to develop plans and provide technical assistance to these cooperatives.

Among the several plans implemented under this policy, two types brought about an important shift in urban concepts for social housing:

One was intended for the slum issue in the city center. Instead of removing residents, new buildings were put up next to the slums. This made it possible to convert old mansions into community centers and place their occupants near areas with a great availability of jobs.

In the other type, housing projects were densely designed, with the buildings put up along the streets, creating living areas in the inner part of the blocks as a reproduction of traditional courtyards.

These examples of small-scale projects were coherent to the lack of funds in public administration as well as what was within the range of community based policies. And both were far away from the challenge of the informal city between 1980 and 2000.

21st Century Economic Growth: the Challenge of Mass Scale Needs and Infrastructure Plans

This century, Brazil has returned to a period of economic growth. But the dimension of social needs in Brazil is still huge, despite the success of many policies to reduce poverty.

The complexity of social housing and facilities projects rose, needing to be conceived in connection with infrastructure plans, mainly of urban mobility networks. However, the capacity of public administration to deal with large-scale plans is still restricted.

Since 2003 the elevation of commodity prices was one of the reasons for a growth in GDP which in turn permitted an increase in important social programs, such as the family allowance. But Brazil was deeply affected by the 2008 crises.

Federal government implemented some anti-cyclic economic measures to increase the economy by consumption. They worked well, maintaining the unemployment rates near the figure of 7%.

However, two of those measures had affected all Brazilian cities — the investments in social housing and the tax exemption for cars. This means that social housing is being built on affordable land, distant from available offer of jobs, services and infrastructure. And the fleet of private individual cars grew to unsustainable levels. The need to commute rises as does the offer of affordable automobiles, thus, producing a collapse in urban mobility.

Since 2013 the São Paulo Master Plan is being reviewed and urban mobility issues are at the center of the debate once again¹⁰. A network of high and medium capacity rapid transit lines were conceived, covering all urbanized region, planned to be finished in 2028. Concerned with this future high offer of public transportation, the Master Plan proposed a buffer of high-density urban renewal, along the network, very similar to 1968's PUB proposals. Maybe this time it will work. ■

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08 Aerial view of the downtown of São Paulo, Brazil, crossed by South North structural axis. © Alexandre Leitão Santos, 2013.



09 Aerial view of Tietê River's plains, São Paulo, Brazil. High density in favelas at left bank and industrial plants at right bank. © Alexandre Leitão Santos, 2013.

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Construction of site-specific 45-storey blocks of HKHA public rental housing underway at Kai Tak Site 1a, Kowloon, in 2012; this view shows a prefabricated services unit (bathroom/kitchen) being winched up.
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The “Densification” of Modern Public Housing: Hong Kong and Singapore

BY MILES GLENDINNING

In the Asian mini-city-states of Hong Kong and Singapore, massive public housing programmes, far more extreme in density and height than their European and North American predecessors, have played an unexpectedly prominent role in development policy since the 1950s. This article explores some of the ways in which the original conventions of public housing were transformed and “densified” in these territories, and argues that the key influences in this process were not so much *avant-garde* modernist architectural discourses as the organisational mechanisms and political pressures within late British colonialism and decolonisation.

In its original heartlands — Europe, North America and the former USSR — public housing is widely seen as an obsolete 20th century legacy chiefly requiring management, dismantlement, or occasionally heritage protection. In built-form terms, this legacy has many common features, including a paradoxical combination of modernist multi-storey blocks with often rather spaced-out, low-density planning. But the picture is different in Eastern Asia, where there is currently a boom in new public housing construction, especially in fast-urbanising Mainland China. This follows a very different physical pattern, with serried ranks of tall blocks packed tightly together. The roots of this high-density pattern are to be found in two very special places — the mini-states and former British colonies of Hong Kong and Singapore, whose massive housing programmes stretch back over two generations. This article explores some of the ways in which the European conventions of public housing were transformed and “densified” in Hong Kong and Singapore — not so much through the medium of any kind of *avant-garde* modernist discourses as through the organisational mechanisms and political pressures within late British colonialism and decolonisation.

In the decades after 1945, these largely ethnic-Chinese port city-states both experienced significant geopolitical isolation, as “siege societies” facing grave demographic and political pressures, following the decline of British imperial power in Asia and the Communist revolution in China — which, in the case of Hong Kong, prompted successive floods of refugees from 1949 onwards. As such, they resembled some earlier “enclave” hotspots of high-density mass housing, such as “Red Vienna” or New York. And in both places, mass housing became a foundation of decolonisation, shifting from emergency expedients to settled long term “embedding” strategies and adapting relevant British precedents to those purposes.

What, however, were those precedents, and how relevant were they? Interwar and early post-war British public

housing was organised around the distinctive principle of “council housing”, directly built and owned by urban authorities, and thus subject to the intense pressures and fluctuations of local politics — although the 1940s onwards also saw a separate programme of “New Towns” overseen by professionals and civil servants. In built-form terms, where continental countries largely built mass housing on vast suburban sites — referred to by the French as *grands ensembles* — British council housing combined these with large-scale urban “slum redevelopment”. Architecturally, after 1945, some authorities, such as the London County Council, built up-to-date modernist housing featuring varied groups of high and low blocks in open space or, later, denser, “mega structural” patterns, but other places perpetuated more conservative patterns, such as low-rise tenements. Everywhere, though, the overall designed population density of new urban council housing was rather low, ranging from around 50 persons per acre (p.p.a.) in suburbs to a maximum of 200 p.p.a. in inner London.

In Hong Kong and Singapore, very different, denser patterns of modern public housing would prevail, but these, as we will see, were generated not by purely architectural discourses but by the extreme shortage of land and by other more complex political and cultural factors. Both were “societies of crisis”, and in neither case was there anything resembling the localised framework of “council housing”. British influences were imported via a more centralised process led by colonial administrators and professionals. They coordinated housing on a “city-state-national” rather than “local” basis — reflecting an overriding aim of social stabilisation. And paradoxically for these free-market bastions, their policies were motivated by political ideologies every bit as strong as in any Western welfare-state country. These ideologies, however, were differently framed in the two territories: aggressively “ideologically” in Singapore as part of the PAP’s master narrative, more “neutrally” in Hong Kong.

In both cases, the post-war era began with a low sense of identity and affiliation, combined with a loss of legitimacy of Britain's colonial rule following wartime Japanese occupation. In Singapore, moves towards self-rule began in the 50s, with devolved governments headed until 1959 by the moderate left-wing administrations of David Marshall and Lim Yew Hock, and after that by the increasingly authoritarian rule of Lee Kuan Yew's People's Action Party, or PAP, which eventually led the country to independence in 1965. The idiosyncrasy of the "semi-welfare-state" in Singapore was bound up with the ambiguous, shifting position of the PAP. It gained power in 1959 through communist-supported agitation against Lim's moderate left-wing rule, but then shifted rightwards to a combination of anti-communism with technocratic social planning. In Hong Kong, the political balance only reached a tipping point in the 70s. Here the reversion of most of the colony to China in 1997 meant there was no "independence option", so any reform would have to stem not from politicians but from an administrative elite. In the 1970s, after serious anti-government rioting in 1966–1967, the Hong Kong government set in train a series of radical interventions in the built environment, including centrally-directed planning and public housing.

As early as the late 1950s and 60s, the wider governmental framework in Hong Kong and Singapore had sharply diverged. Hong Kong pursued a slow, steady decolonisation but Singapore plunged abruptly into so-called "Malayanisation" in the late-1950s, which incapacitated the colony's longstanding housing-planning agency, the Singapore Improvement Trust (SIT). Yet at the level of specific policies, there was no question of Hong Kong adopting more "British" policies than Singapore. In the area of housing policy, both set up a unitary central authority, Singapore in 1959–60 and Hong Kong, eventually, in 1973. In planning strategy, both territories rather echoed British norms, adopting a dual formula of radical urban redevelopment and a planned population overspill to new towns. The way this strategy was implemented differed sharply, though. Singapore, with its authoritarian government and more favourable land supply, set about a British-style programme of dirigistic urban and new-town planning. This was combined with a drive for social home ownership — a policy relatively unknown in Britain — in a redistributive programme hailed by Lee Kuan Yew as a "Robin Hood adventure". Hong Kong, with its looser government and free-market economy, and its highly-constrained demographics and land-supply, followed a more sharply-fluctuating course in housing policy. In neither case, though, were the built forms of public housing very reminiscent of Britain, as both were entirely reliant on high-density, high-rise flats.

Both territories' housing policies featured prominent tensions, between emergency expedients and long-term strategies, and between social renting and home-ownership tenures. In the first case, Hong Kong saw a linear progression of policy, from emergency resettlement towards a long-term permanent housing strategy integrated with planning; while

Singapore fluctuated from strategic planning to emergency expedients and back again.

At the beginning of large-scale public housing in the 1950s, the two territories were at their most distant from each other in policy and architecture, with Singapore focusing on carefully-coordinated but low-output efforts, and Hong Kong emphasising a crash programme of emergency shelter for displaced squatters. By the late 1950s, Singapore had developed a long-term strategy of housing and planning, overseen by the Singapore Improvement Trust, whose overall production had reached 23,000 flats (10% of the total permanent housing stock) — a position unparalleled in any other European colonial territory. The SIT also developed a British-style master plan for the territory, including a network of new towns, commencing with Queenstown in 1953: its housing output combined terraced houses and modernist low-rise flats, with occasional tall blocks: the densities of these estates were hardly much higher than contemporary standards in London. By 1958, with full devolved self-rule impending the following year, political expectations were rising further, and the devolved Labour Front government, prodded by SIT chief J. M. Fraser, became convinced that a step-change in housing and planning administration was needed. Accordingly, in 1958–1959, Lim's government legislated to establish a "Housing and Development Board", tasked with boosting housing output still further and to oversee all housing and begin large-scale redevelopment of squatter settlements; for these Fraser designed slab-blocks of "emergency" one-room flats. This careful strategy, however, was swamped in the political upheavals of the late 1950s, especially the anti-colonialist rhetoric of Ong Eng Guan, the PAP's left-wing housing spokesman. On the PAP's election victory in 1959, Ong was appointed housing and planning minister, and purged all key expatriate officers from the SIT: Fraser promptly moved to Hong Kong to head the Housing Authority there (on which, see below). In the short term, because of this chaos Singapore's public housing drive, far from increasing in pace, seemed threatened with total collapse — but, as we will see, the position would soon change radically.

During the mid and late 1950s, owing to this political instability, it was not Singapore first unleashed a large-scale programme of public housing, but Hong Kong. And the pressures of overcrowding and refugee influx here led to very different solutions from Singapore's careful debates and modest designs. The years after 1945 had seen repeated efforts in Hong Kong to tackle the colony's problems of overcrowded, dilapidated housing by starting a Singapore-style programme of low-cost, self-contained flats. These included the founding of experimental housing societies and, in 1954, of a "Hong Kong Housing Authority" modelled on the SIT, but far smaller in scale. All these, however, were dramatically eclipsed by a far larger and more urgent programme, the "Resettlement" drive. This was chiefly motivated not by humanitarian concern about poor housing but by hard-headed anxiety over the way industrial development land was being sterilised by refugee squatter settlements, whose frequent fires caused massive dislocation across the colony.

- 01** “Mark I” Resettlement block as built 1954 at Shek Kip Mei, Hong Kong: reconstruction model housed in Mei Ho House, the last surviving Mk. I block, converted after 2011 to a heritage centre and youth hostel.
© Miles Glendinning, 2014.



- 02** Queenstown Neighbourhood 2 (Duchess Estate), late 1950s low-rise blocks designed by the architectural staff of SIT: the flats in the background (blocks 45, 48, 49) were the first completed by the HDB, in 1960.
© Miles Glendinning, 2011.



- 03-04** Choi Hung Estate, Hong Kong, one of the largest of the low-income developments by the “original” HKHA: (a) 1963 commemorative plaque, and (b) general view of estate interior road. © Miles Glendinning, 2011.

Following a particularly destructive fire at Shek Kip Mei at Christmas 1953, existing low-key resettlement efforts using lightweight huts were pragmatically replaced by multi-storey slab blocks. These were built cheaply yet solidly in reinforced *in-situ* concrete, and were managed in a minimal manner, by a military-style “Resettlement Department” evolved out of the colonial Public Works Department. The early (“Mark I”) 6 or 7 storey resettlement blocks were, in effect, ultra-high-density utilitarian tenements, housing up to nearly 4,000 persons per acre in back-to-back sub-serviced single rooms, arranged in “H” layouts with continuous external balconies: latrines and communal services were placed in the central links of the “H” blocks.

At first, during 1954, this was all merely an *ad-hoc* emergency expedient. But very soon the Resettlement programme became institutionalised as a rolling strategy for clearing development land of squatters, and annual output of these basic shelters was exceeding 10,000: the all-time

maximum was 23,000 in 1964. But even this could not keep pace with the waves of refugees, and squatter numbers had actually doubled by 1964. The Resettlement programme was also overtaken by wider social and political instability stemming from the colonial administration’s continuing failure to secure popular legitimacy. By the mid-1960s the Resettlement estates were permeated not only by triad-based crime but by communist agitation. Housing and architectural professionals were by now demanding a co-ordinated housing strategy, steered by a single unified government department and linked into a planned network of new towns in the New Territories. But the wider Hong Kong establishment consensus against long-term planning and public social spending still prevailed; only the 1967 riots would eventually shift the balance of expediency away from the *status quo*.

During these years, frustrated Hong Kong reformers — including J. M. Fraser — still often cited Singapore as a

beacon of enlightened planning and coordinated development. But by the later 1960s, most outside attention was being attracted to Singapore not by the past glories of the SIT but by the forceful output achievements of the new HDB, now under the control of Lee's fledgling PAP government. This achievement was impressive enough in reality, but it was hugely elaborated in hindsight by PAP propagandists into a nation-building foundation myth of orderly, controlled regeneration, complete with a cathartic equivalent to Shek Kip Mei, the Bukit Ho Swee fire of May 1961. In reality, the early years of the HDB were dominated by uncertainty and *ad-hoc* improvisation. Especially in the two years following the 1961 secession of its left-wing as the *Barisan Sosialis* (Socialist Front), the PAP administration was fighting a life-or-death struggle simply to survive — and housing was a key area within its devolved powers, where it could stage highly visible actions to win public support. In 1960, highlighting the PAP's transformation from "poacher" to "gamekeeper", Lee had begun to split decisively from the PAP left wing over the direction of the new HDB, ostracising Ong and appointing businessman Lim Kim San as first head of the Board. Pragmatically, Lim Kim San perpetuated most of the SIT's policies and practices — although for propaganda purposes the Trust was henceforth caricatured as an ineffective anachronism and the HDB as a PAP — devised corrective. The real contribution of the PAP was not in policy innovation but in a massively bolstered implementation of *existing* practices.

Under Lim's regime, the HDB unleashed a no-holds-barred drive for maximum output. Its new chief architect, Teh Cheang Wan, mass-reproduced the SIT's new range of "emergency" one-room flats in modernist slab blocks (mostly of between 9 and 13 storeys, and arranged in parallel *Zeilenbau* patterns), and completed 54,000 dwellings over five years. During the mid 1960s, the HDB appropriated and forcefully expanded a number of other SIT policies. The "Master Plan" programme of British-style new-town construction was transformed into a national development strategy (the "Concept Plan", 1967), with Toa Payoh the first of the next generation of New Towns commenced, in 1965. Another, more tentative 1950s SIT policy experiment — the building of government-sponsored homeownership flats — inspired what would ultimately become the PAP's central housing strategy. Initiated in 1964 largely by accident, as part of an attempt to lower ethnic tensions during the brief Malaysia union, the HDB's "Home Ownership for the People" scheme began with a group of 16-storey *Zeilenbau* slab blocks in Queenstown (area 3). The scheme made little progress until it was decided to link it up with another vastly expanded pre-PAP policy, by allowing people to buy HDB flats with their savings in the "Central Provident Fund" — a compulsory pension's scheme introduced in 1955. Thereafter the Home Ownership scheme grew so rapidly that it replaced mainstream rental housing almost completely, and by 1987, 85% of Singaporeans were housed in 585,000 home-ownership HDB flats. Of course, the state promotion of mass "social homeownership" as a means of "embedding" an unstable populace was hardly a

unique discovery of Singapore's; what was unique was the close interrelationship of social homeownership and high density, high-rise blocks.

In Singapore, the 1970s was a time of consolidation — but in Hong Kong, the position was very different. Under a new, reformist Governor (1971–1982), Sir Murray MacLehose, the colony witnessed a veritable housing revolution, which swallowed up the old, fragmented, utilitarian programme and transformed it into something not unlike Singapore's comprehensive strategy — while protecting the essentials of Hong Kong's *laissez-faire* world-outlook. This included a unified housing administration, permanent self-contained dwellings, new towns and a home ownership scheme. The 1967 riots had triggered a crisis of political legitimacy and challenged the old Hong Kong distrust of excessive "big government". MacLehose launched a vastly enhanced "ten-year" housing programme, and in 1973 set up a new, unitary Housing Authority (based on the structure of the old, smaller-scale Authority) to run it. The 10-year strategy began by increasing production of rental housing, both in new towns and in redevelopment of resettlement estates, but the 1973–1975 global recession intervened almost immediately. To counterbalance rental production cuts, MacLehose in 1976 instituted a social Home Ownership Scheme designed to enlist lower-middle income families in the housing drive. Although the HOS's short-term aim was to boost output, and the scheme lacked the high-octane fuelling provided by the CPF, MacLehose's longer-term strategy was the same as Lee's in Singapore — to stabilise society and foster community belonging; indeed, the two city-state chiefs met periodically to "compare notes". In contrast to Singapore, the Hong Kong housing apparatus was decolonised quietly and steadily, over the following decades. Expatriate British staff members dominated technical and administrative fields until the early 1990s, but Chinese professionals steadily took over, led by the Housing Authority's post-1960s head, the architect Donald Liao — achieving the same result as in Singapore but without conflict.

Although Castells argued that both Hong Kong and Singapore's "housing policies were right in line with the Anglo-Saxon town planning tradition of creating social harmony through the manipulation of space", in architectural terms the two programmes could hardly have differed more from the fragmented British "precedent" of council housing. In both Hong Kong and Singapore, higher density and taller blocks were accepted as necessary from the 1950s onwards, whether in new towns or in redevelopments of existing urban areas. Soon, however, the architectural forms of the two programmes diverged sharply. Their contrasting built-forms were determined largely by topography — flat Singapore and mountainous Hong Kong — although the latter's land shortage was exacerbated further by the reserving of Hong Kong's "best" housing sites for private developers, which meant most public housing sites needed massive, costly formation works. In Singapore, the basic unit of planning was the individual flat-type, and the HDB's architects laid out housing estates in a distinctly

- 05** Bukit Ho Swee area 1, Singapore, post-1961 HDB redevelopment and (nowadays) PAP stronghold: 2011 National Day display, with Lee Kuan Yew at centre. © Miles Glendinning, 2011.



- 06** Toa Payoh New Town, Singapore, surviving HDB slab blocks from the first phase of development after 1965. The panoramic view is taken from the top floor of Block 53, a 19-storey Y-plan block whose roof terrace was used for many VIP visits (including that of Queen Elizabeth in 1972). © Miles Glendinning, 2011.



- 07-08** HDB precinct developments at Jurong/Jurong East New Towns, Singapore: (a) living room interior in Block 328, Jurong East Avenue 1, completed 1984; (b) external view of Jurong West Street 81, completed 1995, showing postmodern architecture and landscaping. © Miles Glendinning, 2012.

site-specific manner. Singapore's comparatively good land supply allowed the HDB to build exclusively self-contained flats from the beginning, with nothing remotely like Mk 1 Resettlement! Although at first, as we saw above, the spaced-out parallel slabs designed by Fraser's staff in the final years of the SIT were simply reproduced in great numbers, by the 1970s, Singapore's new towns, now set out on the ring layout of the Concept Plan, were moving towards a denser planning and architectural formula: 11-13 storey blocks, with taller landmark towers, all tightly arranged in enclosed groupings, or "precincts" of up to 1,000 flats, to exclude the intense tropical sunlight, while maximising access and ventilation permeability of the blocks. Singapore continued to favour balcony access and open ground floors (officially called "void decks"). All this housing design work was seen in social-engineering terms by the PAP as a setting for inter-ethnic community-building: from the 1980s, the HDB pursuit of neighbourhood "identity"

became increasingly bound up with the use of flamboyant postmodernist decoration.

In Hong Kong, the dominance of small dwellings survived the MacLehose era's transition from Resettlement basic-shelter blocks to permanent, self-contained flats. But just as in Singapore, the benchmark of "smallness" was also shifting in Hong Kong: by the mid 70s, flats of one room, kitchenette and toilet were now the smallest new dwellings. The MacLehose era also perpetuated the Hong Kong "British" tradition of standard block types, linking this to a very different kind of estate layout to the linear blocks and dense, low precinct layouts of Singapore — emphasising separate, very tall towers and slabs, both in new towns and in redevelopments of Resettlement estates and other early public housing. Starting off with idiosyncratic but economical "twin tower" and "H" plan blocks designed by Liao's staff in the 60s and 70s, Housing Authority designs became progressively taller, higher

- 09** Wah Fu Estate, Hong Kong: "twin tower" blocks designed by Donald Liao and his staff in 1965 and built by the "old" HKHA in the late 1960s and early 70s on this dramatic sea-panorama site. This view shows part of the Wah Fu (II) estate, opened between 1970 and 1978. © Miles Glendinning, 2014.



- 10** Siu Hong Court, Tuen Mun New Town, Hong Kong, 1981-1985: one of the HKHA's largest Home Ownership Scheme developments. The standard HOS towers were designed by architects of the Housing Department Construction Branch, and the project was opened in 1985 by Chief Secretary Sir Philip Haddon-Cave. © Miles Glendinning, 2012.



- 11** Construction of site-specific 45-storey blocks of HKHA public rental housing underway at Kai Tak Site 1a, Kowloon, in 2012: this view shows a prefabricated services unit (bathroom/kitchen) being winched up. © Miles Glendinning, 2012.



- 12** Tuen Mun Area 44 (Siu Hei Court), Hong Kong, a Home Ownership development of 35-storey standard "New HOS" towers approved 1983 by the HKHA Building Committee at a density of 5.826 persons per hectare. © Miles Glendinning, 2013.

and slimmer. The Home Ownership Scheme pioneered the drive for tall, compact towers, with floor-plans that involved fewer and larger flats on each floor, minimising long, dark internal corridors — with architectural results that curiously echoed the British 1950s–60s fascination for slim “point blocks”. Public rental housing followed in the wake of this trend towards larger flats and taller blocks, at first through the 35-storey, three-winged “Trident” blocks of 1982 onwards, but from 1988 moving towards compact cruciform plans, in the form of the “Harmony” series: 41-storey towers that could accommodate up to 20 well-ventilated small flats on each floor. Both Trident and Harmony incorporated modular flat plans to allow varying plan-permutations around central lift/stair cores, and permit both rental and HOS use, but the 1980s–90s also saw a succession of slimmer, HOS-only tower types, including the “New HOS”, “Windmill”, “Flexiblock”, “New Cruciform” and “Concord”. The architectural pattern established after 1988 proved enduring: although 2005 saw a move from standard types towards Singapore-style “site-specific blocks”, responding to pressure from local architects, their component elements still recognisably derive from the now 25-year-old “Harmony”.

In density terms, Hong Kong’s evolving public-housing drive also stayed well above any European norms, or for that matter the levels in Singapore, but far below the extraordinary notional densities in new private housing (up to 7.400 ppa, or 18.300 pph) permitted under the 1955 Buildings Ordinance. After 1973, Liao’s Housing Authority staff succeeded in pushing down the net design density target for new public rental estates from 1.500 to 1.000 ppa (3.700 and 2.500 pph). However, these figures rose slightly again (up to 3.000 pph) with the move to the 35-storey Tridents. HOS projects, often built on small infill sites with smaller-scale school and community provision, were a different matter, and could yield very high net densities. In two estates approved by the HKHA Building Committee in late 1982/early 1983, for example — Diamond Hill HO27 (Lung Poon Court) and Tuen Mun Area 44 (Siu Hei Court) — the packing of small sites with arrays of 35-storey standard “New HOS” towers allowed net densities, respectively, of 1.548 and 2.358 ppa (3.824 and 5.826 pph) — up to 11 times higher than the maximum permitted density for 1960s/70s inner-London tower-block developments such as World’s End, Chelsea.

What, finally, of the present — and the future? Coupled with significant commercial and social facilities close at hand, intensive management and continuing high levels of housing demand, the high-density public housing programmes in both Hong Kong and Singapore have diverged significantly from the European stereotype of “failure” or “residualisation” — a pattern that still continues today. To be sure, in increasingly democratic Hong Kong, there have been some conflicts, especially in the wake of a crash building drive initiated in the mid-1990s by the last governor, Chris Patten, whose consequences included the post-1997 emergence of political bidding wars over housing output, and a 10-year suspension of

the HOS following a 2001 crisis over defective piling work (and the demolition of two brand-new 41-storey Concord towers at Sha Tin). In Singapore, conversely, the genuine achievements of HDB housing have often been difficult to disentangle from the propaganda of the PAP’s “Singapore Story”. But in neither territory has state housing been generally stigmatised — doubtless not least because of the close links between mass housing and continuing economic growth in both cases.

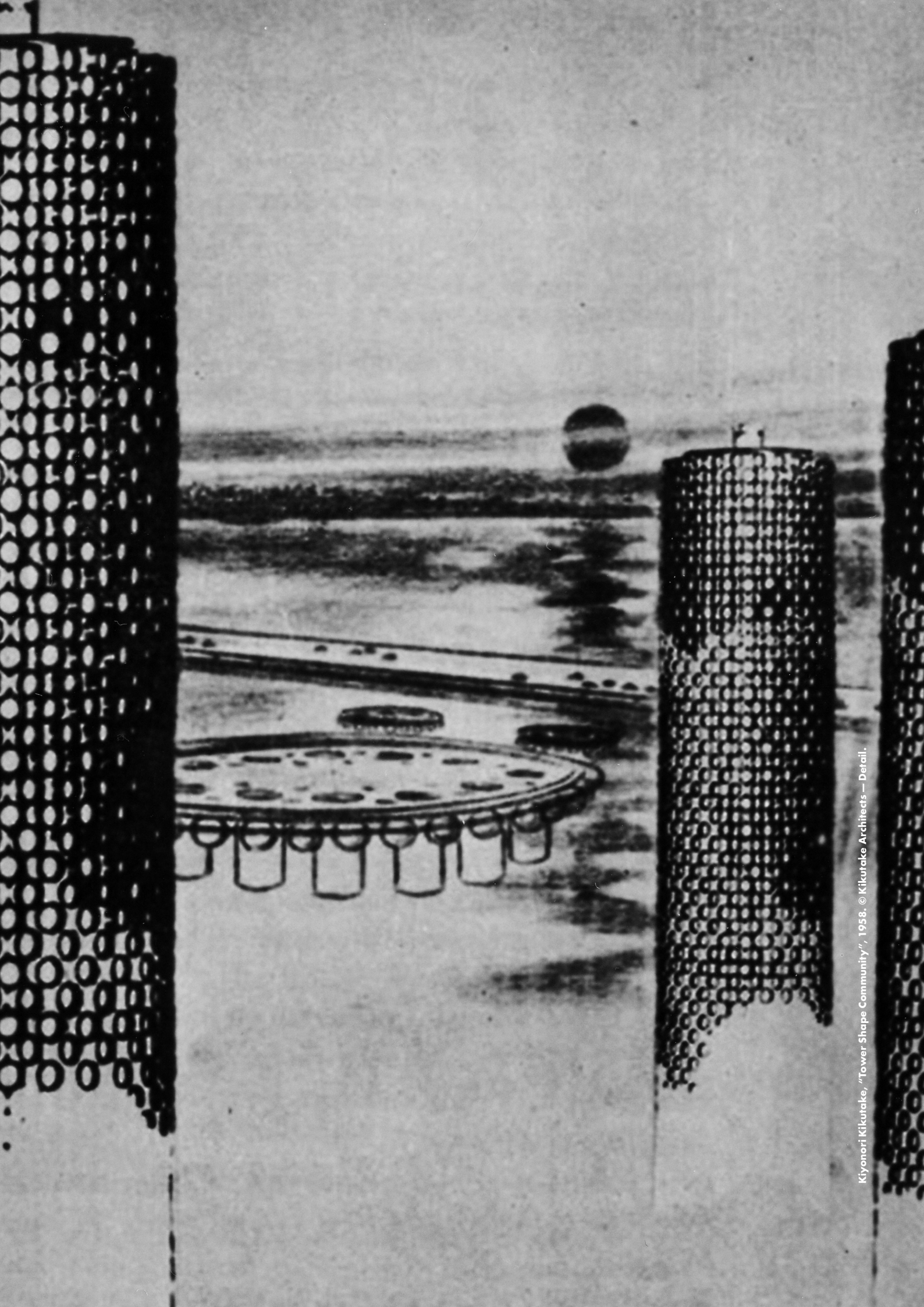
The longevity of both programmes has also allowed them to become a unique “bridge” between the mass housing traditions of “Old West” and “New East”, because today the mass housing tradition in Eastern Asia is dramatically booming, especially in mainland China. There Bo Xilai’s redoubt of Chongqing and many other cities in its wake have in the past 3–4 years launched huge public housing programmes as a means to counter-act the country’s huge demographic pressures. Built in a frenetic hurry, including arrays of towers similar in scale to Hong Kong public housing of the 70s and 80s, these seem potentially quite vulnerable to the same problems of sudden, catastrophic obsolescence as the 1945–75 *trente glorieuses* in the West. In which case, might the lessons of Hong Kong and Singapore’s meticulous, multi-generational programmes help Mainland China avoid the fate of mass-housing “failure”? ■

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- This article also makes extensive use of the government file records of the Hong Kong Public Records Office and the National Archives of Singapore, for which see the following general links:
http://www.grs.gov.hk/ws/english/ps_online_cata_ar.htm#record
http://www.nas.gov.sg/archivesonline/government_records/

Miles Glendinning

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Kiyonori Kikutake, "Tower Shape Community", 1958. © Kikutake Architects — Detail.

Flexibility in the Density Metabolism: Freedom in a Large Complex

BY SOUHEI IMAMURA

To find multiple possibilities and to create livable spaces in an extremely dense condition – that is what Japanese contemporary architects are particularly good at. Most of Japanese architects start their career by designing small houses in an urban environment; it is a good exercise for young architects to develop their design skills. The mini site and chaotic surroundings are far from an ideal condition; in fact it is a poor environment. But the architects come to learn that from this disadvantaged condition they can do something innovative.

Need for Land: the Situation in Japan after the WW2

In Japan, just after the end of the World War, we needed a lot of space for housing. The requirement for a large number of houses was the same in European countries at that time, however, the situation in Japan was unique. 2.7 million houses were lost or damaged and 215 cities were damaged by the war. 30% of the Tokyo city was destroyed by fire. It was said that it needed a half century for Japan to recover and reach the pre-war level. The recovery, however, was achieved much faster actually, thanks to the “miraculous” rapid economical growth throughout the 1960s and the 1970s.

Although the speed of construction of the country was extremely high, it was not fast enough to meet the demand. At the end of the war, we had millions of homeless people, and in addition we had people returning from battlefields and colonial territories. The Japanese imperial state expanded its land, incorporating neighboring regions into its territory. But in 1945, we lost all these colonies, from which many Japanese returned. Japan is a small country, of which 80% of its territory is mountainous. The plains and valleys, more suitable for habitation, are quite limited. The thriving economy from the 1950s greatly helped the recovery of the country, but it also raised the birth ratio as well¹. As a result, the challenge in Japanese cities was to place a very large population into a limited space. This predicament immediately resulted in a hyper dense space. Furthermore, this dense space was very dynamic not only because of the population increase but also because of the population mobility.

A city mirrors the society. Our society changes from time to time, and the city has to respond to them. Hyper dense and dynamic urbanism was not the only factor. The city had to be flexible. The Metabolism movement emerged from the combination of these factors: density and flexibility.

Metabolism

The Metabolism group was first formed on the occasion of the World Design Conference, which was held in Tokyo in 1960. The group was not a spontaneous gathering like Archigram in London. For this important international event, the Metabolism members (called Metabolists) were assembled. Some of them did not know each other before this occasion.

They published a 90-page booklet, titled *METABOLISM/1960*, which was prepared for distribution at the conference. This was in fact the only work on which all the members worked together. The booklet opens with a short manifesto:

Metabolism is the name of the group, in which each member proposes future visions of our coming world through concrete designs and illustrations... The reason why we use such a biological word, metabolism, is that, we believe, design and technology should denote human vitality. We are not going to accept metabolism as a natural historical process, but we are encouraging active metabolic development of our society through our proposals².

The main concept of Metabolism is rather simple. The architecture or the city must be as changeable as a natural organization. But this idea is radical as an idea for architecture or urbanism. As the Pyramid in Egypt or the Parthenon in Greece, eternity is a most essential feature of great examples in the Western architectural history. An architect presents a “work” as a complete piece — not to be changed. Some architects have indeed sought to create a “complete” city as we see in the case of Andrea Palladio’s *Villa La Rotonda*.

Metabolism is presented from the beginning as the opposite to such quest for eternity or timeless perfection³.

As mentioned above, in the 1950s we needed to create a vast new land for residences in Japan. Metabolism went as far as to propose a land in the sky or on the ocean. The main question, however, certainly remained providing houses and buildings for a large number of people in a densely populated space.

Projects of Metabolism

Here I introduce the works of Metabolism from the viewpoint of density and flexibility.

Kiyonori Kikutake (1928–2011)

For such an explosive increase of the population, who could guarantee the space of “living” for everybody?

It may be said that it is time to depart from a horizontal city, where the buildings stand lower than tree. (Tokyo is a horizontal city having approximately one and a quarter floor high)⁴.

1958 was the debut year for Kiyonori Kikutake as a major architect. In this year, he designed three major works: “Sky House”⁵, “Tower Shape Community” and “Marine City.” Here, we focus on the “Tower Shape Community”.

The “Tower Shape Community” consists of cylinder shaped skyscrapers, and its construction is conceived as follows. First, before the tower is built, factories on the ground produce the materials for the towers. Then, the construction of the tower begins, raising the towers higher and higher. This is followed by the production of capsule units for family residence, to be installed on the surface of the cylinder towers from the bottom to the top floor, one after another. This tower would be a self-growing system like a natural organism⁶.

The height of the designed tower was 300 m, and the diameter of the cylinder 50 m. It is supposed to have 1250 units installed on the tower’s surface. That is, if each family has 4 members, 5000 people may live in this one skyscraper.

Kikutake characterized the surface of the cylinder as a building site on a vertical land.

A new artificial land should be planned. By using such a wall, humans are able to challenge height. The vertical development of a city space is a proposition to this world. In order to use such a wall, it must be studied and be solved the problem how to live in such a wall⁷.

Kisho Kurokawa (1934–2007)

A city is eternally moving as a container of future life. There are different changing cycles for different sections of the city⁸.

When Kisho Kurokawa was invited to join the Metabolism group in 1959, he was only 25 years old, still a student in the University of Tokyo. Of course he did not have any project realized yet, but Kikutake and Kurokawa came to be known as the two main figures of Metabolism.

The most symbolic Metabolism project by Kurokawa is the Nakagin Capsule Tower Building (1972). About 160 small capsules (approximately h2,2m × w2,2m × 3.,8) covers two central vertical shafts. Each capsule was prefabricated in the factory and installed at the site. Theoretically, the capsules are movable (although, unfortunately, none has been actually moved). Movable capsule quickly became a quintessential vocabulary of Metabolism (also of Archigram).

The super mini capsule is the result of hyper dense city and all devices for dairy activities are packaged in a small unit.

The Nakagin Capsule Tower Building has been published widely as an icon of Metabolism. That is because it appears as a pure realization of a Metabolist concept⁹.

Fumihiko Maki (1928–)

Fumihiko Maki did not design many projects under the name of Metabolism, unlike Kikutake and Kurokawa, but he made available two critical concepts for urban complex. One is “Collective Form” and the other is “Golgi Structure”.

“Collective Form” was published in the Metabolism booklet in 1960 as a collaborative project with Masato Otaka. They understood the modern cities as below.

Compared with ancient and medieval cities, modern cities are characterized by:

- i) The coexistence and conflict of amazingly heterogeneous institutions and individuals.*
- ii) Unpredictably rapid and extensive transformations in society¹⁰.*

Based on this understanding, they introduced the argument that “collective form” was required and suited for today’s large and complex cities. Opposed to a simple shape building, which is designed by one architect, the “collective form” is literally a complex of different forms; it might be designed by plural designers and will be modified according to the time¹¹.

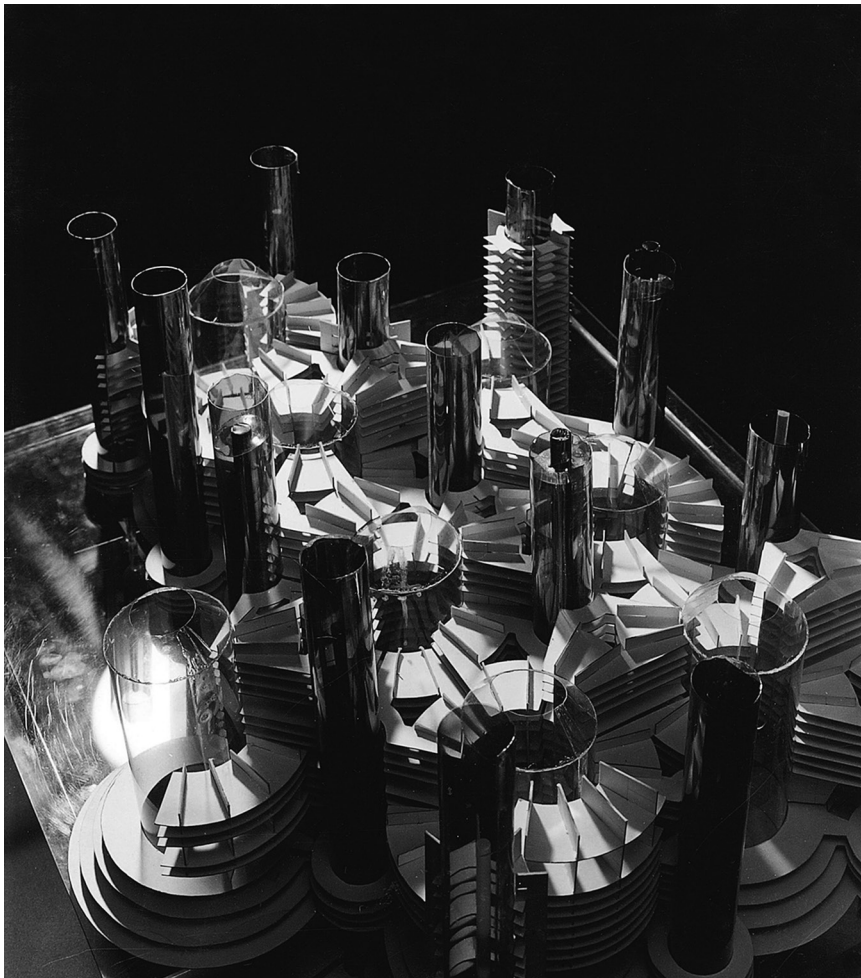
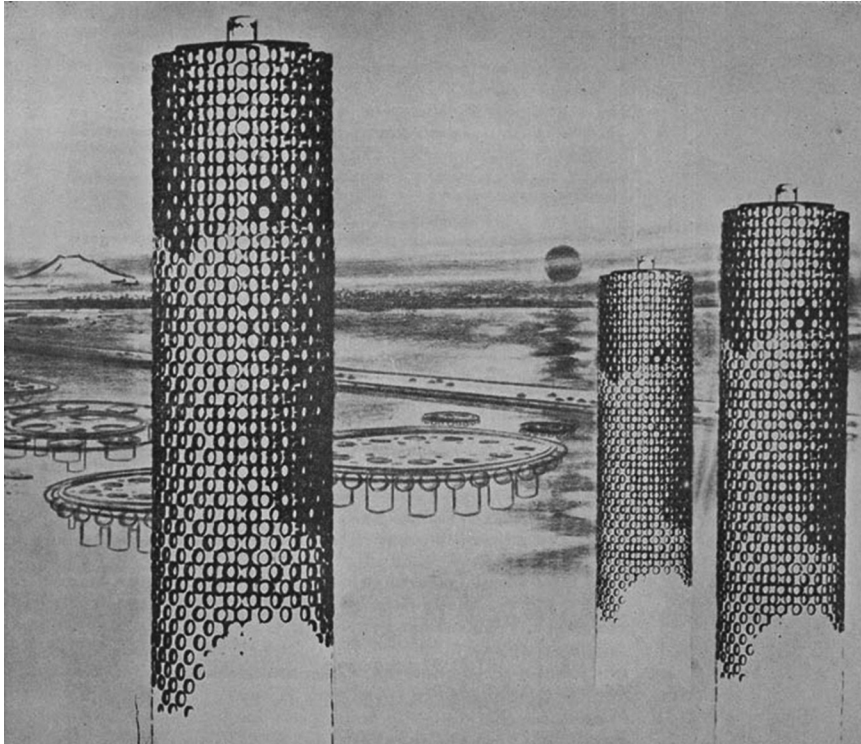
“Golgi Structure”, published in 1967, has a sub-title “High Density City”. Maki argues that when the city keeps being developed further, a mass of buildings occupies the urban space, leaving limited free spaces. In such an environment, we have to think about voids, which are by-product, like gaps between the large buildings. Maki argued that these urban voids would be utilized as a public space for the people and it is necessary to investigate it.

Masato Otaka (1923–2010)

When the Metabolism group was formed, Masato Otaka was on the staff of Kunio Maekawa, a master of modernism architecture in Japan, and Otaka was known as a chief architect of Maekawa’s masterpiece “Tokyo Metropolitan Opera House”. Because he was already an experienced architect, he was the realist among the Metabolists. While Metabolists have been quite often criticized for being too optimistic, Otaka, ever a sober architect, was an exception.

In contrast to many of Metabolists’ urban skyscraper projects, Otaka built low-storied dense urban projects, called “Sakaide Housing Complex” (1964–74). Otaka

01 Kiyonori Kikutake, "Tower Shape Community", 1958. © Kikutake Architects. © Miles Glendinning, 2011.



02 Fumihiko Maki, "Golgi Structure", 1967. © Fumihiko Maki.

settled a concrete slab above the ground at 5.3 m height, and scattered housing blocks on top of this artificial ground. Underneath, the slab was left for future development; it has been used for retail shops and parking. The lifted concrete floor is supported by massive concrete columns, which are laid out on grid, but the upper elements are arranged freely from the system below.

Otaka also designed a super high-population complex, Housing Estate Motomachi and Choju-en (1972–76). The site of the project is in the center of Hiroshima city and it was a redevelopment project for barrack houses area affected by the Hiroshima Atomic Bomb. This complex has 4,500 apartments for 12,000 people. The population density reaches 1,400 people per hectare. Housing blocks, as high as 20-story buildings, are laid out in a zigzag shape, connecting the roofs of the buildings, which are designed as public parks¹².

Kenzo Tange (1913–2005)

Kenzo Tange was not a member of the Metabolism. However, he was the direct mentor of Kurokawa, Maki, and Isozaki at the University of Tokyo, and he was the leading figure of Japanese architecture at that time. So, Tange was the father figure of the Metabolism in many senses. Metabolism was significantly influenced by Tange, and, in fact, the Metabolism influenced Tange as well. They had the common understanding about contemporary cities and shared certain design methods and design motives.

Most Metabolism projects by Tange were the “Yamanashi Broadcasting and Press Center” of 1966. In this complex, vertical cylinders, called cores which is for circulation and services, are laid out on a grid plan, and horizontal office floors are spanned between the columns. This building has a clear system, comparable to Louis Kahn’s served space and servant space. Tange stated that it also has adaptable system for future addition. In fact, this building added floors twice later. This flexibility is a distinctly Metabolism idea¹³.

Tange had developed this idea in a much larger scale in the “Redevelopment Plan for Tsukiji District” project, in 1960–64, designed in the middle of Tokyo. This ambitious project was not realized because of its excessive budget. If it has been actually built, however, it might have been a monumental mega scale urban complex from this period. Tange pursued the possibilities of super dense office complex in the city, and in his plans the future flexibility was critical.

Interestingly, Yamanashi, Tsukiji, and another project called “Shizuoka Press and Broadcasting Center in Tokyo” (in 1967, although it is very small, this realized project has also a clear vertical core and a horizontal floor system), all three projects were the headquarters of media companies (broadcasting, advisement and newspaper). A half century ago, Tange foresaw that information would become dominant in our society and that architecture and city must be designed to fit this new trend¹⁴.

Density and Metabolism

In his book *Collage City*, the architectural critic Colin Rowe juxtaposed two urban plans: Le Corbusier’s “project for

Saint-Die, figure-ground plan” and “Parma, figure-ground plan”. Corbusier’s plan looks rather white and Parma’s plan looks rather black (in the figure-ground plans, the buildings are painted in black). Most part of Parma town is occupied by buildings and has narrow paths. In contrast, Corbusier’s town has large open spaces, with building scattered quite arbitrary. The modernist idea of urban planning thought that the Corbusier style was ideal, but tourists have found Parma’s to be more interesting and fun¹⁵.

Corbusier denied the density of Paris apartment block, which is of the 19th century; it is environmentally poor, lacking light and fresh air. Corbusier proposed free-standing buildings in the middle of an open space for people’s healthy life. The architect arranged the buildings in a well-balanced arrangement in an open field in a rather arbitrary manner, even with some playful gestures. But once these urban configurations were determined, it turned to be a creator’s work piece, sometimes even as a grand master’s monument. It seems it is not allowed to touch the aesthetic of the designer. The city is frozen. It pretends to have a room for further transformation, but it does not. Therefore, the next generation of CIAM architects sought to introduce moving elements in the urban planning.

Metabolism tried to go further. There is no large open space in a contemporary city in reality. So hyper dense condition is inevitable, but the flexibility becomes necessary.

Today, a half century after the birth of Metabolism, the mega-city has become a more and more problematic issue. The population of the world is still rapidly increasing, and the ratio of urban habitation continues to grow. There are many of mega-cities, most of which did not even exist in the last century. The speed of urban transformation is extremely rapid. If we think that we need to consider how we can cope with this situation, then probably we can learn Metabolism and its distinct ideas. ■

Notes

- 1 In a quarter century after the ww2, the population of Japan increased more than 31 million people. The Japanese population was 72,147,000 in 1945, and 103,720,000 in 1970. The population in the Tokyo City was 3,488,000 in 1945, and 11,408,000 in 1970. These data are from the Statistics Bureau, Ministry of International Affairs and Communication.
- 2 *Metabolism 1960: the Proposals for a New Urbanism*, Tokyo, Bijutu Syuppan Sha, 1960, p. 5.
- 3 Tange, Kikutake and Isozaki commonly confessed that the memory of radical social change and scenes of deserted cities after the ww2 are the foundation of their career as architects. They could not believe the eternal world any more, but at the same they were the witness of the lively rebirth of the society.
- 4 *Metabolism 1960: the Proposals for a New Urbanism*, op. cit., p. 15.
- 5 Kikutake’s own house “Sky House” has a square floor, lifted up in the sky. He proposed a floor in the air, where it is free from dense ground (or messy reality). This motif was repeated and developed thorough all Kikutake’s career. For example, you can see the same idea in these later projects, “Competition Plan for Kyoto International Conference Hall” (1963), “Hotel Tokoen” (1964) and “Edo Tokyo Museum” (1993). Kikutake believed that making a new ground is one solution to create a new site for the building in the city.
- 6 *Metabolism 1960: the Proposals for a New Urbanism*, op. cit., p. 80.
- 7 Kikutake developed the project “Tower Shape Community” several times later. One of the model shows when the tower ends its life, it is abandoned in a deep sea, as if it is a dead animal body.
- 8 *Metabolism 1960: the Proposals for a New Urbanism*, op. cit., p. 17.
- 9 Time-consideration was essential in Metabolism. However, some



03 Kisho Kurokawa, "Nakagin Capsule Tower Building", Tokyo, Japan, 1972. © Souhei Imamura, 2010.

Metabolism project showed this concept as a gesture. Typical example is Kurokawa's Nakagin housing tower. It is easy to understand the idea of the project, because the changeable small units are quite visible, but it never really transfers its form. Isozaki's super-spanned cantilever in the Sky City project, gives you an unstable feeling. This effect is opposite to the stability of Pyramid, eternal architecture.

10 *Metabolism 1960: the Proposals for a New Urbanism*, op. cit., p. 58.

11 Maki's argument of large scale urbanism and its complexity, later echoed in Rem Koolhaas's polemical essay "Bigness" (Rem Koolhaas, "Bigness: or the Problem of Large" in *SMLXL*, Rotterdam, 010 Publisher, 1995, p. 495–516). "Beyond a Certain critical Mass, a building becomes a Big Building. Such a mass can no longer be controlled by a single architectural gesture, or even any combinational architectural gestures." *Idem*, p. 499.

12 When Otaka was a staff of Maekawa, he was also in charge for the project "Multi-Story Apartment House at Harumi", completed in 1958. This was the first high-rise concrete housing in Japan, commissioned by the Japan Housing Corporation, a government-affiliated corporation. 10 stories building were built on the reclaimed land in the Tokyo Bay. As Otaka admired Le Corbusier, he tried to mix the programs (residential, commercial, kids play space and an open space), following Le Corbusier's *L'Unité d'Habitation de Marseille*. Unfortunately the Japan Housing Corporation did not accept Otaka's vision and only the residential was allowed in the building. This apartment building adopted a mega-structure system. The thick concrete frames contained 3 stories of 6 apartment unit, which allows future renovation of inner apartments. Metabolism-like idea of future flexibility in a dense complex was already challenged in this project.

13 The project architect of this building was Arata Isozaki. He did not belong to the Metabolism group, but some of his projects has apparent Metabolism feature. For example "Shibuya Project: City in the Air" in 1962.

14 Almost all historical description of Tange-Metabolism ends their narrative with the Expo '70 Osaka, the first world's fair in Japan. Tange was appointed as a designer of the master planning of the World's Fair site and he also designed the main facility called "Festival Plaza" (project of Isozaki again). Though the scale of the construction was huge, its space frame structure (292 m long and 108 m wide) was lifted up in the sky (height of 37.7 m), but underneath the gigantic roof there was nothing. As Tange forecasted that information became the central matter of the city, in this national event there was not concrete content, but there is program for the serious of the events. So, contradictory to the pursuit for the high density, at the end, Tange designed a huge empty space.

15 Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage City*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1978, p. 62–63.

Souhei Imamura

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PREVI: The Metabolists' First, Last and Only Project

BY EUI-SUNG YI

With the special assistance by Bridget Ackeifi

Cities in the sky, superhighways over the seas, floating layers of techno-villages. These utopic proposals for Japan were generated by a passionate and extraordinary group of young Japanese architects fueled by the futuristic vision to rebuild their nation. Parallel to their idealism, was the path of Peter Land, an Englishman by way of Yale and South America, tasked to plan housing for the poor. Incredibly, their idealism would cross and the Metabolists' first and only project would be for a United Nations social housing development in a place very far from Japan: Peru. Eui-Sung Yi sat down with the group's last living member, Fumihiko Maki, and the organizer of the project, Peter Land, to discuss this project and its place in modern urban design (read the interviews in pg. 65 and 68, respectively).

Nearly 50 years ago, architect Peter Land initiated an architectural competition for the Peruvian capital of Lima. The humble British architect did not devise a competition meant for the design of an *avant-garde* form for a museum or civic monument. Instead, Land, with the support of his friend and President Fernando Belaúnde Terry and prestigious members of the Peruvian academia, asked the invited architects to transform the traditional forms of social-housing within Lima's informal settlements. What Land and his supporters did not expect was that this small but complex project in Lima would transform ideas and practices of social housing around the world.

The project would be referred to as *PREVI* (*Proyecto Experimental de Vivienda*) and it was conceived in order to combat massive housing shortages for the fast growing population of Lima in the 1960s. Peru was not the only nation that needed to manage developing slums due to increasing rates of rural to urban migration during the mid 1900s, but what set Peru and the ambitions of Land and President Terry apart from others was their commitment to good design and their holistic approach to community at large.

By the start of *PREVI*, Land had already integrated himself in the upper echelons of Peruvian academia and society as the coordinator of the nation's first planning program at the nation's University of Engineering. Then for two years, Land traveled through Peru, investigating the country's existing social housing developments; it was then that he was inspired to make Peru's social housing into a national and international discussion. Land quickly gained the stamp of approval by President Terry, acquired land on the western edge of the city, near the airport, and began writing budgets, drawing lists and organizing resources.

The competition was an immense undertaking. In the end, there were 86 different designs, 467 built homes housing over 2,800 occupants, a school and a nursery, all within 12,3 hectares of property, located only 7 km west of Lima's center. Land asked a total of 26 architectural firms to submit designs: 13 international teams¹ and 13 Peruvian groups² both composed of emerging and progressive architects. Each architect, or group of architects, was handpicked and visited by Land; he wanted to be sure that each group knew and understood the fundamental ideas of *PREVI*. Land intended for only six of the 26 schemes to be rewarded and built – 3 Peruvian design and 3 from the selection of international architects. Though the jury had distinguished six winners, Land felt that to truly gage the effect and resilience of each design, each one would have to be constructed.

One of the groups of architects chosen to complete a design for w was among the list of three winning international designs; it was a group that shared similar ideas of society and design to the project's creators and they called themselves Metabolists.

Metabolism formed across the globe. It was a group of inspired Japanese architects determined to rebuild their nation on the basis of technology and ability for a city to adapt and rebirth itself. The group's name originated from the theory of metabolic change. Metabolism hailed from the integrated promise of technology and social integration of the 1960s. It was established during a very unique time of simultaneous post-war infrastructural depletion and economic boom. The group was comprised of the architecture critic, Kawazoe Noboru, notable architects Kenzo Tange, Otaka Masato, Fumihiko Maki, Kikutake Kiyonori, Arata Isozaki and Kisho Kurokawa; and designers Awazu Kiyoshi and Ekuian Kenji. Their goal was to plan an innovative and large scale project that could protect the capability for



01 PREVI, Lima, Peru, 1970s. Aerial photo. © Peter Land.



02 Approaches to collective form: "compositional form", "megaform", "group form", respectively. © Fumihiko Maki, *Buildings and Projects*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1997, p. 209.

individualization of a home. As their manifesto proclaims, "The reason why we use such a biological word, *metabolism*, is that we believe design and technology should be a denotation of human society. We are not going to accept metabolism as a natural process, but try to encourage active metabolic development of our society through our proposals".³

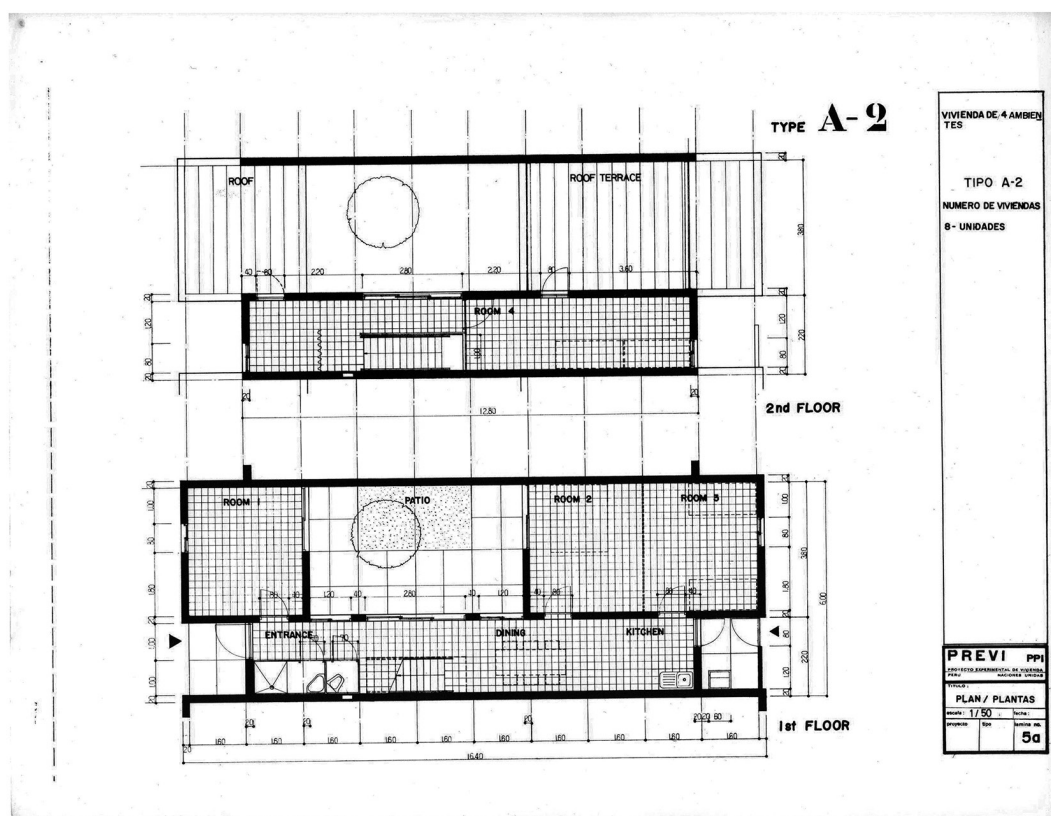
The group was not only composed by architects but also by urban theorists. Fumihiko Maki's scholarly approach to urban design distinguished him among the group. In 1964, while teaching at Washington University in St. Louis, Maki published an article titled "Investigations in Collective Form". The article discusses the umbrella topic of "collective form", a cataloguing of contemporary planning and organizational strategies. "Collective Form" is organized into three categories: "compositional form", "mega form", and "group form".

The first category of "collective form" was most representative of Le Corbusier's arguments and manifesto concerning his urban planning and social architecture. As a direct criticism of European traditional medieval fabric, "compositional form" argued for the return of nature and open space in the urban fabric, made possible through the effective packaging of humanity. Dense habitation were served as objects in the field, seeded on grand, open public spaces that produced a reverse figure-ground from classical plans. "Compositional form" was the most prevalent urban philosophy throughout the first half of the 20th century but in Maki's words, it was "static".

Kenzo Tange led the charge for urban "mega form". His seminal Tokyo Bay Plan (1960) was an ambitious and bold vision for Tokyo's waterfront. By integrating architecture, city and infrastructure in a single mega-structure, Tange liberates habitation from the congested land and moves humanity over the sea. Emblematic of the Metabolism movement, this project represent the "top down" model of a singular planning author.

In contrast, the philosophy of Maki's "group form" proposes a "bottom-up" model where individuals and communities incrementally can adapt, react and respond to an emerging set of conditions and parameters. This aggregate growth model advocates for the traditional and organic process of city growth, demonstrating the model through traditional vernacular village patterns. In his essay, Maki highlights many of this plan's opportunities and benefits including the possibilities of multi-functional buildings, the benefits of collective, large scale public investment, opportunities to meet environmental needs within the design and the potential to form dynamic communities.

Links are where Maki's "group form" plan excels. During his travels through small towns and villages of the Middle East and North Africa, Maki observed the organically built environments and began to recognize the patterns in form, order and material that not only told the city's past but could anticipate its future. He wished to replicate the organic look and feel of these villages by implementing a dynamic system of design. To Maki, linking is assembling patterns of experience in cities, and he believed that by re-



03 Kikutake, Kurokawa & Maki, *PREVI*, Lima, Peru, 1960s. Plan. © Peter Land.

peating the patterns of links, one could expand and change the city indefinitely.

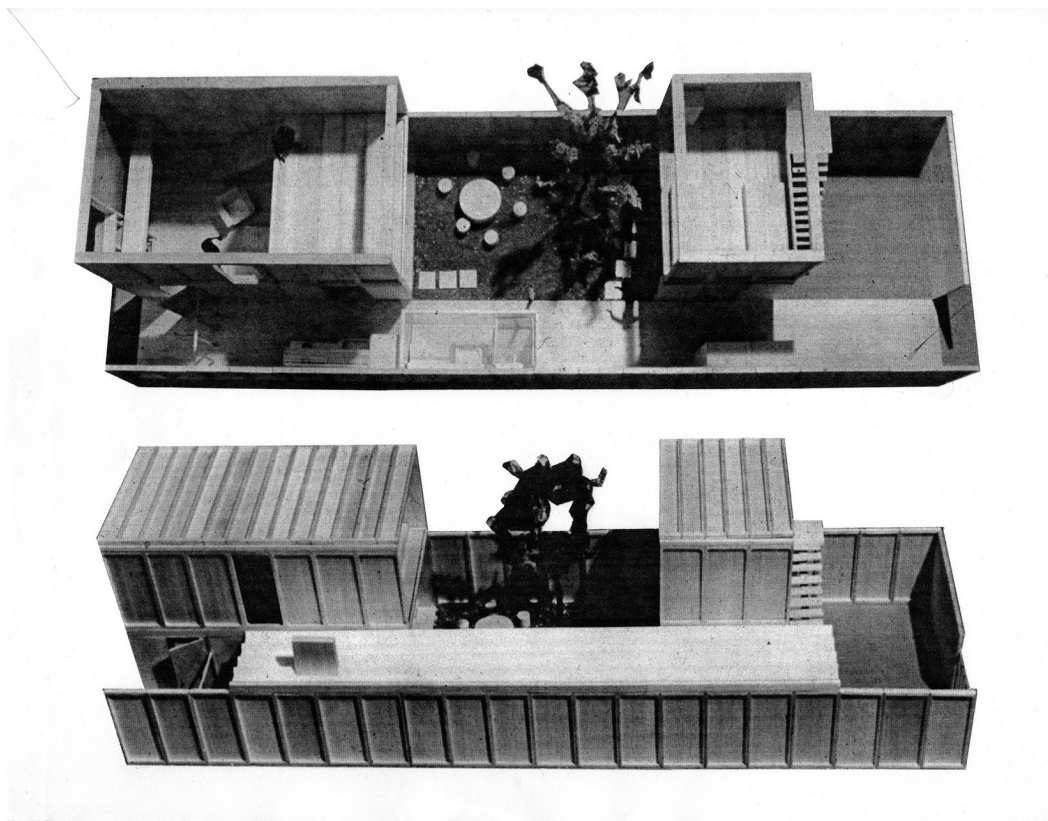
Transformation and adaptability only adds to Maki's theory of "group form" to stimulate an organic urban landscape. Furthermore, the theory confronts one of Maki's foremost complaints on urban master planning – that the plan requires an end result, a finished product denying the city of expansion and evolution that inherits urban society. Maki's philosophy aligns closely with the contemporary theories of emergence and parametric planning where a set of intelligent cells adapt and react to the ever-changing circumstances of the environment. His multi-generational, multi-phased Hillside Terrace (1968) became the prototype for this type of growth in Tokyo.

In the mid 20th century, social housing projects were mostly known to be large blocks made of cheap materials arranged in monotonous rows. Many of these developments became centers for delinquency, vandalism and crime. Peter Land and President Terry were determined not to repeat the past mistakes of others. With varied architects and typologies, the overall space of *PREVI* created a campus of irregular, unique spaces that deviated from more traditional ideas of social housing developments stuck to monotonous forms and structure. However, the project was divergent in more ways than planned. The program embraced transformation instead of denying it. In ideology, *PREVI* rejected the inflexible forms of the apartment tower or mega-block structure and shifted toward a low rise, high density strategy. The discourse of social housing

insisted that architects should build a unit home with the expectation for its owner to enliven each foundation with personal and familial personalization, growth and transformation.

It came as no surprise that, when Peter Land drew up his list of international architects to be invited to submit proposals for the *PREVI*, that the Metabolists sat atop that list. Land traveled to Japan in the late 1960s with intention to ask at least one of the Metabolists to submit a design, though he wanted more of the group to be involved. As Kenzo Tange was the eldest of the group, Land first approached him to ask for his advice on how to proceed. By the next morning, Tange had established that Kisho Kurokawa, Kiyonori Kikutake and Fumihiko Maki would submit a design and Land would become the Metabolist's first, and only client.

The Metabolist team constructed long thin units mostly made of precast concrete, each one on long rectangular plots, each unit anchored by a courtyard, the form allowed for the homes to be arranged efficiently in rows while granting each home owner rights to build vertically. The home original design measured 97m² with the intension that with familiar growth it could easily become a 124m² home. However, the Metabolist's design, in particularly, excels in its ability to be transformed. When Land was asked to reflect upon the Metabolist design, he describes it as "an original idea", noting the elegant geometry and nice proportion of the group's design. "Well, that's Maki." Land continued, "he has good taste".⁴



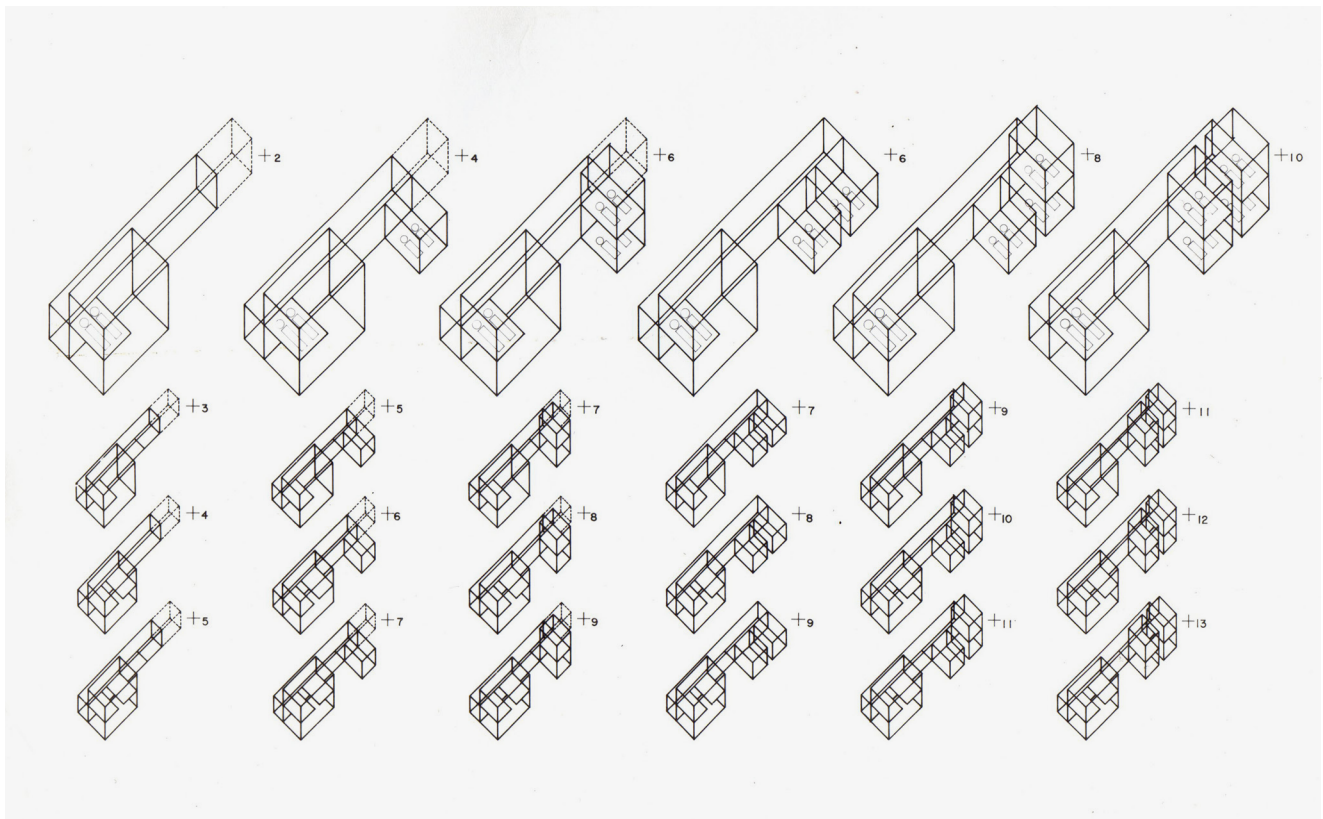
04 Kikutake, Kurokawa & Maki, *PREVI*, Lima, Peru, 1960s. Study models. © Peter Land.

Forty years later, the homes have transformed and not just in decoration. As a family grew in numbers and financial ability, the home could extend horizontally as well as vertically. Many homes were built far beyond the intended square footage even up to three times the original design. As every meter was utilized, third and fourth floors were constructed, the front and back patio space were transformed into bedrooms or shops and the roof and its free flowing air were exploited as patios and laundry rooms. The space allowed the houses to be not only a support for the family but also be a source of income. Families built stores, made workspace and rented to tenants, adding immense economic potential to the home as well.

Not only could the individual units grow but the overall design of the system could continue in the conceived pattern, as Maki and Land imagined for the project as architects and planners. However, the full design of *PREVI* was never completed; only half of the complex was ever realized and did not continue to meet Lima's need for social housing. Still, the project was a success. In 2011, architectural critic Justin McGuirk visited *PREVI* to study the outcome of the housing project nearly 50 years later. "Tinted windows and hacienda styling may not meet with architects' approval but they speak volumes about owners' pride and aspirations".⁵ McGuirk writes, "Therein lies one of *PREVI*'s great successes. People didn't move out as their financial situation

improved. Residents stayed and turned a housing estate into what feels like a middle-class community".⁶ Today, the homes are filled with people, transformed into larger, more colorful, homes, schools, restaurants, or libraries adorned with light fixtures, tiles, and landscaping. In interviews it is clear that the neighborhood takes pride in their homes and environment, commenting on the lack of crime in the area, the additions to their homes, their economic opportunity and even the football teams named after the nations that their home's architect originated.

Metabolism's *PREVI* home is the only realized structure the group ever built. In his article McGuirk comments on the philosophical connection between Metabolism and *PREVI* by describing the project as "the Metabolist utopia". Although the group did not design and build as a group, they continued to practice architecture separately. Metabolism's core ideals were brought to the innovative platform of change and transformation for *PREVI*. Ultimately, Peter Land's commitment to an ever changing entity supported the evolution and transformation of the community. Still, it was not the form that garnered the scholarship of Metabolism for designers and researchers for decades to come – it was the group's ideas and intentions that significantly shook up conservative ideas of design and society while pushing it into the future. ■



05 Kikutake, Kurokawa & Maki, *PREVI*, Lima, Peru, 1960s. Expansion strategy. © Peter Land.

Editor's Note

PREVI, acronym for *Proyecto Experimental de Vivienda* (Experimental Housing Project), is the result of a consultation process initiated in 1965, by the President of Peru, Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1912, Lima-2002, Lima), with the goal of developing a social-housing program able to regulate the spread of self-construction in informal settlements that was taking place in Lima, as a consequence of the unstoppable migration flows to the city.

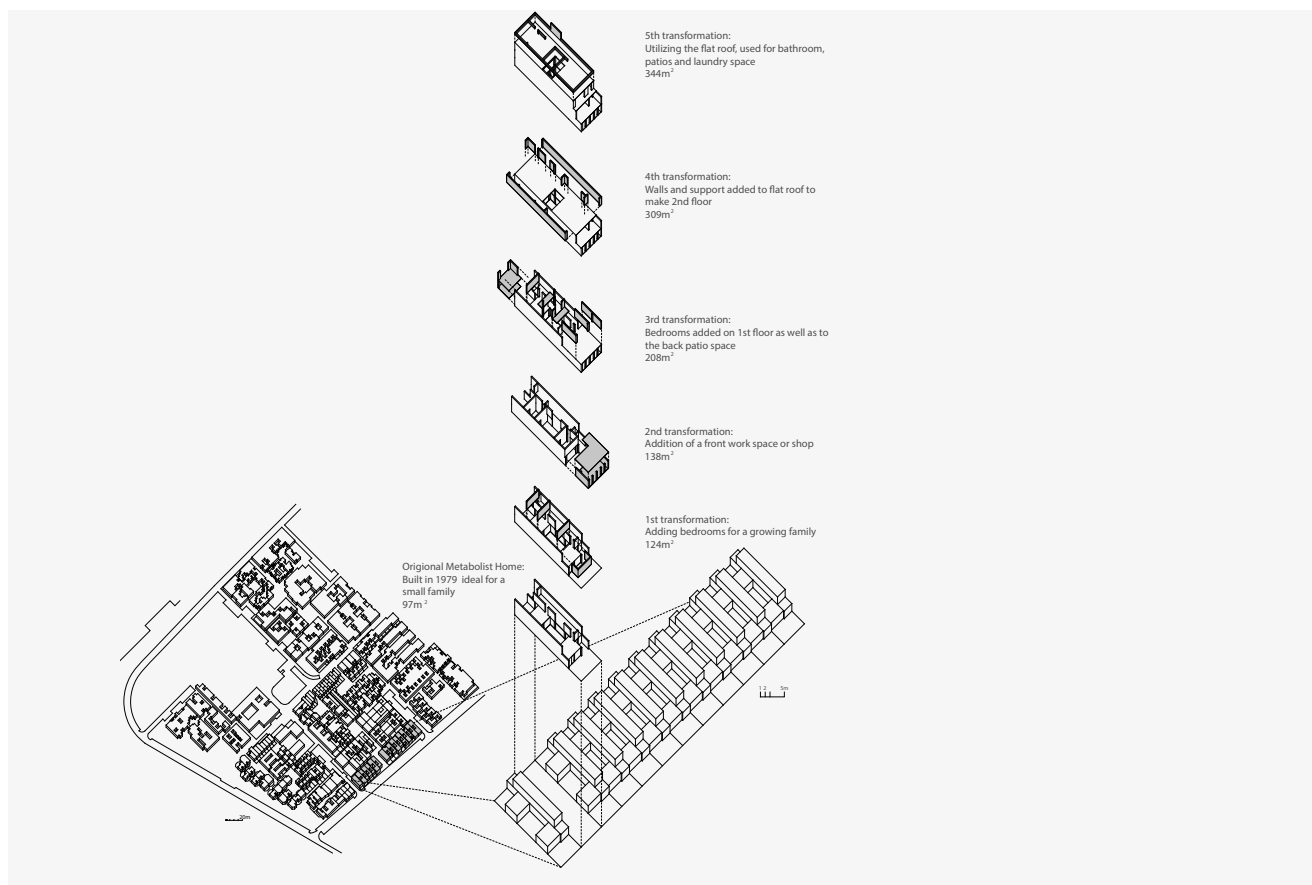
Asked by the Government of Peru and by the UNDP (United Nations Development Program), the architect Peter Land conceived and carried out the project as UN Project Director.

In 1969, an international competition was organized for the design and construction of a sustainable neighborhood of 1.500 dwellings. The urban principles required were human scale; pedestrian orientated environment; high-density and low-rise development; small private courtyards; allowing to grow and to adjust over time; new and appropriate building technologies; earthquake resistance.

In the same year, the jury selected 6 from the 26 participating teams, half Peruvian and half international. Kikutake, Kurokawa & Maki, Atelier 5 and Herbert Ohl were the 3 international groups chosen among the participants. However, the *PREVI* international jury ended to decide that all the 26 projects would be built, within a Master

Plan defined by Peter Land, due to its high quality and the experimental character of *PREVI*. The projects designed by Herbert Ohl and Takahashi were the only ones not to be built due of their not affordable technical and material complexities.

Between 1969 and 1976, the projects were developed and the first phase of 500 dwellings was constructed. The houses were delivered between 1978 and 1979. The remaining 1.000 accommodations were intended to be developed in a second phase, but this did never happen.



06 Kikutake, Kurokawa & Maki, *PREVI*, Lima, Peru, 1960s. Axonometric showing new generational additions and expansions. © Peter Land.

Notes

- 1 James Stirling (England), Knud Svenssons (Denmark), ERC & Samper (Colombia), Atelier 5 (Switzerland), Toivo Korhonen (Finland), Charles Correa (India), Kikutake, Maki & Kurokawa (Japan), Iñiguez de Onzoño & Vásquez de Castro (Spain), Hansen & Hatloy (Poland), Aldo van Eyck (Netherlands), Candilis, Josic & Woods (France), Christopher Alexander (USA), Herbert Ohl (Germany).
- 2 Miguel Alvaríño; Ernesto Paredes; Miró-Quesada, Williams & Núñez; Gunter & Seminario; Morales & Montagne; Juan Reiser; Eduardo Orrego; Vier & Zanelli; Vella, Bentín, Quiñones & Takahashi; Mazzarri & Llanos; Cooper, García-Bryce, Graña & Nicolini; Chaparro, Ramírez, Smirnoff & Wiskowsky; Crousse, Páez & Pérez-León.
- 3 AA.VV., *Metabolism 60: The Proposals for a New Urbanism*, Tokyo, Bitjutu Syuppan Sha, 1960.
- 4 "Fumihiko Maki interviewed by Eui-Sung Yi", *Docomomo Journal* 50, Lisboa, 2014, p. 65.
- 5 Justin McGuirk, "PREVI: The Metabolist Utopia", *Domus*, 21-April 2011.
- 6 *Idem*.

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- "Fumihiko Maki interviewed by Eui-Sung Yi", *Docomomo Journal* 50, Lisboa, 2014, p. 65.
- "Peter Land interviewed by Eui-Sung Yi", *Docomomo Journal* 50, Lisboa, 2014, p. 68.
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Eui-Sung Yi

(b. 1968, Seoul, South Korea). BSc in Architecture, Cornell University; MSc in Architecture (1996), Harvard University. Principal of Morphosis Architects and Director of the now Institute, a center for urban research and speculations at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). He has been involved with academia and scholarship for over fifteen years in Asia and in the USA, where he worked extensively. He was adjunct associate professor and Director of the Master of Architecture programs (2007-2010) at the USC School of Architecture, in Los Angeles, and Vice President of Design in Chang-jo Architects, in Korea, where most recently, completed his competition-winning Korean Embassy in Tokyo, Japan, and the Korean Consulate, in Guangzhou, China. He is a member of **docomomo** International Executive Committee, acting as the representative of the chapter hosting the 13th International **docomomo** Conference, **docomomo** Korea.

Fumihiko Maki Interviewed by Eui-Sung Yi

On April 2014 Eui-Sung Yi interviewed Professor Fumihiko Maki, the Metabolism group's last living member, in order to discuss the design process of *PREVI* and his ideas on Collective Form.

Fumihiko Maki was born in 1928, Tokyo, studied architecture at the University of Tokyo (BSc, 1952) and then attended the Cranbrook Academy of Art (MSc, 1953) and the Harvard University Graduate School of Design (MSc, 1954). After his graduation, Maki remained in the United States and worked in the office of SOM (Skidmore, Owings and Merrill), in New York, in the office of Sert Jackson and Associates, in Cambridge, and in the campus planning office of Washington University, in St. Louis. He also taught architecture and urban design at Harvard and Washington University.

When he returned to Japan in 1965, he established his own architectural firm, Maki & Associates, in Tokyo, where he also became a professor at Tokyo University, until 1987.

As one of the most prominent architects in Japan, Maki has been internationally highly honored by many awards, including the Japan Institute of Architects' Award (1985), the American Institute of Architects' Reynolds Award (1987), the Wolf Prize, from Israel (1988), the Pritzker Architecture Prize (1993), the UIA Gold Medal Prize (1993), the Prince of Wales Prize in Urban Design, by the Harvard University (1993), the Praemium Imperiale from the Japan Arts Association (1999) and the Arnold Brunner Prize from the American Academy of Arts and Letters (1999).

Maki's publications include *Metabolism 1960* (Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1960), "Investigations in Collective Form" (The School of Architecture, St. Louis, Washington University, 1964), *Kioku no Keisho* (Chikuma Publishing Company, 1992), *Nurturing Dreams: Collected Essays on Architecture and the City* (MIT Press, 2008) and *Fumihiko Maki: Selected Buildings and Projects 1960–2012* (Phaidon Press, 2009).

YI Professor Maki, thank you for taking the time for this interview for the **docomomo Journal** on High Density with a focus on Asian Urbanism. Let me begin by asking you about your urban theory of Collective Form. Would you consider Hillside Terrace [Tokyo, 1969] one of the most successful examples of "Collective Form"?

MAKI The Hillside Terrace is done in 6 phases. The first phase was site at the core and also the program. At that time we were at a certain phase of modernization. Then the 2nd phase was built with different site conditions and with similar but different program. Also, myself as an architect might have been influenced by the changing lifestyle in Tokyo over the 25 years. So the question is if the Hillside Terrace can be called one of the examples of "collective form". I think the strength does exist in the public spaces which connect all those heterogeneous elements. In 1964 when I did the investigation of "collective form", the second chapter was about linkages. Linkages could be open space, could be physical connections, etc... which is open to every architect. [...]

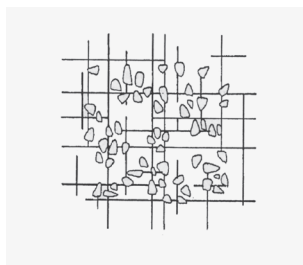
YI As you know, the theme of the 13th **docomomo** International Conference, in South Korea, is "Conflict and Expansion" across the world. Especially intriguing is a Japanese architect going down to Peru. Were all the cultural issues in the project either universal or were there influences that you specifically brought from your past and heritage? I want to ask you if this project was a continuation of your essays on "collective form" and if you, Kurokawa and Kikutake thought this was a chance to demonstrate it.

MAKI I think that the Peru project was the only collabor-

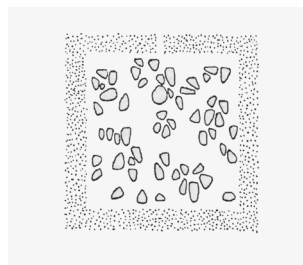
ative work among Metabolist — namely, Kikutake Kurokawa, and myself. We were always talking about metamorphosis, changes. These projects suddenly demonstrated how the changes took place and were a good demonstration of our idea of metamorphosis. In many ways this definition of space was dictated by the program. Peru is a Catholic country and people may produce quite a number of children. So the program said you have to be able to not just build for 6 children but to be able to grow. Our idea was to have a two story element on the spine. Then, one story high room or space. We thought you are able to build additional space over the one story element.

Because, as you know, in Lima doesn't rain so much. It is quite easy for people to have a self made system. They can buy the components of a house, or small building, in the shop and you can carry them and then make the building themselves. But it is a very crowded place. The first Indian thought by bringing the first Spaniards was "they might get sick" but they did not get sick.

What we did not expect is that they would add more floors! I saw a picture of them showing three floors. A couple of years ago I met some researchers in the ETH Zürich [Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule] that showed me a four story high building. I was very much afraid that it might collapse without a sufficient foundation. It demonstrates how people can transform their own houses. Many successful people who made money started to have a shop in the front instead of a bedroom. I think this really shows a different socialization process. I feel that this is a very good example of Metabolist philosophy: *to be able to respond to changes*.



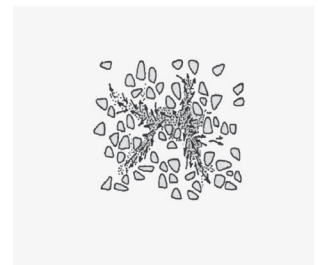
A



B



C



D

- 07** (A) Mediate: Connect with intermediate elements or imply medium (including composed open space).
 (B) Define: Enclose disparate structures with a sensible barrier. Produce unity within the barrier and separate from what is outside.
 (C) Repeat: Give each element a feature common to all in the group so each is identified as part of the same order.
 (D) Make a Sequential Path: Place activities that are done sequence in identifiable spatial relation to one another.

YI Would you say this was the first and the last collaborative Metabolist project?

MAKI Yes, the first and the last. We all went different ways after this. If you look at Metabolist carefully, they are all different. But for me it was a very good experience.

YI Were you in contact with a lot of the other architects at the same time too? I know that Christopher Alexander and James Stirling were all invited as well.

MAKI Yes, and Aldo Van Eyck and also Charles Corea. They were all in the project.

I must confess I did not have a chance to visit the place after we submitted the design. But we are doing a small project near Cuzco right now. So I should go to see it.

YI Are you philosophically ok with the owners taking ownership and changing it?

MAKI Oh yes. Nothing is a problem. No consultation. They just did it.

YI I am looking at the way you proposed the technology of this project. Which among you were more driven by the social planning of the design and which one were more technical?

MAKI The master planner was a British man, Peter Land. He lives in Chicago. He used to teach at IIT [Illinois Institute of Technology]. You should really interview Peter. He's much better than me. He really formed the scheme. This was his life's work. Technology, new kinds of brick and concrete blocks were developed by him. That was his baby. He asked everyone to use the same one because he considered this to be safer for earthquakes. Lima was visited by a very severe earthquake way back in 1960 so UNESCO thought that they could make some help and Peter was the person in charge to develop it. I don't know too much about the detail but we were asked to use that system.

YI Did this project contributed to your evolving theories of urbanism?

MAKI It's difficult to say. Honestly speaking, the project with Kikutake and Kurokawa was a very pleasant memory; that's all.

YI This project has been very highly regarded. This was about bottom up urbanism, rather than top down. Everyone is looking at this all over again.

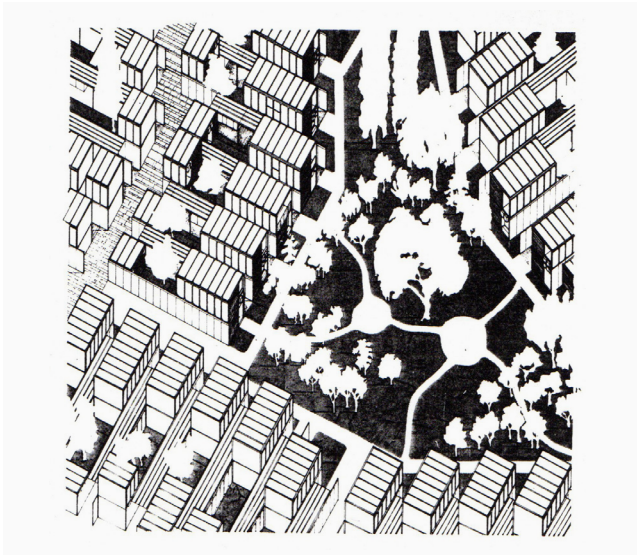
MAKI I was amazed. I told you when I gave a talk at ETH Zurich two years ago, someone in the school made an extensive study on this one. Last February we had an international conference on urbanism and community architecture here in Yokohama. One of the speakers invited, from Chile, was there and he's the author of this one [hands over the book GARCIA-HUIDOBRO, Fernando; TORRITI, Fernando Torres; TUGAS, Nicolas, *¡El Tiempo Construye!*, Barcelona, Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2008].

YI These drawings show these utility cores. Was your philosophy to have this utility core but to have everything loose and expanding?

MAKI The utility core as a whole is a connector. Originally we only had one stairway because we assumed it would be only two stories high. The teaching and the toilet are more flexible spaces from which you can go into the spaces or you can travel via this link. That was the concept. And now they built three floors!

YI If you look at the Le Corbusier's Pessac workers housing (1923), you see now the owners coming in and putting big gables, decorations...

MAKI You know, a friend of mine from Singapore published a book on Asian urbanism. What interested me very much was that in Taipei there is a one story apartment. and they added a terrace between both facades which they are



08 Kikutake, Kurokawa & Maki, *PREVI*, Lima, Peru, 1960s. Axonometric Site Plan. © Peter Land.



09 Kikutake, Kurokawa & Maki, *PREVI*, Lima, Peru, 1960s. Houses under construction. © Peter Land, 1970.

using it. It's a different way of growth. People adding more stories to the roof is changing the skyline of Taipei and I'm sure that is not compliant with the laws. So when I look at this I realize that anything can work. Even this is the growth within a given territory, always somebody will violate or forget about such a rule. It's amazing.

YI You were responsible for allowing the front section to become a store.

MAKI Yes. We only anticipated. They indicated there might be changes they might make. What interested me was that it wasn't a residential district and having a store was not considered. Nevertheless people dared to make a store, were trying to make money. I did not know what they were selling but that's the situation.

YI Everyone compliments you for having that idea, for understanding that people could upgrade economically.

MAKI This is a kind of an open planning; people could do whatever they want. I'm sure that the open space that we created between the two low floors could be filled. You don't know...

YI How many times did you go down there? I imagine that everyone only went once for the field visit.

MAKI Yeah. I remember James Stirling... he loves to drink and when Peter Land organized a tour to see all the important people in Lima – do you know Pisco Sour? – in the afternoon James Stirling didn't appear. We asked what happened and he had too much Pisco Sour in the morning... This is a story I remember. [laughs].

YI At that time, I imagine that you and Team 10 were the two main theoretical groups. ...

MAKI But you know, my contention here is that Team 10 wanted to almost destroy CIAM, you know the revolution-

ary force by the young people. But then Mathias [Oswald Mathias Ungers] made the opposition against Team 10. But at least in those days, since we were in the same boat, we were making friends and also enemies. It was a rivalry sort of time. Today everyone gets along. Maybe they are just chatting friends, but there are no really enemies, people avoid to make confrontations. Also, they just don't make too many friends. That is the phenomenon, quite different from the 60s and 70s.

YI Do you feel there is a lack of passion and energy now?

MAKI Yeah, yeah. Because we were all concerned: where we are going in the same boat? Where is our destination? But such a feeling doesn't exist. It's a different kind of media. It takes care of certain things. Not like the time when we practiced. So I told you, the guest of honor in the big boat were Aalto, Mies, Le Corbusier, and maybe Frank Lloyd Wright. I was just reading an essay in which Berlage in Netherlands was very impressed by the work of Frank Lloyd Wright but I think that Europeans feelings toward Wright are very ambivalent. They never said yes or no; somewhat indifferent. When I was a student at GSD [Harvard Graduate School of Design], I was Corbu, not a Wright man. It's a very interesting period. Berlage was very impressed by Frank Lloyd Wright but I've never heard such remarks by any European.

YI How did you work together?

MAKI Kikutake and I did a lot of work together. Sometimes Kurokawa go missing and then we saw him on TV [laughs]. How did he have such a time! He should be here.

YI How long did you work on this?

MAKI A couple of months. Peter Land came to Tokyo to see us. He came and gave us ideas. Peter Land had one project in his life. We had a few dozen projects... This is really his child.

Peter Land Interviewed by Eui-Sung Yi

On July 2014 Eui-Sung Yi interviewed Professor Peter Land, the UN Project Director of *PREVI*, in order to further understand its development process.

Peter Land was born in UK and studied architecture at the Architectural Association (1955) and at the Royal Academy of Arts (1956), in London, and has master degrees from the Yale University (1958) and from the Carnegie Mellon University (1958), in Architecture and Urban Planning, respectively.

Before *PREVI* (1968-1974), Peter Land was UN advisor to Housing Bank of Peru, on government urban policy (1965-1968) and after *PREVI* he has continued carrying out research and design development on urban densities and energy efficient sustainable housing and planning, at Harvard University and IIT.

He has been awarded by the National University of Engineering of Lima (1964), IIT (Excellence in Teaching Award, 1978), the National Endowment for the Arts (Distinguished Designer Fellowship, 1988), and received a grant from the Graham Foundation (2012), for the publication of a book about *PREVI*.

Peter Land is currently professor at the IIT, in Chicago, where he carries out interdisciplinary research about energy efficient structures, able to response to the future needs of the built environment.

YI Professor Land, thank you for taking the time to discuss *PREVI*. Can you frame *PREVI* within the context of other projects in South America?

LAND Not many people know about *PREVI*. Latin America has a Modern Movement. Mexico, Panama, Colombia, yes and Lima too. They all have mini Modern Movements.

YI They probably had their main *zeitgeist* in the 60s. Right after everything that was happening in Brazil.

LAND I think it's true to say that *PREVI* has been discovered, or rediscovered. There was never much known about it anyway. I had something to do with that because I was not very keen on advertising it. I was so busy in Lima, it was a big project, finding the financing and getting collaboration. A number of things... The really important thing to understand is that the success of the project was serendipity, an accident.

YI For the United Nations?

LAND Yes. It was a very exciting period actually. There are so many things to say; I don't know where to begin. I arrived after I completed my degree at Yale. I worked at SOM [Skidmore, Owings & Merrill] in New York for a while... so I had some experience as architect before I found the new world.

In Lima, attached to the Institute of Engineering there was found funding for a two year program on Urban Region Planning. They had already had Urbanism and that was expanded into interdisciplinary two year degree for all Latin American. I spent two years organizing and designing the planning curriculum, and two years running the program as director in collaboration with Yale. For that four years of work, the government decorated me with the *Order of the Sun* and also I was made honorary professor of the National University of Engineering in Lima. So that was nice, but when it was all finished I got on a boat and I went back to England. Then I received an invitation from the Peruvian government to go back to help them with housing; which I had always been interested in.

I agreed to come back and they arranged me a contract with the UN [United Nations]. So I went back and I spent almost two years traveling the country and looking at housing programs, recommending ways to make things better and so on... Suddenly, it occurred to me that it was the time to do something with an international splash and something interesting for the country.

I wrote up this project. I had very good relations with President Fernando Belaunde Terry. I was already in Peru and I had very good contacts through the University and he said "I like this project - let's do that". So, I wrote the whole thing up in some detail, made a budget and went to New York with the Minister of Housing and we put together the whole thing; it was a question of organizing. As soon as the international limits were assigned I took off and took a trip around the world. This was all before internet and even international telephone calls were not easy as Peru was a very remote country at that time, so the only way to do it was hop on a plane and go around the world.

So I flew off to Japan, to spoke with Kikutake, Maki and Kurokawa. Then I went to India to speak with Charles Correa, then Finland, Germany, UK, etc., etc... I already knew what was happening in this field, I knew about CIAM and Team 10. So I knew what I wanted and there was much interest in my proposal. Everybody said yes. The premise of this trip was to get the *ok* from the different architect I wanted to get. The only way to do it was to go and speak with them. We didn't offer them very much in the way of a fee but there was a lot of interest.

Then we launched the project, I wrote up the guidelines for the planning and the design of the neighborhood. Then I put together the jury. The UN wanted to have a scheme that was representative of the various camps of the UN. [...] It was complicated but it went well. The Peruvian part of the competition followed the same rules, same scheduling and everything was done bilingual.

The competition was actually in two stages. We awarded 3 equal prizes to the Peruvians and 3 equal prizes to inter-



10 Kikutake, Kurokawa & Maki, *PREVI*, Lima, Peru, 1960s. Houses under construction. © Peter Land, 1970.



11 Kikutake, Kurokawa & Maki, *PREVI*, Lima, Peru, 1960s. Completed houses. © Peter Land, 1970.

national teams. But the submissions were extremely interesting and we decided to build a small number of houses of each of the 26 schemes. We had funding for 13 international and 13 Peruvian schemes. The competition was organized; we had a jury in Lima. It was an interesting time.

It took a while to acquire the land and build the infrastructure. We made the master plan.

It was paved streets for vehicles and pedestrians with landscaping, courtyard houses with narrow walking streets. And very much by a number of European schemes such as *Siedlung Halen*, it was a wonderful scheme at the time, and still is of course. And then they were the schemes in Britain and all the wonderful courtyard houses as part of the Modern Movement. And of course there was the expression of Latin America and the Arab influence, there were all courtyard cities. Peru. So it was really a natural thing to arouse interest in courtyard house as a way of living. By the way I have a little courtyard with some nice flowers. [...]

YI So you're very much supportive of dropping the seed of infrastructure and having the residents expand it in their own way?

LAND Yes. I completely agree with that. Now the *PREVI* neighborhood is based upon the "*casa creciente*" [the growing house]. So the geometry and organization had to reflect that.

YI Was that part of requirements for the *PREVI* guidelines?

LAND Growing house, definitely. I wrote the guidelines, it was quite a big document. The growing house was a requirement to build into the design concept. It's easier said than done, the continuity of steel calls for adequate sizing and design. By the way, the competition for *PREVI* was not just for architects. Each architect had to be associated with structural engineers.

YI Local?

LAND Not necessarily, no.

YI There was a structural system that you came up with or has recommended?

LAND There was no condition. The architect had total freedom to work with the structural engineer. We had some very original ideas, I don't know if you've seen any of the designs. This book here has very little reference to the building systems and on occasion they do mention building systems. They got it all wrong.

YI When you went around the architects were really the A-list architects of that time. They were young, also. So was it a sense of optimism, a sense of a balance with a strong design background mixed with a sense of doing something real and with a socialist agenda?

LAND Yes, yes, yes. And for me too. There was a great enthusiasm from people who were just getting back from the cold war. A number of projects had been launched to do something similar. There was a little bit of reservation until things got underway. When the project was launched I was in regular contact with the architects and the element of uncertainty disappeared. We built the infrastructure, the sewage; and the roads for all the Lima neighborhood. And the international architects made a visit to Lima, as several of the young architects in Lima went to work with architects in their countries. One went to work with Stirling in London. So there was informal exchange.

YI How did you arrive at picking Maki, Kurokawa and Kikutake?

LAND Well, I knew what was happening. The young architects at that time were all left wing.

YI What was it like when you first went to Japan? Was it your first time there?

LAND Yes it was my first time, yes. Very impressive. I think I met Maki before, I can't quite remember.

I had the three of them on my list and I didn't know how to decide what to do. We only had financing for one set of expenses. So I discussed with Maki — "what are we going to do"? What am I going to do?", so he said "why don't you

speak with Tange? He's the eldest statesmen, so he might have some ideas". So I said "that's a good idea". So Maki spoke with Tange and Tange said "let me speak with the other two" which he did. The next morning I met with Tange and he said that they've agreed to do a joint project.

YI So Tange removed himself?

LAND I don't remember. I think he was included in the group but didn't participate. It worked very well and actually Maki did most of the work. Because he spoke English and he was very good to work with.

YI He absolutely insisted I find you. He said, "you should really interview Peter". Let me ask you, given the chance to do this again, would anything change with your wisdom and hindsight?

LAND A number of things. We put a limitation at two story houses. I think it should be three... it might even go up to four. That's number one. Number two is the way of working that was good. I don't see too much to be changed. It's very nice to think of people working together but in reality it's a real problem sometimes.

YI Did you consider asking Niemeyer to participate or was he already too established?

LAND I don't think he would have been able to work on this sort of things.

Now one thing, the participants: I arranged for them to come to Lima. And they all came at the same time.

YI Wow. That must have been difficult. How did you manage that?

LAND They all came and they all spent 10 days in Lima, mostly drinking. In that time Stirling was quite big to say the least. He had a big capacity to drink. Actually I brought them to Cuzco, which is at 4.000 m. I decided that it was very important that they get a checkup. They were all checked by my own doctor in Lima. The doctor was a local guy, Dr. Bernstein, and he advised that Stirling shouldn't go to 4.000 m. But up until then, Stirling had been a good boy. He decided he was going to go and he went. Some of the others like Korhonen from Finland and Ohl from Germany were thin athletic people and they got to Cuzco. The interesting thing is that Sterling had lots of energy and was rushing around but the thin athletic guys got quite ill, from altitude sickness.

YI How did you chose the original three winners and then went back to the 26?

LAND Well, we did have a jury, you know. I was on the jury but everyone had a different point of view. When I saw the submissions, I immediately realized that to build only three of the 13 would be a mistake. Some of the schemes were strong technically, some schemes were strong in clustering and some were strong in design of the house itself.

YI Interior family layout?

LAND Yes. So the ideal thing would be to build a small group of each to get a sense of what was not anticipated.

I had to fight quite hard to bring that about. But then the Board of Directors agreed that that was a good idea and that became the official part. We gave these equal prizes to three and three but it was never specified that we would build the three and three, fortunately. So the Board of Directors agreed. They started at different times too, it was all a little uncertain because some schemes needed some development work, but one contract could take on one groups of twenty houses or two groups of 20 houses. It's a question of different scale, a fit more precisely, the character of the building industry.

YI So the competition was actually this entire lot.

LAND Every competitor was asked to produce a large scale scheme. Because we wanted the idea to be big scale thinking. And by the time of the completion we hadn't gotten full ownership of the site yet. So we had to think quickly about this and we said yes to this piece of land and produced a master plan, distilling this idea to something bigger.

YI Was Maki very social and integrated in Lima?

LAND You know, he's a quiet gentleman. He was livelier than what he is now. But people got along very well with Maki. He was an interesting guy, I really liked him.

YI There is a whole thing about how the architects allowed the front kind of porch to be used as an economic space like a shop or a store. Was that anything unique?

LAND No. In reality if you go to Lima now, you'll find that many shops or nursery schools, have been fitted into the space. It's a very nice economic solution. The idea was to build a shopping center right in the middle but it was never built. You see here that the school, which was my design, is pushed hard against the fabric of the houses. Carpet housing, so that school continuous with the fabric of the housing. You walk through the little streets right into the school and then you discover the space when you look out. So it's symbolically and functionally part of the fabric of the neighborhood. I think it is a very important thing because in many schools, particularly in UK, they put the school in the middle of the playing field so then the school is symbolically isolated from the playing field and the fabric of the houses. All these could be made into shops; it was easy to do that...

YI So that was basically a byproduct. That was not one of the key elements that made them winner?

LAND No. It was an original idea; I think the geometry was very good, actually. We changed it a bit. We made this [points to the smaller homes longer in length] one story and made this [points to the homes shorter in length] two stories, because the smallest house was too small.

YI So how much did you end up modifying it?

LAND It was fundamentally like this. These became concrete block walls and conventional beam and columns, with an inverted T and blocks between. But the geometry of the house, in my opinion, is really nice, with very nice proportion. Well, that's Maki. He has good taste.



12-13 Kikutake, Kurokawa & Maki, PREVI, Lima, Peru, 1960s. Completed houses. © Peter Land, 1970.

YI One of his seminal projects in Japan was this six phased, twenty year long development, called Hillside Terrace, and it was based on this kind of geometry.

LAND Yes. It's a wonderful scheme. Very elegant. Very similar in character, white painted concrete. I think it is absolutely wonderful. The approach to doing things incrementally and not tearing things down. I think the Japanese project is a brilliant scheme. I have some questions about the structural aspect that we talked about, but it has all the Japanese stubbornness, coherent geometry and the beautifully drawn presented in the highly drawn manner of Maki's work.

YI How does it feel like to be the Metabolist's first and only client?

LAND To be honest I don't even know what this "metabolist" word even means, but the Japanese book sort of made it into a sort of a cult. But in the way Team 10 did with CIAM. Basically Team 10 took over CIAM and made it into a cult.

YI I guess Archigram was a bit too out there to be considered.

LAND Archigram was way out there. It was a different platform.

YI Are you happy with the way the PREVI houses have been adopted and taken over with comfortable things such as a gable roof?

LAND I think it is one disappointment. As Charles Correa said, that flat roofs were an indispensable part of the design in Lima as there is not much rain there and people could

live on the roofs as well. I didn't get back to Lima. I would like to make a short visit to photograph the scheme, because I am keen on getting it right and to emphasize the items that I think are important, particularly the quality and development of the landscape and the flowers. I'm very keen on that. I think that flowers and gardens play, could play, and should play a very important role as an antidote to the stress inducing character of the modern development life.

YI High density low rise. Would that be your position on the notion of density for housing?

LAND Yes. When you consider the bigger picture like land required for hospital, land required for schools, etc. etc., you find that density, which is often given by tall buildings, is not such a big advantage. Another thing I tell people is that the highest residential density in the world is in Philadelphia. The narrow frontage, 4 and 5 story row houses, beautifully proportioned and everything in the old part of Philadelphia, near the campus, are extremely high density and they use the roof as well. Narrow front. If I recall correctly they are 3 m frontage.

They are extremely high density and it's a wonderful place to live because you can walk anywhere in the dense old part of Philadelphia and there is just enough space at the back of your lot to store a Porsche.

I think there is a lot to be learned from history.

I would like to use this interview to tell Mr. Maki how I was impressed with his house design and his demeanor.

A complete gentleman. ■



Le Corbusier, Open Hand, Chandigarh, India, 1955-1972. National anthem performance on August 15, 2010. Photo Courtesy: Gurpreet Singh, August Kranti, 2010.

Rereading Our Recent Past: Notes on Chandigarh and New Gournā

BY VINAYAK BHARNE

This article focuses on two iconic architectural works that dominate the ongoing intellectual discourse on conserving our recent past — the City of Chandigarh in India designed by Le Corbusier, and the Village of New Gournā in Egypt designed by Hassan Fathy. By examining the differential between their originating visions and their legacies that were shaped over more than five decades through many unforeseen circumstances and unaccounted consequences, this article provokes deeper reflections on our modern heritage and on the forces and entities that should decide its future.

In the ongoing dialogue on conserving our recent past, two iconic places, designed by two brilliant architects in two different parts of the world at almost the same time, have come to the forefront — the city of Chandigarh designed by Le Corbusier in India, and the Village of New Gournā designed by Hassan Fathy in Egypt. Even though the original intentions shaping these two places were blatantly different, their evolving destinies are raising complex questions on the outlook and praxis of conserving modern landmarks, particularly beyond the West, forming a compelling narrative on the larger rubric of heritage, modernity, and modern architecture. This article does not delve into the histories of these two places, as much as examines the differential between their originating visions and legacies — legacies that were shaped over more than five decades through many consequences and circumstances, largely unforeseen and unaccounted for. By highlighting this differential, the intention is to provoke deeper reflections on how we might reread our recent heritage, on who should define it, on whom it should be conserved for, on who should play a role in these endeavors, and how and by what means they should be accomplished.

Chandigarh and New Gournā — A Historical Overview

When Le Corbusier landed in India for the first time in February 1951 on the invitation of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, the Village of New Gournā was well under way in Cairo. Plans to develop it had begun as early as the mid-1940s reflecting the Egyptian government's desire to relocate the impoverished village of Gournā al-Jadida, an impoverished squatter constructed atop the ancient burial sites of the Theban Necropolis. For generations, the poor residents of Gournā al-Jadida had made their living by looting and selling burial artifacts, which the Egyptian government sought to curtail. In 1945, the Egyptian Department of Antiquities purchased 45 acres of sugarcane fields some

two miles west of the archaeological site and commissioned Hassan Fathy to design and supervise the construction of the new settlement.

New Gournā was a radical departure from the high modernist dogma of the 40s. Instead of using contemporary materials such as steel or reinforced concrete, the village was constructed of handmade, sun-dried mud bricks, an ancient Nubian construction material, used as a means of tempering the sunlight and reducing interior temperatures. As such, it embodied an alternative modernity for a different socio-economic, climatic and cultural context. Fathy consulted with local workmen and a team of Nubian master builders to create buildings sensitive to local rural lifestyles. Buildings were designed of handmade mud bricks and capped by Islamic-style domes. Homes were organized around central courtyards and the entire village was anchored by a main public square with a mosque, educational facilities, and theater. Fathy also expressed great interest in the social structure of the Gournā al-Jadida community, frequently visiting them to observe the social structure. Concluding that Gournā society was organized around two key units: the family and the *badana* or group of families he designed New Gournā's plan with individual family houses arranged in clusters around small squares. Fathy was not merely attempting to create a model settlement for the Gournā people, but seeking to create an international prototype to house the modern world's less privileged.

Le Corbusier on the other hand had a different agenda — almost a mandate from the Prime Minister of India himself to create a city that would break away from the traditions of India's past, and overwhelm newly-sovereign India's colonial complex. Within as less as six weeks of his arrival, Le Corbusier re-planned the city of Chandigarh: He "rationalized" the curved streets of his predecessor Albert Meyer's scheme into an orthogonal grid, re-apportioned its proposed "villages" into "sectors" thrice as large, reduced the quantity of roads, and increased the overall density.

But much of Chandigarh's magnetism lay less in the city plan and more in the Capitol Complex the master architect was so meticulously designing in brutal grey concrete. Set against the Himalayan backdrop, and carefully positioned on Modular proportions, was a dramatic concourse of four colossal and three smaller monuments: with the Secretariat slipped behind it, the Assembly and High Court stood across each other framing the (un-built) Governor's Palace, with the Tower of Shadows, the Geometrical Hill, the Monument to the Martyr, and the Open Hand Monument (built in the 80s) and as smaller players around them. Together they centered on the Esplanade — a 440-meter-long barren expanse of grey concrete stretching between them.

By the time Prime Minister Nehru formally opened the city in October 1953, Le Corbusier's reputation had propelled Chandigarh to international attention. Architects and historians from all over came to witness what would be the largest built project of the master architect, a phenomenon that remains true to this day. New Gurgaon on the other hand largely escaped the public eye until 1976, and not until Fathy published his memoir for the project, *Architecture for the Poor*, would it attract the global eye. In any case, from today's standpoint, both places bear the parallel of being incomplete utopias that now stand at the epicenter of a serious intellectual discourse about their future, and by extension, the future of other such recently designed iconic places across the world.

Beyond Le Corbusier: Chandigarh Today

Since 2006, the city administration of Chandigarh has been pushing for a UNESCO World Heritage Designation, inspired by Brasilia, Le Havre and Tel Aviv, to celebrate what is a healthy and thriving city, embodying all the qualities of a progressive, prosperous *polis*. Chandigarh has nearly doubled in size over five decades along Corbusier's proposed pattern. It has survived the political upheavals and terrorist threats of the 80s. Its citizens wear an intrinsic civic pride towards India's first modern city. It is known for its education quality, and everyone knows about the man named Le Corbusier. Its markets teem with activity, overwhelming the bland concrete and brick façades with a riot of signage, canvas and color. It is India's first "green" city to ban smoking in public. Chandigarh has its act together — not because of its planning or architecture, but because it has, like many other Indian cities, been appropriated and absorbed by the plebeian Indian ethos.

Meanwhile, Chandigarh's Capitol Complex tells a different story. Guard posts, gates and barbed wires enclose the entire precinct today, interrupting the view of the famous Assembly and High Court from the central Esplanade. Trees grow randomly, blocking the same vista of the 240-meter long Secretariat that had not long ago been a carefully conceived visual composition. Secured entry to the Assembly and High Court occurs from the rear parking lots, which also become the setting for hawkers and commerce. Except as a space to admire the buildings, the 440-meter long Esplanade, the open space between the Assembly and High Court remains perpetually empty, with weeds and a

few administrative cars sheepishly parked at its fringe. It stays that way even on India's Independence Day, with the parades happening instead in the field near Sector 17.

So whatever happened to Le Corbusier's Capitol? Circa 1985, some three decades after the Capitol's opening, Chandigarh had been gripped by the paranoia of Sikh terrorists killing people at will. A year ago Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had ordered a military attack on the Golden Temple in Amritsar, the holiest of Sikh shrines, killing hundreds of Sikh terrorists who had amassed weapons within, and eventually leading to her assassination. With everything from state to city wearing a somber garb, emergency security measures were implemented to safeguard the administrative center. Barbed wire fences with guard-posts, gates and gunmen fortified the complex and entry to the Capitol became far more limited than ever before. Today the tortured, protected Capitol represents a helpless victim of unpredictable political circumstances on the one hand, and a mirror reflecting the darker colors of post-colonial India on the other.

Chandigarh's citizens hardly go to the Capitol. Its own link with the thriving city is Le Corbusier's Open Hand monument, not through its original democratic symbolism of being "open to receive, open to give", but its ubiquitous scattering as a two-dimensional imprint throughout the city. From tourist hoardings and garbage bins to pamphlets and driver's licenses, it is the city's official symbol, though one may not exactly know its relevance then versus now. The only consistent inhabitants of the Capitol — besides the diurnal political menagerie, sanitation department workers and thrash collectors, are the villagers of Kansal, the only retained village from the many demolished to build the city. They regularly visited the Complex without any invitation or permission, to wash, bathe, and carry home water for cooking. The lawns surrounding the deserted Open Hand have become their cricket fields and hangouts.

Not that all this has gone un-noticed. Since its founding in 2005, Hum Log (literally "We the People"), a local non-government organization (NGO) has sought to generate a wave of citizen activism through organized campaigns for the cause of the city. The "Free the Open Hand Campaign" organized street theater, debates and conferences at the monument to make it accessible to the public. Thanks to such efforts, since January 2010, the Chandigarh government has lifted the ban on social gatherings at the Open Hand opening it to citizens daily between 10:30 and 3:30 (tourists and other outsiders must still apply to the city's administration for permission to visit). On August 15, 2010, scores of residents led by the same initiative, in an effort to highlight the Capitol's restricted access, sang the national anthem at the Open Hand to mark India's Independence Day. This was a watershed moment in the Capitol's recent history. As a performance of protest, it was not simply a mode of political expression, but also an indication of democratic success. It marked the beginnings of new meanings and identities for the city, taking it beyond its much-touted modernist and Le Corbusian profile, and making it a site of populist contestation, redefinition and reconstruction.

01 Le Corbusier, Assembly Building, Chandigarh, India, 1953-1963. This view from the Esplanade shows the vista interrupted by security fences and guard posts. © 2010 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ADAGP, Paris/FLC, Vinayak Bhatne, 2010.



02 Le Corbusier, High Court Building, Chandigarh, India, 1951-1957. This view from the Esplanade shows the vista interrupted by security fences and guard posts. © 2010 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ADAGP, Paris/FLC, Vinayak Bhatne, 2010.

Some two decades since its fortification, even as city elites were contemplating the city's UNESCO World Heritage designation, the question of who really "owns" Chandigarh has come to center-stage.

Beyond Hassan Fathy: New Gournal Today

Not many know that the even after the village of New Gournal was built, the Gournal people for years refused to transfer to their new homes and remained instead in their old village atop the Pharaonic tombs. It reinforced the naïve assumption in the first place that these people would willingly relocate to an unfamiliar settlement designed entirely by an unfamiliar agency. Many of the Gournal, antagonistic toward the relocation effort (and toward Fathy), began to vandalize the village by breaking its dikes, flooding and damaging the foundations. Construction of the new village ultimately failed mainly because of the Gournal's refusal to move to the new site, and the government's inability to force relocation coupled with political and financial issues. Fathy and the Egyptian government pulled out of New Gournal in 1948, and the project was abandoned following the Egyptian revolution of 1952. The Gournal largely continued to reside in their old village of Gournal al-Jadida. Gradually, squatters took over the neglected New Gournal buildings, and ignoring Fathy's original vision unapologetically altered the village layout and mud brick structures to better serve their daily needs.

Today, New Gournal is in a state of deterioration. Continuing change and appropriation has compromised the material integrity of its structures. A rising water table, lack of an adequate sewer system, extreme heat and *ad-hoc* infill have destabilized many of the mud brick structures, with several on the verge of collapse. Most structures have been substantially altered — residents have covered the courtyards, filled in the wind catchers, and rebuilt collapsed domes in reinforced concrete — all in a manner antithetical to accepted Western historic preservation standards. These issues have aroused serious concern among preservation experts who see in such attitudes, a serious threat to Fathy's architectural master work.

In 2009, UNESCO, ICOMOS and the World Monuments Fund (WMF) announced a rehabilitation initiative titled "Safeguarding Project of Hassan Fathy's New Gournal Village". The partnership between these three agencies was strategic: UNESCO and ICOMOS focused on technical concerns such as materials; the WMF brought in its diplomatic experience on issues of public relations and community development. In addition to placing New Gournal on its 2010 "watch list", that is, its annual list of endangered heritage sites, the WMF also reached out to the Gournal people and sought to educate them on the site's historical and architectural significance. The three agencies together released a report in 2011, but before any rehabilitation work officially began, the entire project came to an abrupt halt and to this day, it is unclear if it will ever resume. The agencies have hinted that the project was stalled because of Egypt's tenuous political climate.

Whether or not this is true is not the point. The point is that the UNESCO, ICOMOS and WMF rehabilitation plan relies heavily on Euclidean methods of conservation — land use zoning, urban design guidelines, building regulations etc. — even though such methods carry minimal weight and efficacy in legally ambiguous nations such as Egypt, and particularly in appropriated places like New Gournal. The rehabilitation plan emphasizes architectural and material integrity and encourages the removal of insensitive modifications to Fathy's buildings. But as Susan Sachs has reported, the people who live in New Gournal claim that Fathy's houses no longer meet their needs. There is an increasing desire to replace the original mud bricks because fired bricks can better withstand the climate. Many of the modifications made to the Fathy structures reflect the residents' desire to have amenities like running water and adequate space to house their extended families — issues not adequately accounted for in the original plan. The question of what heritage means to the Gournal inhabitants, and even more significantly, who "owns" New Gournal, remains at the heart of this discussion.

Who's Heritage?

In many ways, the 2011 UNESCO, ICOMOS, and the WMF's rehabilitation plan for New Gournal is similar to what is currently happening with Chandigarh's UNESCO World Heritage Designation discussions. From the inhabitants' standpoint, New Gournal's rehabilitation plan arrived unwanted and uninvited and sought to impose and insinuate its own conception of heritage and methods of conservation without necessarily taking the residents' needs or interests into account. The agencies took a paternalistic approach to heritage using Western ideals and means to achieve their goals in a distinctively non-Western society. For them heritage could only be fully conveyed in an orderly, antiseptic environment, impeccably restored to its original state.

The same echoes in Chandigarh. The city's future today is the intellectual domain of franchised elite, not be the terrain of the city's inhabitants. In January 1999, to celebrate Chandigarh's 50th anniversary, a distinguished group of international architects gathered in the Capitol. They concluded among other things that Corbusier's original design for the un-built Governor's Palace was far more appealing than his succeeding alternative for the building as the un-built Museum of Knowledge. By December 2007, a year after Chandigarh officials submitted a bid to UNESCO's Paris-based headquarters to make the city a World Heritage site; it was made public that the Chandigarh Administration would build the Museum of Knowledge per the original design of the Governor's Palace, at the same location as initially planned. Who defines authenticity and heritage? Is the construction of the Museum of Knowledge in the form of the Governor's Palace an acceptable "authentication" of Corbusier's original vision? And who actually decides this and why?

Perhaps this has been Chandigarh's missing dimension all along. For all its democratic innuendos, it has evolved through anything but a democratic process. In fact its origins

03 Le Corbusier, Secretariat Building, Chandigarh, India, 1953-1959. © 2010 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ADAGP, Paris/FLC., Vinayak Bhatne, 2010.



04 Le Corbusier, Open Hand, Chandigarh, India, 1955-1972. National anthem performance on August 15, 2010. Photo Courtesy: Gurpreet Singh, AugustKranti, 2010.



05-07 Hassan Fathy, Village of New Gourna, Egypt, 1946-1952. Deteriorating Village Fabric. © Roland Unger, Wikimedia Commons, 2009.



08 Hassan Fathy, Village of New Gourna, Egypt, 1946-1952. View of Mosque. © Marc Ryckaert, Wikimedia Commons, 2011.

were “non-democratic” to begin with. As Indian architect Romi Khosla has suggested, the making of Chandigarh was in a sense an “Imperial Plan” not too dissimilar from that of colonial New Delhi. Despite their protest, 24 villages and 9,000 residents were displaced by a Euclidean vision. India’s Prime Minister Nehru had the powers of the Viceroy and his dictum for an unabashed modernity, however well intentioned, was never subjected to the litmus test of the native public — just as UNESCO, ICOMOS and WMF sought to do at New Gournā.

Chandigarh and New Gournā then are telling instances of how visions, utopias, noble aspirations and architectural prowess are rarely able to surpass the socio-political vagaries of time. They affirm that architecture and architectural conservation, however masterful, is but a pawn in a complex socio-political game. If the Capitol’s guise from a national monument to a forlorn center, and New Gournā’s natural take-over and appropriation tell us anything, it is that monumentality, social-justice, civic pride are eventually not architectural but socio-political phenomena. The intentions of places can become confused even at their inception, and certainly during their subsequent reception — at once an artistic, political, and anthropological problem. While visionary aspirations are important, the expectations and circumstances of those who inhabit, adopt, appropriate and “own” them are even more critical to their nurturing and long-term future.

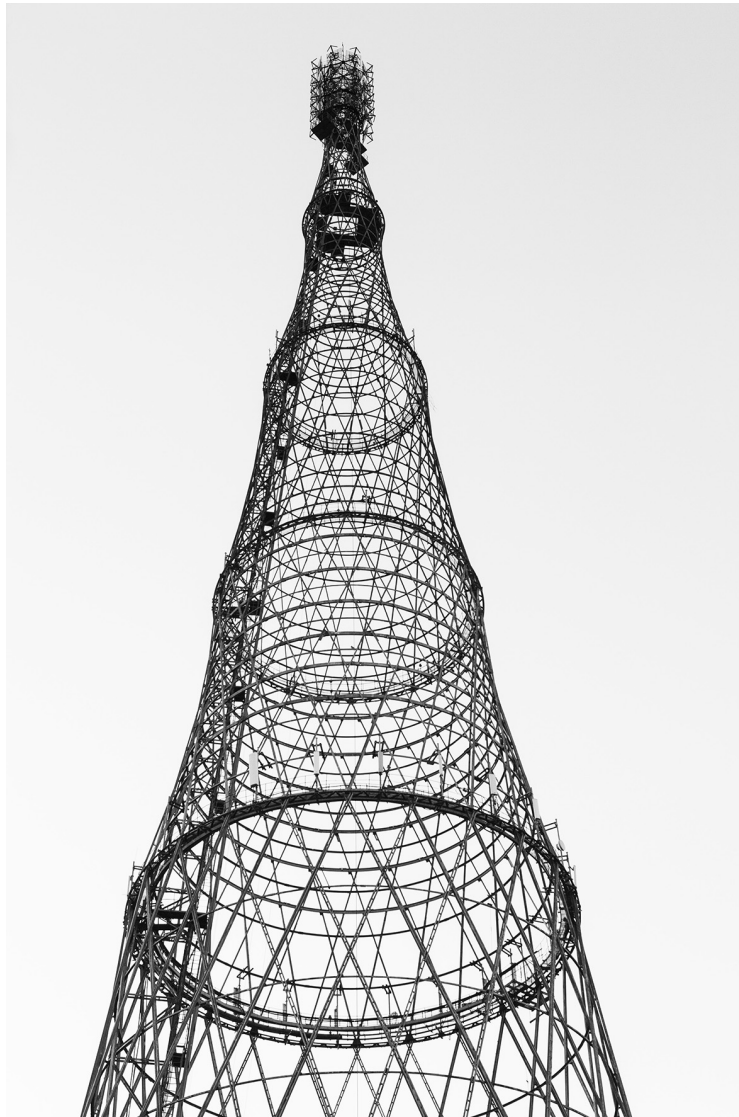
The task at hand is to expand the lens through which we read, understand, engage with and ultimately envision the future of such places. Chandigarh and New Gournā should not be mistaken as mere relics for mainstream preservation or heritage designations, but as the seeds of larger evolving visions that are being tested and completed by generations to come. Whether or not Le Corbusier’s city becomes a World Heritage Site, and whether or not, Fathy’s buildings ever get restored, what these places desperately need is a far more reflective examination of their complex cultural narrative. They need a deeper empathetic reassessment of the many other far more important forces and entities — people, their needs, their preferences, their inclinations — that are shaping the identity of these places today. Chandigarh and New Gournā are not dead ruins to be embalmed, designated, restored and glorified. They are living repositories of shifting histories that have gone far beyond their master architects or their original visions. It is these histories that should be brought to the forefront, to dominate the ongoing dialogues on their future. ■

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Shukhov Tower, Moscow, 1922 by Vladimir Shukhov

A world renowned engineering marvel and masterpiece of constructivist architecture, the radio tower designed by Vladimir Shukhov has garnered much attention lately. Citing the “dangerous” condition of the 92-year-old tower, in early February 2014 the Russian Ministry of Communications announced their plans for the 160 m structure: a two stage reconstruction-restoration, with the dismantling of the tower followed by reassembly at a new location. This has been deemed the *de facto* destruction of the tower by both experts and public opinion in general and has led to the Russian and international community to rally behind the campaign for the preservation of “Russia’s Eiffel Tower”.

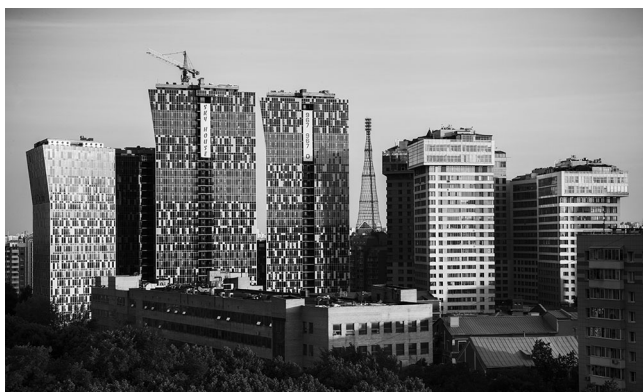
Vladimir Shukhov’s 1899 patent for metal lattice shells has been used in numerous designs around the world, as the resulting structures are both strong and light. Shukhov’s invention was debuted at an industrial exhibition in Nizhniy Novgorod in 1896 with a 25 m hyperboloid tower. But it is the radio tower on Shabolovka Street in Moscow that is the most well-known, which made its first radio broadcast on March 19, 1922.

The proposal to remove the tower from the Moscow skyline has drawn criticism from engineers, architects, activists, and local residents for a multitude of reasons. The soaring tower is not only a familiar Moscow sight; it’s also a part of Russian history, a beacon of patriotism, and a symbol of progress, industrialization, and mass communication. From a preservation point of view, a reconstructed

tower would lose its authenticity as a historical landmark. Not to mention that the tower is a registered monument.

Be that as it may, the tower sits on the balance sheet of the Ministry of Communications and so as owners of the tower they have framed the issue as a matter of safety, claiming that the advanced corrosion only allows for one possible solution: dismantlement.

Joining the efforts of the Shukhov Tower Foundation, numerous architectural organizations including **docomomo** International and ISCOMOS ISC 20C, cultural institutions, public figures, historians, architects, activists and concerned citizens have offered their support to the tower. So while the campaign for the preservation of the tower has been going on for many years, the imminent threat of losing the tower has sparked a wave of



publications, petitions, exhibitions, and other events related to promoting the tower and protesting its destruction.

The Shukhov Tower has some passionate, dedicated people on its side with a great number of initiatives being put forward to spread the message: Shukhov Tower should stay where it is. Graphic designers have lent their talents in designing posters and other printed materials. Volunteers have been collecting signatures and passing out informational leaflets, reminding that the tower “is our pride, it is our history”. An online petition against the demolition of the tower currently has over 17,000 signatures.

Surrounding the Shukhov Tower is a large concentration of 1920–1930s *avant-garde* architecture. Tours, lectures, kid’s programs, guidebooks — all dedicated to sharing the

history of this special neighborhood and the ingenuity of the tower’s engineering, are demonstrating the viability of a Shabolovskaya cultural cluster.

Since February media attention on the issue has been nonstop. An open letter signed by prominent architects and specialists from around the world was sent to Vladimir Putin in March expressing their opposition against plans to dismantle the tower, making this not only a local issue but also guaranteeing international attention.

Four months of campaigning, and activities have not subsided. At the end of May a city-approved rally was held in defense of the tower, where veteran activists like architectural watchdog Archnadzor, newly created initiative groups, local residents, and concerned citizens all gathered in a show of support. By

this point, the message is only being repeated: Shukhov Tower is a masterpiece, it should be restored without disassembly, and remain in its historic location.

The fate of the tower will be decided at an official level, but the public has rallied to show that it is not indifferent to what goes in their city. Shukhov Tower is their tower. ■

Natalia Melikova
docomomo Russia member

© Photos by Natalia Melikova, 2014.

Old Ditch — New Water

BY MIKKO HEIKKINEN

The following keynote was presented at the 12th International **docomomo** Conference that took place in Espoo, Finland, in August 2012. The title refers to the lecture given by an American artist James Turrell at the symposium *Permanence in Architecture* organized by Virginia Tech in 1998. In architecture and in all arts the new is eroding the old earth and slowly reforming tradition. "Survival of Modern" could be seen as an effort to use the built "modern" environment in a sustainable way. Mikko Heikkinen believes that our challenge is not only to make iconic masterpieces of the Modern Masters to survive but even more what to do with the vast mass of contemporary buildings not found in the architectural guide books. In his presentation, Mikko Heikkinen listed five different cases – five different strategies to make modern to survive: 1) recycling, 2) preserving and restoring the historical milieu, 3) creating a historical and functional collage, 4) preserving a historical fragment and 5) contradiction.



01 © Mikko Heikkinen.

Five different cases — five different strategies to make modern survive:

Recycling

The developers and investors are speaking about "tired properties", buildings which don't meet anymore the changing demands of location, technical services or image: offices from 70'ies, empty industrial premises too close the city centers, old warehouses where the harbor or railway has moved away. Are these structures doomed to be demolished?

The University of Art and Design (now a part of Aalto University) is located in the old industrial premises of Arabia Ceramics in the historic section of Helsinki, where the city was founded in 1550. The area has a long tradition in industrial design manufacture. With ceramic production moving into modern technologies, vacant parts of the old factory buildings were available for new uses.

The Mediacenter is partly incorporated into renovated manufacturing structures old Arabia factories designed by architect Erik Lindroos in 1946. Technically more sophisticated operations like film and television studios, a black-box theater, and an auditorium, were located in a new addition outside the old structures. The extensive building complex projected can be seen as a small town, which is organized hierarchically into squares and *boulevards*, back alleys and service areas. The renovation of the old manufacturing structure retains its original roughness and authenticity, an approach that fits the practical needs of its new function.

The project included rearranging the main entrance of the university as well. A glazed gallery connects the new entry across the block to the main square of the Arabianranta residential suburb. The gallery is used for exhibiting student projects and it also serves as a lobby for a 400 seat auditorium and an experimental theater.



Preserving and Restoring the Historical Milieu

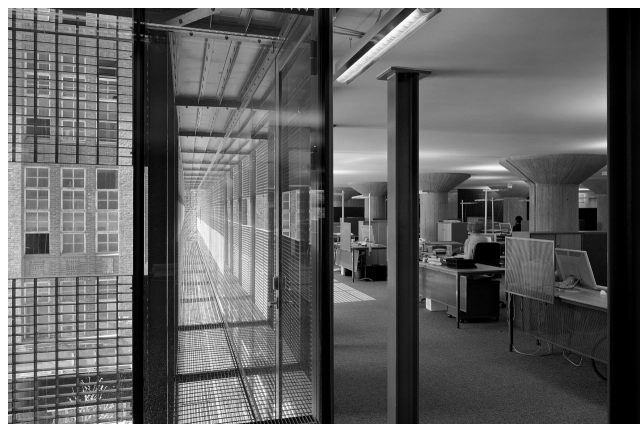
The most inspiring experiences of architecture are made not by single objects but milieus of harmony and consistency of style, material or function. Industrial block close to the center of Helsinki by cooperative firm *Elanto* was built from 1920's on in several stages consisting of a bakery, a dairy, offices and warehouses. Most buildings were designed by architect Väinö Vähäkallio. The main target for the city planners and Helsinki City Museum controlling the process was not to restore the individual buildings but to save a unique fragment of Helsinki seafront.

Our project included the renovation of a former vegetable warehouse and the construction of a new office block linked to the old building. The users were the Senate

Properties and the Headquarters for National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health (STAKES).

The design solution aims to unify the red brick façade towards the sea — the characteristic feature of the early industrial Helsinki seascape. The modern office concepts emphasizing transparency compromise with the old industrial milieu.

The massive brick walls, the concrete silos and the dense grid of mushroom pillars of the former warehouse create a unique frame for the architecture of the offices. The original monumental and austere character of the warehouse has been preserved. The enlargement of the old narrow windows is camouflaged by brick colored copper grilles in



such a way that the characteristics of the façade stay essentially the same. The old courtyard wall is dismantled with a new glass façade to provide light into the deep building frame. The silos are used for functions that don't need openings for natural light. The railway tunnel crossing the volume is preserved and used as a part of the entrance.

The street and courtyard façades of the new building are laid in brick *in situ*. The window openings of the office rooms are connected to the rhythm of those of the warehouse by similar copper grilles. The walls of the new building follow the height of the eaves of the warehouse. The uppermost floors of the new building are clad in copper and recessed from the street front to maintain a continuous eaves line.

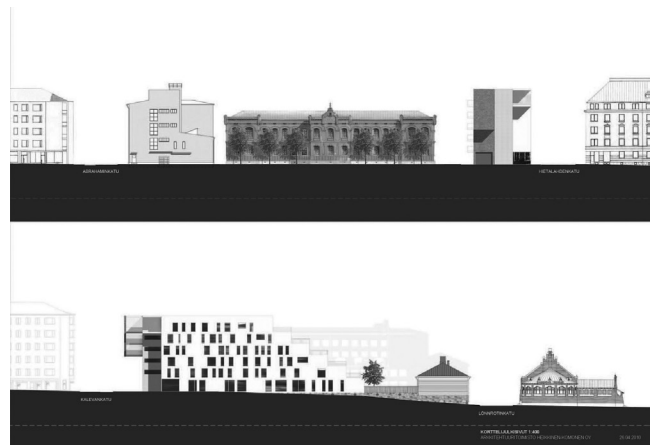
Creating a Historical and Functional Collage

The history of the city creates dissonances, surprising juxtapositions and unplanned layers making in the end — at its best — urban adventures. The eaves lines don't have to always match. The Guards Hospital Block in the middle of today's Helsinki is a good example of this. The block consists of buildings constructed in different periods during the last 200 years. The result is a rich palette of architecture of various styles, authors, materials and functions. Though the entity could not be more heterogeneous, the buildings close a harmonious oasis in the midst of the city fuss.

Our project was to research new uses for the old buildings and to study the parking arrangements and to test possibilities for additional constructions. Two wooden storages



11 Heikkinen-Komonen Architects, Mediacenter LUME for the Helsinki University of Art and Design, Helsinki, Finland, 2000, © Jussi Tiainen, 2000.



12 Heikkinen-Komonen Architects, Redevelopment Study of the Guards Hospital Block, Helsinki, Finland, 2006. © Heikkinen-Komonen Architects, 2006.

in the western corner of the block, which did not have any specific architectural or historical value, were proposed to be moved from the site. A new residential volume was outlined to match in height the surrounding cityscape and to give functional mix to the site.

Preserving a Historical Fragment

When the Port of Helsinki moved to its present location in Vuosaari the seafront of the city started to dramatically change and large areas were released to new functions, mainly for housing. Jätkäsaari peninsula, accessed before only by harbor traffic, is now a vast construction site and will be a new suburb for 16,000 people in the middle of the town. But not all the past will be swept away. A row of old terminals and warehouses will be preserved and renovated for new uses as fragments of the history and to give to the young neighborhood temporal depth.

Previously, when a ship sailed into harbour, men would

rush into the Huutokonttori to apply for work in unloading the cargo. With the advent of cargo containers, the need for manual labor in the harbor lessened noticeably, and the use of Huutokonttori was discontinued. The older part of the Huutokonttori was designed in 1937 by city architect Gunnar Taucher. The annex was finished in 1958. It was designed by architects A. Hytönen and R.-V. Luukkonen.

The new life for Huutokonttori was chosen to be a local Rescue Station and an Information Center for the Jätkäsaari city planning and housing projects. Zoning regulations prevented to alter the building in such a way which could “reduce its architectural, historical or urban value or change its architectural character.” The new functions obliged to make major changes in the interior, but the main stair, where the stevedores queued the job of the day, was restored to its original state as well as the gym in the attic floor and the large spaces in the 30’ies part of the building were dismantled from the later additions and material layers.

- 13** Gunnar Taucher; A. Hytonen and R.V. Luukkonen, Emergency Service Center Jätkäsaari, Helsinki, Finland, 1937; 1958. Photo of the building before our renovation as in its original use. Photographer and date unknown.



- 14** Heikkinen-Komonen Architects, Emergency Service Center Jätkäsaari, Helsinki, Finland, 2011. The main elevation before the renovation (above) and after (below). © Heikkinen-Komonen Architects, 2011.



- 15** Heikkinen-Komonen Architects, Tali-Ihantala Center, Lappeenranta, Finland, 2009. © Heikkinen-Komonen Architects, 2009.

On the exterior much of the fenestration had to be redesigned, but colors and scale in the details were preserved. The elevations are new, but look like the old ones, perhaps even better...

Contradiction

The battle of Tali-Ihantala was the largest battle ever fought in the history of the Nordic countries and it was decisive for the final military and political arrangements for Finland in the end of WW2. An architectural competition was launched in 2009 to design an entrance pavilion and a multimedia theater to exhibit this historical momentum. The location for the project was between two army barracks in the 18th century fortress of Lappeenranta close to the present Russian border.

Our entry was to make a clear contradiction towards the architectural vocabulary of the 18th century fortress and its historical buildings made during the following centuries

within its walls. A rusted, tilted box coated with corten steel was sinking into the ground like a huge sarcophagus or demolished military bunker. The surface of steel plates was engraved and laser-cut exposing the strategic military maps used during this battle. ■

Mikko Heikkinen

(b. 1949, Savonlinna, Finland). MSc in Architecture (1975), Helsinki University of Technology, Finland. Partner at the Heikkinen-Komonen Architects and professor for Basics of Architecture and Theory at the Aalto University. The firm's references include the Finnish Science Museum "Heureka" near Helsinki (1988), the Finnish Embassy in Washington D.C. (1994), the European Film College in Denmark (1993), the Max Planck Institute of Molecular Cell Biology and Genetics in Dresden (2001) and schools in Guinea, Africa (1994-99). Heikkinen was an Artist Professor for Architecture (2003-2008) nominated by the Arts Council of Finland and he is Honorary Fellow of the American Institute of Architects. He received the Finland Award (1996), the Aga Khan Award for Architecture (2001) and the Heinrich Tessenow Gold Medal (2003).



**Hiroyuki Suzuki
(1945–2014)**

We must bring to you all a very heartbreaking notice of the sudden and totally unexpected loss of a giant, our beloved and most admired Professor Hiroyuki Suzuki, who was not only the former and first president of docomomo Japan but also a Professor Emeritus of The University of Tokyo, Professor at Aoyama Gakuin University Graduate School and the General Director of the Museum Meiji-Mura (a major outdoor architectural museum). He had passed away on February 3, 2014 in a hospital in Tokyo. The cause of death was due to a respiratory complication from pneumonia. He was 68 years old. He was survived by his wife and daughter.

Professor Suzuki (or Suzuki-Sensei, as he was affectionately called) was born in 1945. After graduating from The University of Tokyo in 1968, he continued his architectural study at The Graduate School of Architecture of the same university. Upon completing his master degree, he became a tenure-track lecturer/professor at the same The University of Tokyo, and in 1974, he went to The Courtauld Institute of Art at Somerset House in London for two years as a visiting scholar for further architectural history study. The Courtauld Institute of Art is an independent college of the University of London. Returning to Japan, he became an assistant professor, and in 1990, he became a professor of architecture at The University of Tokyo, furthering his studies until retirement in 2009.

Suzuki-Sensei attended the 5th **docomomo** International Conference in Stockholm, Sweden in 1998, as part of the observing tentative member of Japanese delegate. Subsequently, he was instrumental in the establishment of **docomomo** Japan in 2000. Thus, he became the founding president of **docomomo** Japan. With his enthusiastic leadership, **docomomo** Japan was able to successfully host the major exhibitions of **docomomo** 20 Japan in 1999 and **docomomo** 100 Japan in 2005. Suzuki-Sensei has worked

diligently for the last 15 years as the president of docomomo Japan to promote and preserve the certain historical and cultural value of the architecture based on the notion of Modern Movement in Japan as an active frontrunner. We must reiterate here that docomomo Japan owes much to the extraordinary effort of Suzuki-Sensei.

Suzuki-Sensei's literary output in Japanese of books, essays and journal articles were numerous, and in English language publications including such as 'Contemporary Architecture of Japan 1958–1984' (Rizzoli, New York, 1985) and Shuhei Endo: Paramodern Architecture (Phaidon Press, UK, 2006) are well known.

Suzuki-Sensei played a critical roll in the successful preservation of Hizuchi Elementary School which received the 2012 World Monuments Fund, Knoll Modernism Prize in New York. There are numerous other preservation works as well such as the International House of Japan, Tokyo Central Post Office, Osaka Central Post Office, Kyoto Kaikan, and so on. Additionally, he was involved in the restoration project of the Tokyo Station (completed in 2012). Many among the buildings he cited through **docomomo** Japan have subsequently been registered as Important Cultural Properties of Japan.

His effort was crucial for the organization and inauguration of The National Archives of Modern Architecture which opened in May 2013. As such, Suzuki-Sensei always gave his energy in the important task of carrying the heritage of architecture based upon the Modern Movement to the future generations. His enormous contribution to our cause is simply immeasurable. His personable and warm character made us work in harmony. His keen and deep insights instantly invigorated us intellectually. His leadership is irreplaceable. Hence, we all mourn gravely of Suzuki-Sensei's passing here and now.

Words are inadequate to express, but once again, we, all of us members of **docomomo** Japan, collectively tender Suzuki-Sensei our deepest condolences. And we pledge to carry on our work in accordance with the course he set.

We appreciate for all your concerns and goodwill extended to us in Japan. Thank you.

Sincerely. ■

Hiroshi Matsukuma
docomomo Japan President

Translated into English by Shinichiro Ohnishi.

Conservation and Renovation Project of Hizuchi Elementary School

History

Hizuchi Elementary School is located in Yawatahama City, Ehime Prefecture, which is about 450 miles southwest of Tokyo and on the western shores of Shikoku Island in Japan. It was designed by the municipal architect MATSUMURA Masatsune¹ (1913–1993) and completed between 1956 and 1958.

Hizuchi Elementary School has a number of architectural characteristics. They are summarized in the following 6 points.

1. Important example of cluster-style school which separates classroom from corridor.
2. Dual-façade fenestration which allow natural light into classrooms throughout the day.
3. Hybrid structural system which combines wood and steel.
4. Rich spatiality which contemporary architecture lacks.
5. Spatial embodiment of democratic thought of education after World War II in Japan.
6. Original interpretation of western modern architecture.

Hizuchi Elementary School was selected as one of the twenty most representative modern buildings in Japan by **docomomo** Japan in 1999. However, despite this recognition, the building did not meet modern seismic protection. Also, due to the advanced deterioration of the structure over its fifty-year life, Hizuchi Elementary School had suffered from many functional problems such as rain-leakage. The extended debate over these matters was finally resolved when the consortium of experts (described below), through working closely with board of education of Yawatahama City, developed a plan that would restore the structure while adapting it to meet modern safety and educational requirements.

The Restoration

In 2006 detailed survey of present situation was executed. Based on the result of this survey, the consortium developed a concrete plan for renovation and, from 2008 to 2009, the school was meticulously restored: original elements were used wherever possible, with 459 of 462 original pillars and over 90% of architectural fittings re-used; paint colors were restored through trace research; damaged



01 General view from south. © Toru Kitamura, 2009.



02 Entrance hall. © Toru Kitamura, 2009.



03 Restoration work in progress. © Yoshiaki Hanada, 2009.

tiles were replicated with original molds; original glass was replaced with safety glass; classrooms were restored into specific rooms such as a music room and an arts & crafts room. And a new wing which contained classrooms was constructed in keeping with the original architecture.

The project is believed to be the first case of an architecturally significant modern wooden building restoration in Japan. In 2012, the consortium members won the Annual Award of the Architectural Institute of Japan and World Monuments Fund/Knoll Modernism Prize and Hizuchi Elementary School was designated as a national important cultural property of Japan. Moreover

in 2013 the consortium members won the Architectural Heritage Conservation Award of docomomo.

Architectural Consortium for Hizuchi Elementary School

The Consortium was formed in 2005, after Yawatahama City established a planning committee for Hizuchi Elementary School's renovation. Six experts – architects and professors – then came together to work on the project with City officials. In addition to the City, the individual members of the consortium are: Hiroyuki Suzuki¹, professor at Aoyama Gakuin University; Kiyotada Magata, professor at Ehime University; Yoshiaki Hanada, professor at Kobe Design

University; Kouichi Wada, president of Wada Architectural Design Atelier; Kazutomi Takechi, CEO of Atelier A&A Ltd; and Mikio Koshihara, professor at the University of Tokyo. ■

Yoshiaki Hanada

docomomo Japan member

- 1 For more details about MATSUMURA Masatsune, please refer to HANADA Yoshiaki, Architect MATSUMURA MASATSUNE and Another Modernism, Kajima Institute Publishing Co., Ltd. 2011.
- 2 Hiroyuki Suzuki, former Chair of **docomomo** Japan, passed away on February 2, 2014. I along with all other members of the Consortium wish to convey our deepest condolences.

Modern in Venice Absorbing Modernity 1914–2014 at the 14th International Architecture Exhibition

The 2014 Venice Architecture Biennale is on display from June to November. This year's edition is directed by Rem Koolhaas and is bringing major novelties. For the first time the event will be held for six months and was assembled for a longer period than ever before. Koolhaas set this new schedule because he was committed to create a research-based exhibition. According to Paolo Baratta, the president of the Venice Biennale, this represents an unprecedented method that had never been used in past editions. The director engaged all participants in the theme *Fundamentals* and tried to establish a narrative between the show's three main components: *Absorbing Modernity*, *Elements of Architecture* and *Monditalia*.

Absorbing Modernity 1914–2014 is the theme offered to the sixty-six participating countries for showing their processes of modernization in the last century. In his provocative initial statement, Koolhaas invited all countries to reflect on the “erasure of national characteristics in favor of the almost universal adoption of a single modern language”. Most curators accepted the challenge and focused on specific national character and on the singularities of their countries' modernity. Throughout the *Giardini*, the *Arsenale* and some Venetian palaces, the exhibition presents a many-sided portrait of architectural modernity. Although using diverse strategies on display and aiming at different results, the national pavilions throw new light on the history of 20th-century architecture.

Great Failures in French Modernism

The French pavilion presents a critical exhibition curated by Jean-Louis Cohen, which received a Special Mention from the Jury. *Modernity: Promise or Menace?* focuses on the contradictions of the Modern Movement project, by portraying four French unsuccessful experiences.

The exhibition is divided in four parts: “Jacques Tati and Villa Arpel: Object of Desire or Ridiculous Machine?”; “Jean Prouvé: Constructive Imagination or Utopia?”;

“Heavy Panels: Economies of Scale or Monotony?”; and “Grands Ensembles: Healing Heterotopias or Places of Seclusion?”. Each part is represented by a large-scale object and linked-up to the others through a ubiquitous film.

The curator's statement argues that France has shaped modernity since 1914. The exhibition succeeds at expressing modernism as a complex reality by representing its great expectations and ultimate disillusion. From Jacques Tati's comedy to the tragedy of Drancy internment camp, France's discourse aims at epitomizing the Modern Movement itself.



01 Office US. USA Pavilion, *Giardini*.
© Zara Ferreira, 2014.

While France was focusing on its flops, other pioneers of the Modern Movement architecture chose to celebrate it. The Netherlands pays homage to Bakema with *Open*; Great Britain shows its specifically national forms of architectural and cultural modernity with a *Clockwork Jerusalem*; and *Office US* presents the American hegemony through corporate architecture, creating a repository of its worldwide contribution.

The Unwritten Story of Latvian Post-War Architecture

The *Biennale* was an opportunity for some countries to develop their first inquiries on 20th-century architectural legacy. Latvia, for instance, presents an exhibition curated by NRJA (No Rules Just Architecture) that asserts the need for acknowledged research and patrimonial evaluation of modern architecture in the country. The curators wish to start an informed debate on the future of these buildings that are currently at risk. They believe that biases towards Soviet architecture have blocked an objective assessment until the present moment; they name “aversion”, “uncritical nostalgia” and “superficial hipster joy” the responsables for the current situation.

Unwritten stands as an effort for starting a comprehensive survey on Latvia's recent architectural output. The exhibition develops a work-in-progress database performed by a bright installation. The collected examples of Latvian 20th-century architecture are presented in paper sheets hanging from the ceiling, which will continue to be piled up throughout the months of the *Biennale*.



02 *Modernity: Promise or Menace?* France Pavilion, *Giardini*. © Margarida Quintã, 2014.



03 *Monolith Controversies*. Chile Pavillion, *Arsenale*. © Margarida Quintã, 2014.



04 *Fair Enough: Russia's Past, our Present*, Russia Pavillion, *Giardini*. © Margarida Quintã, 2014.



05 *Unwritten*. Latvia Pavillion, *Arsenale*. © Margarida Quintã, 2014

Other post-socialist societies are dealing with similar challenges but using distinctive approaches to display their recent architectural past. Armenia, for instance, exhibits *The Capital of Desires* using Yerevan's modernism to represent the Soviet Armenian era. Russia shows *Fair Enough*, which is an original exhibition using the universal manners of a trade fair to advertise Russian modern ideas. According to the jury, the Russian Pavilion received a Special Mention "for showcasing the contemporary language of commercialization of architecture".

The winner of this year's Silver Lyon, Chile, also alludes to the Soviet influence in the country. *Monolith Controversies* is a notable exhibition set around a large concrete panel produced in the 1970's. At that time, the Soviet Union sponsored social housing programs in Chile by developing prefabrication systems. Chilean modernity is shown through an essential element of architecture embodying political and ideological debates.

Arab Modernism Collected by Bahrain

The Kingdom of Bahrain presents *Fundamentalists and Other Arab Modernisms*, documenting one hundred modern buildings across the Arab World. This architectural legacy is showed in "a subjective, non-exhaustive and sometimes fictional reading", as pointed out by the curators. The project is related to the Arab Center for Architecture, which is engaged in safeguarding the archival architecture heritage of this region.

The exhibition catalogue presents the collection of buildings and is used, simultaneously, as a relevant element to the display. Tall wooden shelves, in which countless catalogues are stored, outline a circular space with a large table. Sitting around the table, visitors can listen to political discourses, in different languages, from each Arab country. A map of the region with the buildings' location is shown in the table while a projection of the speakers takes place in the ceiling.

Focusing on the architectural legacy of the pan-Arab project, the Bahrain initiates a pioneering task. Modernism in the region is naturally linked to Colonialism, but the curators establish a chronological reading identifying different stages on its absorption within the last century.

Countries like Morocco and Kuwait, both participating for the first time in the Architecture Biennale, are also dealing with remains of 20th-century political and cultural transnationalism. Morocco presents *Fundamental(ism)s*, which is an exhibition divided in two distinctive periods; the first section is devoted to 20th-century modern housing experiments and the second to



06 *Fundamentalists and Other Arab Modernisms.* Kingdom of Bahrain Pavillion, *Arsenale*. © Ansgar Werrelmann, 2014.



07 *Acquiring Modernity,* Kuwait Pavillion, *Arsenale*. © Margarida Quintã, 2014.

08 *Forms of Freedom: African Independence and Nordic Models.* Nordic Countries Pavillion, *Giardini*. © Alexandre Delmar, 2014.



contemporary speculative projects in the Saharan desert. Kuwait displays *Acquiring Modernity* using the Kuwait National Museum, designed by Michel Ecohard, to represent the establishment of the state and its history of modernization.

Modern Africa by the Nordics

The Nordic Pavilion presents an exhibition on the modern production developed by Nordic architects in Tanzania, Kenya and Zambia in the 1960s. *Forms of Freedom: African Independence and Nordic Models* displays the architectural output of Nordic development aid in the newly established African nations.

The exhibition, curated by Nina Berre and Space Group, is part of a larger project developed by the National Museum in Oslo, Norway. The curators realized this legacy has been poorly studied, documented and exhibited until the present moment. Therefore, the *Biennale* is a first occasion to display a partial collection of buildings and projects from this historical period.

The show was specially tailored to Sverre Fehn's Pavilion: a series of walls, built-in the ceiling structure, present the chronological chart of projects. Iwan Baan and Mette Tronvoll's photographs complete the set showing contemporary aspects of selected buildings.

Nordic architects developed symbols for African independence using modern architectural language. In this case, modernism is presented as a synonym of freedom and hope for Africa. Nonetheless, Sub-Saharan African countries have many different stories to tell about the last one hundred years in the continent. The *Architecture Biennale*, unfortunately, could not cover a significant part of that narrative.

The five Portuguese-speaking African Republics of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe are portrayed in the exhibition *Ilha de São Jorge*, occurring in Venice from June 6 to July 6, 2014. The show curated by Beyond En-

tropy Africa is not officially part of *Absorbing Modernity 1914-2014* but is relevantly adding to the debate. With contributions from several scholars, architects and artists, the exhibition catalogue collects information on the ways modernity was developed, absorbed or rejected in these countries. With a common and recent colonial past, the five African countries share a cultural heritage with each other and with Portugal, overlapped with their own traditions and geographies. This contemporary struggle is the link between the seven videos presented at *Ilha de São Jorge*.

In spite of some blanks, *Absorbing Modernity 1914-2014* is a wide-ranging exhibition on recent world history of architecture. National pavilions, in general, present serious and precise investigations on their latest years. Although the commission was to reflect on the years between 1914 and 2014, most countries focused on their Post-War period. The contributions do not present uniformity or international tendencies but stress on "modernity with national features". The diversity resulting from this common strategy is on the origin of Koolhaas most interesting conclusions regarding *Absorbing Modernity*. In his vision, this exhibition questions "the so called 'end of modernism' that Portoghesi and Jencks had already proclaimed in the 1980s." He goes as far as stating that the postmodernism presented by the first *Biennale* is not more than a "confuse footnote" when looking at all sixty-six national narratives. Provocative as ever, Koolhaas also declares that "modernity has served so many different master narratives that it has become, finally, ideologically neutral." Furthermore, he points out his success at presenting an architectural exhibition that does not mention major architects. He believes that these countries' modernization was translated into architecture, but he devalues architect's real impact on the process.

The Korean Pavilion won the Golden Lyon with the exhibition *Crow's Eye View: the Korean Peninsula*, which tries to establish a

common reading between North and South Korea. The jury highlighted the curator's efforts in "presenting a new and rich body of knowledge of architecture and urbanism in a highly charged political situation." Minsuk Cho put up a dense show using many different materials to present an architectural discourse from this geopolitical territory. The awarded countries, Korea and Chile, are both peripheral in the traditional history of 20th century architecture. Their non-West contributions not only complete our vision of the recent past but also inspire a potential future. ■

Editor's Note

Absorbing Modernity 1914-2014 had the participation of:

Monolith Controversies — Chile
Commissioner: Cristóbal Molina, **docomomo** Chile

Modernity: Promise or Menace? — France
Curator: Jean Louis Cohen, **docomomo** France member

Crow's Eye View: The Korean Peninsula — Korea Curator: Changmo Ahn, **docomomo** Korea

Acquiring Modernity — Kuwait Deputy Commissioner: Zahra Ali Baba, in charge of the on-going creation process of **docomomo** Kuwait.

...Condenados a Ser Modernos — Mexico
Commissioner: Maria Margarita Segarra Lagunes, **docomomo** Mexico

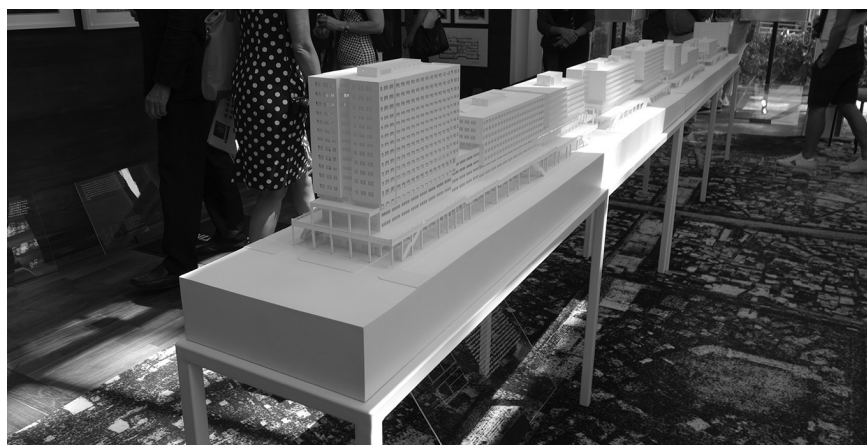
Open: A Bakema Celebration — The Netherlands
Curators: Dirk van den Heuvel, **docomomo** Netherlands

Forms of Freedom. African Independence and Nordic Models — Nordic Countries
Curator: Nina Berre, **docomomo** Norway

Homeland. News From Portugal — Portugal
Participant: Zara Ferreira, **docomomo** International

Officieux — USA
Curator: Ashley Schafer, **docomomo** US member

docomomo International congratulates all the **docomomo** members participants. Special greetings for Chile and Korea, for the achievement of the Silver's and Golden's Lion, respectively.



09 *Crow's Eye View: the Korean Peninsula*, Republic of Korea Pavilion, Giardini. © Margarida Quintã, 2014.

La Cité du Lignon has been distinguished with the Europa Nostra and SIA Awards

The Re-Use research on the Housing Complex of Lignon (Switzerland, Geneva) has been awarded with the Europa Nostra Prize for Research in 2013. The project, published in **docomomo** Journal 44 (2011/1), has been developed by the EPFL's Laboratory of Techniques and Preservation of Modern Architecture (TSAM), under the leadership of Franz Graf and Giulia Marino, **docomomo** Switzerland members. "The problem of energy efficiency affects all buildings and particularly social housing of the post-war period. The case becomes one of great significance when we consider the *Cité du Lignon*, which has been recognized, since its inception, as an icon of modern architecture, and therefore of international interest. The challenge is the need to introduce new materials for comfort and insulation into structures designed from the start as streamlined and minimalist. The Jury was fascinated by the problem when applied to this particular site. The rigor of the methodology and the exemplary thorough-

ness of the conclusions of this research left out an award beyond doubt. "*The Cité du Lignon* near Geneva (1963–1971) is the most ambitious and large-scale of all housing projects in Switzerland. Its heritage value was recognized in 2009 by the adoption of a site plan, giving protection on an urban scale and recommending the preservation of the whole site and its remarkable outdoor areas. Faced with new energy use regulations — a priority in Switzerland — a reduction in energy consumption in the *Cité* was unavoidable. Hoping to provide a framework for future interventions, the research conducted by the TSAM laboratory between 2008 and 2011 had a twofold objective: conservation of the existing fabric and at the same time a reduction in fuel consumption. In the wider context of the energy consumption problem throughout the canton of Geneva, this pilot research has been the means to develop an evaluation method, embodying several different relevant criteria, which could define the most appro-

priate forms of intervention. This initiative, given its encouraging early results, introduces a conservation tool which can be applied to a great range of buildings from all periods. Recently the research *La Cité du Lignon* (1963–1971). *Étude Architecturale et Stratégies d'Intervention* has been also distinguished with the SIA (*Société Suisse des Ingénieurs et des Architectes*) Award. The JURY stated that "the strategies for the improvement of the *Cité du Lignon* striking in their pragmatism, their targeting objectives and interdisciplinary roots. Through a concerted commitment involving authorities and owners over the long term, the allegedly conflicting demands have been optimally aligned and a series of housing have been already restored successfully. Respectful of cultural and architectural values of existing buildings, this approach represents a valuable reference whose scope far exceeds the Swiss context, for a wider approach for the rehabilitation of large ensembles from the 1960s and 70s". ■

Sources

<http://www.sia.ch/fr/actuel/regards/distinctions/strategies-dintervention-pour-la-cite-du-lignon/>
<http://www.europeanostra.org/awards/113/>
<http://tsam.epfl.ch/>



01 © Claudio Merlini.

The School Building “The Ship” has been distinguished with the 2013 Brinkgreve Award

The School building “The Ship” in Amsterdam, rehabilitated by Wessel de Jonge - Architecten BNA BV, won the annual Brinkgreve Award for the best adaptive re-use & restoration project in Amsterdam of 2013.

The distinctive former First Technical School along one of Amsterdam's main avenues has recently been fully restored and transformed into an up-to-date school building for the Cygnus Grammar School. The remarkable modernist structure, better known as “The Ship”, has been adapted to current insights on education as well as to contemporary health requirements according to recent governmental guidelines to improve the ventilation of school buildings. The government program as well involves funding incentives and, as a result, many school buildings in Holland are now upgraded in terms of climate control and sustainability.

The building was designed in 1952-1956 by the architect JB Ingwersen and strongly

inspired by the *Unité d'Habitation* of Le Corbusier. Partly because of the expressive structure of exposed concrete it has been designated as a national landmark in 2009. The concrete, which had been partly painted in the 1990s, was fully cleaned and carefully repaired, restoring the original texture and various natural colours of the material surfaces. Great care was given to restore the many art works that are integrated in the concrete as bas-reliefs, as well as the original colour scheme of the interior.

Bespoke insulation glazing is placed directly into the concrete rebates of the fixed façade elements. The distinctive ‘brise soleil’, the screen façade of prefabricated, mechanically compacted concrete elements, was inspired by Mediterranean examples but appeared in our climate as an inadequate shading device. The timber sliding windows have been replaced with an improved sound insulation but natural ventilation by simply opening them was no longer possible due to

the traffic noise. Given the limited budgets for educational facilities, a climate control system had to be developed without using mechanical cooling. As far as possible, the physical features of the building have been used to enhance the indoor climate, for instance by making good use of the heat-absorbing capacity of the concrete structure. Fresh air is blown into the class rooms. To avoid an excessive amount of ventilation ducts in the building, the corridors and stair cases are used as abduction ‘channels’. The Cygnus Grammar School is now accommodated in a relatively sustainable building, while CO₂ emissions are a greatly reduced.

Last December 17, the project by Wessel de Jonge architects was awarded the “Brinkgreve Bowl” as the best restoration and adaptive re-use project in Amsterdam of 2013. ■

Revised translation by Wessel de Jonge, from:
<http://www.wesseldejonge.nl/cygnus.php>



01 © Photo: Raoul Suermondt, The Hague

Docomomo International discussing the Future of the Museum of Modern Art Kamakura by Junzo Sakakura

docomomo Chair Ana Tostões had stayed in Tokyo from 20th to 23rd February 2014 on the way to attend the scientific committee for the 13th **docomomo** International Conference, in Seoul. There were three missions for her visit.

First of all, she met the Kanagawa Prefecture representatives of Culture and Education in order to confirm the conservation and reuse of the Museum of Modern Art Kamakura (1951, MoMA Kamakura) designed by Junzo Sakakura (1901–1969) — See **docomomo** Journal, 49 (2013/2) —, adding to it the discussion with the director of the MoMA Kamakura, Tsutomu Mizusawa, on the future of the museum.

Kanagawa Prefecture representatives understood the revaluation of the MoMA Kamakura as a master piece of modern architecture in Japan, however, they did not declare to conserve it but they promised to decide some kind of directions including any possibility of conservation and maintaining this masterpiece by the end of 2014.

Ana appreciated their understanding of the **docomomo**'s missions; furthermore, she reconfirmed to promote any continuous investigation of its historical outstanding values as modern masterpiece.

After the discussion, she moved to Kamakura to visit the site and to meet its director, Mr. Mizusawa. Before the meeting, she looked around the Museum to take photos like a child. Because this building is one of her favorites (which she used as the image of hers Christmas and New Year Card 2012). Their discussion about not only the museum but also about artists and art history reflect upon their intellectual sympathy toward the Modern Movement in art and architecture, developing the issue of living heritage and the new museum in Seoul as the venue of the 2014 Docomomo International Conference. Secondly, she visited the architectural office of the Japanese prestigious modern architect, Fumihiko Maki (1928–), to show her gratitude for his acceptance to be present at the 13th **docomomo** International Conference as

a Keynote Speaker. Mr. Maki has shown his understanding of docomomo activities for long time, especially because of his appreciation of the modernity of Kameki Tsuchiura (1897–1996) house as his decision to become architect in his childhood.

Thirdly, she visited the Exhibition *Une Architecture Pour L'homme: Junzo Sakakura in Architectural Documents at the National Archives of Modern Architecture*, Agency for Cultural Affairs as a first architectural archive in Japan, and she had a seminar lecture on the *Re-Use Modern Heritage* for the **docomomo** Japan members, at the Conference Room of the Tokyo Metropolitan Festival Hall (1961) in Ueno, designed by Kunio Maekawa (1905–1986), which is on the **docomomo** Japan's registration list.

Her lecture showed us the case-study of the Headquarters and Museum of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon of which especially she had committed to its conservation and renovation work in explaining the scientific data and definition of conservation of modern architecture. Furthermore, her work complied documentations of the buildings and architects, that is to say, one of the ideal actions for **docomomo**, suggesting us to the future of the MoMA Kamakura. ■

Kenji Watanabe,
docomomo Japan Coordinator

© Photos by **docomomo** Japan, 2014.



01 Meeting with the Kanagawa Prefecture.



02 **docomomo** International Chair at the MoMa Kamakura, Mr. Mizusawa.



03 Meeting with Professor Fumihiko Maki.



04 Exhibition *Une Architecture Pour L'homme: Junzo Sakakura in Architectural Documents*, National Archives of Modern Architecture, Agency for Cultural Affairs.



05 Seminar lecture on the *Re-Use Modern Heritage* by **docomomo** International Chair, Tokyo Metropolitan Festival Hall.



**La Conservazione delle Policromie
nell'Architettura del XX Secolo**
**Conservation of Colour in
20th Century Architecture**

Edited by Giacinta Jean
Publisher: SUPSI | Nardini Editore
ISBN: 978-88-404-4225-9
Language: Italian, English, German
Year: 2013

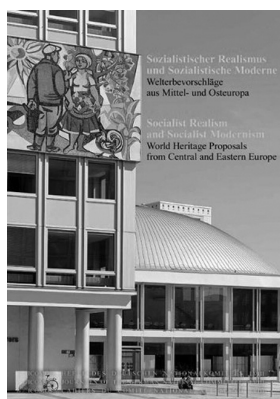
The book, carefully edited by Giacinta Jean, is another precious and helpful step in the research on the preservation of modern architecture, developed within the project *Enciclopedia Critica per il Restauro e il Riuso dell'Architettura del XX Secolo* (carried out in collaboration with the Academy of Architecture of the Università della Svizzera Italiana, the EPFL, the ETH Zurich, and the SUPSI in Lugano). The book contains the proceedings of a seminar organized at the SUPSI in February 2012 (texts in Italian, English and German, with resumes in English).

The issue of polychromy is presented through the eyes of architectural historians in the first two chapters of the book ("Color as Part of the Design", "Color in Urban Spaces"), but it is within the following chapters ("Color Technology", "Architectural Paint Research and Conservation Strategy") that we can figure out a real interesting interdisciplinary approach. The understanding of the cultural significance of color, together with the understanding of techniques and materials, is presented never forgetting that these informations find their goal in creating the conservation project decision-making. In order to correctly conserve architectural polychromy indeed — as pointed out by Giacinta Jean — we need to know it both from a material and from a cultural point of view.

Today in the landscape of conservation of modern architecture is no longer a surprise to anyone to discover that the MOMO has

never been white. The big misunderstanding promoted by black and white photographic reproduction is now permanently dropped. But we need to step forward and the contribution that this book is offering to the research, however, is much more than a simple collection of state of the art: it opens up, maybe for the first time, a deep reflection on the meaning of conservation and restoration of polychrome surfaces. It is finally put aside the idea that it is enough to do some thorough survey, scrape a little with a scalpel by a skilled restorer, to get all the answers you need and then choose which color is the "original". Here some scholars in their contributions and the editor in her keen and clear introduction present the issue of the conservation of the entire statigraphy of surfaces as the enrichment that the building got from history, that — finally! — acquires a dignity that requires a deliberate choice and not the trivial and uncertain return to any supposed original state, which for years has depleted many of the modern masterpieces at the very moment of their restoration.

Andrea Canziani
docomomo Italia Secretary General



**Sozialistischer Realismus und
Sozialistische Moderne:
Welterbevorschlge aus
Mittel und Osteuropa**
**Socialist Realism
and Socialist Modernism:
World Heritage
Proposals from Central
and Eastern Europe**

By ICOMOS German Committee
Publisher: Hendrik Baessler Verlag, Berlin
ISBN: 978-3930388905
Language: Deutsch, English
Year: 2013

The campaign for the "patrimonialisation" of the controversial architectural and urban legacy of 20th century state communism, as a heritage equal in status to the "canonical Modernism" of capitalist countries, is now well-established across Europe. Following initial historical research and documentation efforts (including incidentally our own **docomomo** ISC/U+L "Socialist Mass Housing" conference of 2011: <https://sites.eca.ed.ac.uk/docomomoisc/publications/e-proceedings-4/>), attention is now increasingly moving to the more challenging task of active preservation and heritage management. Here a leading role has been played, since 2010, by a remarkable trans-national initiative led by ICOMOS's Polish and German working-parties and the ICOMOS ISC on Twentieth Century Heritage (ISC20C) — an initiative that has generated over half a dozen scholarly conferences and workshops in Poland and Eastern Germany, and from which *Sozialistischer Realismus und Sozialistische Moderne* is, to date, the most ambitious published output. The book shows evidence of two major shifts of emphasis that have taken place during the life of the initiative. Firstly, reflecting the universal conservation impulse of ever-expanding scope (and echoing **docomomo**'s expansion from canonical interwar European modernism to embrace the vast global output of post-war modernism), the project has been extended from a tightly defined but restrictive focus on Stalinist Socialist Realism to a broader concern with pre-1989 "socialist modernism" across the entire socialist bloc. Secondly, it has increasingly focused on the specific policy agenda of securing designations of World Heritage Sites, either individually or as trans-regional/national "serial nominations" of thematically grouped subjects. This approach sets out to exploit the unique media and political appeal of the WHS "brand", and the reliance of the UNESCO-ICOMOS heritage apparatus on layers of official experts and administrative bureaucracies, as a way of sidestepping the often controversial image of the socialist heritage at a national level: this is not, after all, a subject ideally suited to conservation advocacy via civic activism and mobilisation of volunteer enthusiasts.

Reflecting this deliberate positioning within the "expert" strand of conservation, the book pursues two parallel agendas: administrative and scholarly. Administratively, it serves as a dossier of World Heritage nomination material for submission to the 2014 ICOMOS General Assembly in Florence, and thus is logically arranged in two parts, each of which is also of intrinsic academic interest.

The first part, largely authored by ICOMOS Germany and Poland members, explores in detail the administrative aspects of serial World Heritage nomination, and the issues and problems attending socialist heritage in general: the leading role played by Poland here is highly appropriate given that the reconstructed Warsaw Old Town is currently the only WHS whose nomination focused, even partly, on the architecture of Socialist Realism.

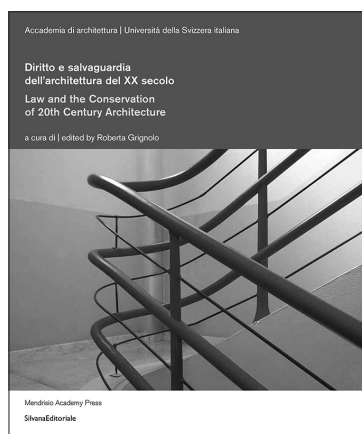
The second part of the book contains a series of 12 case-studies of potential World Heritage nominations, drawn from a range of former-socialist-bloc countries, and falling into two broad groups: large-scale urban ensembles and “representative” selections of key individual sites spanning the history of socialist rule in the country concerned. Some of the latter, such as the Armenian, Bulgarian and Slovenian chapters, are rather miscellaneous in character, whereas the Croatian contribution focuses thematically on representational sculptural monuments. The “urban ensemble” chapters are of greater interest, especially the multiple contributions from Germany and Poland. Most obviously appealing is the city-backed proposal for a twin WHS in Berlin that would contrast the Karl Marx Allee in the East and the Interbau 1957 (Hansaviertel) in the West, but the chapters on Krakow’s Nowa Huta and Warsaw’s MDM areas are also very fully developed (the latter including the bizarre post-socialist quirk of a Stalinist boulevard now named “Winnie the Pooh Street”), while Joerg Kirchner’s piece on the Lange Strasse in Rostock intriguingly explores the semi-submerged discourse of *Heimat* in the early GDR years. The book’s final three chapters explore the specific potential for nomination proposals, reviewing the existing tentative national lists (including complexes from Cuba, Belarus and Czech Republic) and elaborating the Berlin twin-site proposal into a fully-documented form suitable for inclusion in the German tentative list.

What of the future? To be sure, it will be fascinating to see how this ambitious initiative develops following the vast expansion of its scope from the highly-defined theme of Socialist Realism to encompass the entire socialist “universe” — something that could potentially conflict with the extreme selectivity of WHS designation. That expansion, of course, has geographical as well as chronological implications, and (reflecting not least the increasing World Heritage drive against Eurocentric designation policy) would presuppose at least an aspiration to evaluate the potential heritage-value of (and threats to) non-European set pieces of socialist architecture and urbanism in cities from Tashkent and Bratsk to Beijing. But that expansion would bring in its train a host

of new cultural-political controversies. For example: if only one city in the world could be designated as a World Heritage site to represent the “outstanding universal values” of totalitarian socialist urbanism, then by far the most outstanding candidate must surely be Pyongyang, in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea — but the likelihood of support from the relevant “state party” is by no means clear! Closer to “home”, though, controversy is not far away, as one of the proposed Ukrainian sites is located in territory now annexed by Russia. Perhaps the declared aim of the WHS system to “improve understanding between peoples and countries” may prove to be an unexpected benefit of this project, as a way of keeping open professional links at a time when revived “cold war politics” are already redrawing boundaries once again!

Miles Glendinning

docomomo ISC/Urbanism+Landscape Chair



**Dritto e Salvaguardia
dell'Architettura del XX Secolo
Law and the Conservation
of 20th Century Architecture**

Edited by Roberta Grignolo

Publisher: Mendrisio Academy Press /
Silvana Editoriale

ISBN: 978-88-3662722-6

Language: Italian, English, Germany, French

Year: 2014

If a reciprocal relationship exists between words and objects, between concepts and definitions, the actual title of the volume of collected contributions edited by Roberta Grignolo, already addresses a crucial and complex issue, that of the associations between law and conservation. Both these terms have multiple implications, especially when applied to 20th century architecture and to the specific elements which differentiate

the latter within the more general domain of built heritage.

Law is the body of legislation and rules aimed to protect citizens. In the case in point this is achieved by assuring better conditions of use, safety, health and comfort; by protecting the environment by reducing the consumption of energy and resources; by safeguarding architectural works from the recent past. Hence, it is on the materiality of 20th century buildings that the game concerning “the rights of monuments”, as well as the limits to and methods for their conservation, must be played out, juggling between regulatory enactment and the aims of laws.

By comparing the legal systems and requirements of several European countries and regions, by assessing the outcome of their contemporary application to 20th century built heritage, by assembling a series of case studies of virtuous examples and points of reference, the collection of contributions presents key-elements that demonstrate what can already be done to prevent partial or total destruction of such heritage.

While underscoring how the goal of a common regulatory framework is a key part of the rationale for the research project *Critical Encyclopaedia for the Reuse and Restoration of 20th Century Architecture*, developed by the Swiss architecture schools over the past few years, Roberta Grignolo, in the introductory essay, lays out the elements and open issues of this multifaceted and frequently inconsistent scenario: a variety of provisions and guidelines for the protection of architecture, enmeshed with disparate seismic, fire-safety, energy-saving, accessibility regulations, which, if applied indiscriminately, can modify the layout, structure, finishes and even the meaning of architecture from the recent past.

As underscored by Ana Tostões and Terje Nypan, one of the many challenges raised by its continuous presence, is the difficulty of comprehending that recent architecture belongs to a temporal context that has definitely come to a close. It is no coincidence that the word “duration” — e.g. the duration or time period set to assure protection or to maintain it, the duration of the type of use linked to the original building layouts, the duration or life span of buildings, components and materials, and related conservation issues and costs — recurs frequently in the arguments raised by legal experts and restoration architects from several European countries called upon to debate practice and competencies.

The solutions they suggest — observant and insightful interpretations of written and built texts (i.e. architectural works), informed and technically cognisant interventions — provide a map upon which common work

can progress, as advocated by Bruno Reichlin, to review legal systems at a European level and establish training programs for technical specialists in the field of regulatory compliance. The above solutions might also be considered pieces of an ideal mosaic of preserved 20th century architecture.

Carolina Di Biase
docomomo Italy



**La Cité de l'Étoile à Bobigny.
Candilis, Josic, Woods**

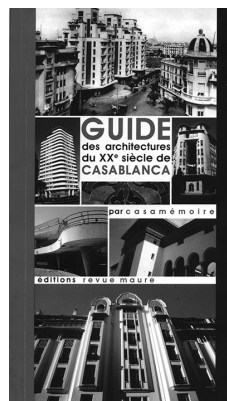
Edited by Richard Klein
Publisher: CREAPHIS EDITIONS, Paris
ISBN: 978-2354280826
Language: French
Year: 2014

Happy children playing on a cement block wall, against the backdrop of a dynamic architecture, a play of white squares in the spaces of a reinforced concrete frame, producing an impression of movement. This is the photo chosen by Richard Klein for the cover of his book on the *Cité de l'Étoile*, at Bobigny, built by architects Candilis, Josic and Woods (1954–63): youth, hope and vitality the defining image of this 727-home project, product of a national competition (Opération Million), a grand ensemble commissioned by Emmaüs to address the housing crisis affecting the most vulnerable.

The book is superbly assembled, providing a detailed documentary of the operation so as to understand and expose its architectural and urbanistic qualities. It tells the story of its life, its neglect and its hardships, and of its planned demolition avoided at the last minute through a “rediscovery” and recognition of its intrinsic value. The final chapter deals with the refurbishment now underway with the aim of bringing new purpose to the *Cité*. At a time when some of the most important social housing schemes in Europe struggle to avoid demolition — Robin Hoods Gardens,

London and *Toulouse-Le-Mirail* to name but two — the publication of this work is of the utmost importance: it reminds us, if we need be reminded, of the cultural richness, intelligence and social generosity of post-war housing schemes of this type; it delivers proof that the conservation project at the *Cité* takes the qualities of the existing fabric as its starting point instead of destroying them. The most important architectural projects in the 21st century, quantitatively and qualitatively, are those to existing buildings like the *Cité*. Here we are made to see again what ought to be blindingly obvious: what sense is there in abandoning existing resources, cultural or economic?

Franz Graf
docomomo Switzerland Chair



**Guide des Architectures
du XX siècle de Casablanca**

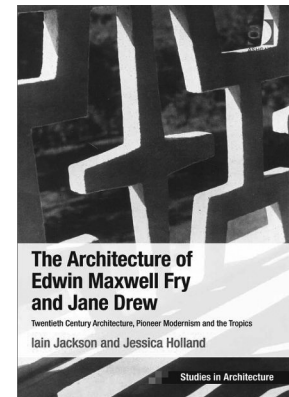
Edited by Casamémoire
(Association de Sauvegarde du Patrimoine Architectural du XX siècle au Maroc) in the framework of the project *Mutual Heritage*
Publisher: Revue Maure & Graphely
ISBN: 978-9954-501-87-0
Language: French
Year: 2011

Casablanca is an “open book of the architecture of the first half of the twentieth century” as already has been so well written. Indeed, the African metropole was a veritable laboratory of 1910s international architectural movements in the 1960s.

The Art-Deco, the Neo-Moroccan, the Bauhaus, the functionalist and other brutalist styles may have been developed with a boldness and an undeniably exceptional scale in the world, as evidenced by all specialists. This first guide, digestible and practical, with over a hundred representative buildings, is aimed for both students and researchers and for the general public lover

or simply curious about this quote in the peculiar physiognomy.

From the Publisher



**The Architecture of Edwin
Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew
Twentieth Century Architecture, Pioneer
Modernism and the Tropics**

Edited by Jackson Iain and Jessica Holland
Publisher: Ashgate Studies in Architecture
ISBN: 978-1-4094-5198-3
Language: English
Year: 2014

This book, highly documented with archival records, deeply examines and illustrates the lives and the architectural legacy of the British couple of architects Maxwell Fry (1899–1987) and Jane Drew (1911–1996).

Standing between a biography, a geographical index and also a socio-political history, this monographic book shows how their partnership was pioneer in the development of the modern architecture in Britain — contributing for the enrichment of the 20th century British history —, as they had played a key role in the development of the issue of designing with climate, through the brand of “tropical architecture”, in West Africa and India.

Through the positioning of Fry and Drew architecture, writing and educational legacy within wider frameworks, Jackson Iain and Jessica Holland give us a deeper knowledge about the transnational practices and the new forms of modern architecture developed in post-colonial territories.

Last but not least, this book has the particularity of revealing the life of one of the first woman to have a significant career in the field of architecture.

Zara Ferreira
International Director of **docomomo**



**Metabolism, the City of the Future.
Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in
Postwar and Present-Day Japan**

Edited by Hirose Mami, Sasaki Hitomi,
Maeda Naotake, Tagomori Miho, Tamayama
Ami, Yoshida Yuri, Yoshida Ayako
Publisher: Mori Art Museum,
Shinkenchiku-sha Co., Ltd, Tokyo
ISBN: 978-4-904700-25-9
Language: English
Year: 2011

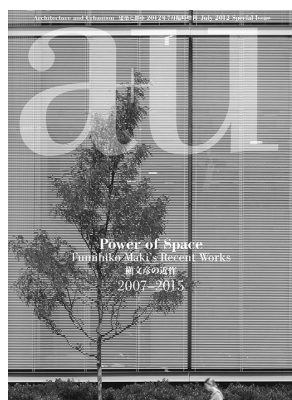
This catalogue, published following the exhibition *Metabolism, the City of the Future. Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*, organized by the Mori Art Museum, that took place in Tokyo, Japan, between 17th September 2011 and 15th January 2012, is the English-language edition of the original published in Japanese. This richly illustrated Catalogue explores through 16 essays the meaning of Metabolism, from a current perspective and with an interdisciplinary breadth, and how its' legacy continues to be value today.

Metabolism is a Japanese architecture movement launched at the *World Design Conference* 1960 in Tokyo.

Its name is taken from the biological phenomenon. Architecture critic Noboru Kawazoe, architects Masato Otaka, Fumihiko Maki, Kiyonori Kikutake, and Kisho Kurokawa, graphic designer Kiyoshi Awazu, and industrial designer Kenji Ekuon formed the Metabolism Group under the influence of architect Kenzo Tange. The movement also included other architects of the same generation, such as Arata Isozaki and Sachio Otani, and Metabolism became known worldwide as an architecture movement originating in Japan. At a time when Japan was recovering from war, and had rapid economic growth and a population explosion, the Metabolists contended that architecture and cities should be designed to continually grow and change in the same way as organic life. Keenly ambitious to give shape to a new future for Japan, the movement produced a large number of works.

Metabolism, the City of the Future is the first exhibition in the world to provide a comprehensive overview of this movement. It covers the period from 1930 during World War II, which can be seen as the eve of metabolism, to the 1960s when Metabolism took form, 1970 with Expo '70 Osaka, which was perhaps the greatest achievement of Metabolism, followed by the subsequent international development of the movement, and the legacy of Metabolism that continues to be of value today. The exhibition is presented in four main sections, entitled "Birth of Metabolism", "Era of Metabolism", "From space to environment" and Global Metabolism". The 500 or more exhibits from about 80 projects include models, drawings, sketches, photographs, archive film footage, and computer graphic, all on display. New CG images produced especially for this depict six future city plans including A Plan for Tokyo, 1969 — the revolutionary design of new Tokyo on Tokyo Bar by Kenzo Tange — demonstrating how the dynamic ideas of this architect still move audiences.

From the Foreword



**Power of Space: Fumihiko Maki's
Recent Works 2007-2015**

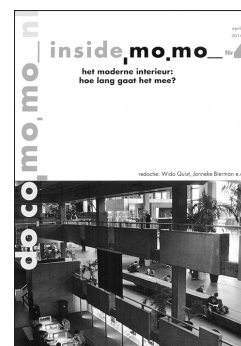
Edited by Nobuyuki Yoshida
Publisher: A+U Publishing Co., Ltd.
ISBN: 978-4-900211-71-1
Language: English and Japanese
Year: 2012

This highly documented publication demonstrates the worldwide work of the architect Fumihiko Maki (b. 1928, Tokyo), from 2007 to 2015. Important essays such as "Fumihiko Maki's Social Condenser for M.I.T." (by Edward Lifson, from USA), "Japanese Thoughts" (by Francesco Buzzzi, from Switzerland) and "Passages in the Landscapes of Time" (by David Leatherbarrow from the University of Pennsylvania, former contributor for

docomomo Journal 49) present end explore Fumihiko Maki's work and vision.

Ana Catarina Antunes

docomomo International member



**Insidemomo, het Moderne Interieur:
Hoe Lang Gaat het Mee?**

Edited by Wido Quist, Janneke Bierman,
Sander Nelissen, Frank Foole, Bianca
Eikhoudt and Harriën van Dijk
Publisher: Delft Digital Press
ISBN: 978-90-5269-416-0
Language: Dutch
Year: 2014

After *Ecomomo*, *Recomomo* and *Tempmomo*, a fourth annual thematic publication was put together and edited by **docomomo** Netherlands under the title of *Insidemomo, the Modern Interior: How Long Will it Last?* Several authors were asked to give their academic or professional opinion on questions regarding the ever changing use of residential and working environments on one hand, and preservation of the qualities of the Modern interior on the other hand. What are the main features and values of the 20th century interiors, especially the interiors of the post-war reconstruction period until the early 1970s? Besides describing and valuating the historical qualities, the challenges of conservation of modern interiors mainly lie in the intervention. How can changing taste, 21st century comfort, everyday wear and the wish for functional changes be combined with the values and opportunities of the modern interior?

With this publication, **docomomo** Netherlands focuses on the field of tension between the meticulously designed interiors and subsequent demands and wishes that can be perceived in modern heritage.

Does the demand for possible preservation of modern interiors restrict on renovation and adaptation, or is it a challenge to search for inventive and coherent proposals for the future?

From the Publisher