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Neo-liberalism and the Architecture of the Post Professional Era

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Preface

In 2014, I was the organizer and the co-chair of the conference of Contemporary Architecture and Urbanism in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. The term "post-professionalism" for the first time was introduced in the call for papers of this conference. The idea was to attract attention to the changes in the role and responsibilities of architects and urban designers, professional organizations and schools of architecture parallel to the neo-liberalization and globalization of states; to assert the end of the professionalism in architecture and urbanism; and to declare the new period as the "era of post-professionalism" (Sadri 2014).

Valuable discussions during the conference and especially in the evaluation session motivated me to continue working on this idea and initiate a collaborative book, as a new project. Springer accepted my proposal, and I published the call for chapters in 2015. This call began with the interrelations between the changes in political economy and the profession of architecture. It was stated that "globalization and neo-liberalization of the political economy in different nations has transformed the organization of labour power, instruments of production and their relations in recent decades. The industrial period's institutionalization of the state as modern, centralized, socialized and with a national identity is being replaced by the post-modern, glocal (global+local), multinational and privatized state". And parallel to all these changes, "the professions of architecture and urban planning have been faced with big transformations […] and have passed from the era of professionalism and entered to the 'post professional' era" (Sadri 2015).

Emphasizing on the recent boom of market-led motivations, it was argued in the call for chapters that "architecture […] is losing its public, national and social role". "The main motivation of architectural and urban practices in the post professional era has shifted from designers' personal attempts at creating spaces with high 'use value', in the public interest, towards image-oriented, high 'exchange value' productions of specialists for private interests".

In continuation of the call for chapters, in addition to the behaviour of the professionals, I tried to call attention to the effects of this transition in the structure of the profession, its institutional operations and education/research activities related to the profession. In this part, I shared my observations on the disappearance

of the sharp borders of the profession and the attempts to diversify services as part of the survival struggles of the profession and also as an indivisible characteristic of neo-liberal policies. In line with this purpose, "professional organizations changed their shells and became more independent institutes with more activities and visions beyond their traditional professional parameters. The intended technical and professional mono-type curricula of architecture and planning education changed to more diverse, theoretical and experimental educational programmes worldwide".

Manifesting the end of the profession of architecture and its crush under the neo-liberal and global capitalist order, I tried to remark the alternative movements of our era as the only hope for reclaiming and redefining architecture not as a close sectionist and elitist profession which it has always been in the service of power but as an open, ethical, responsive, humanitarian and even non-anthropocentric field of knowledge and skills. I noted that on the other side of the transition to this new era, "architecture and planning have created architectural and urban activism and remade the political agenda for architecture and urbanism by establishing diverse initiatives against war, natural disasters, environmental degradation, inequalities and violations of human rights".

As a result of all these changes, contrarily to the architectural profession of the era of professionalism, the post-professional architecture is not and cannot claim to be a public practice, because it appears either as a private, profit-oriented business or as an activist action. "While the first one derives from neo-liberalization of professionalism in architecture and urbanism, the second one is the reaction against [this] neo-liberalization".

Not only in the professional environment but also in the academy I was expecting a big resistance against this dissident call. Basically because it was challenging the attempts of the architecture society to persuade everyone that "the profession of architecture still has an important public role and actually nothing has been changed" and was openly inviting us to accept the reality and bury the profession and shut down the professional organizations and schools and look forward to establish a better order. However, this heterodoxal call surprisingly received significant number of proposals from all around the world, well-known schools, organizations and individuals. These proposals in different stages received comments, and the authors were encouraged to complete their texts in line with the general philosophy of the book. Almost half of these proposals, 18 chapters came to the final stage and have been ordered under the following five parts according to their topics:

1. The Rise and Fall of Professionalism in Architecture
2. Neo-Liberal Urban Policies and the Collapse of Architectural Profession
3. Size, Image and Architecture of Neo-Liberal Era
4. Resistance Against Neo-Liberal Architecture and Urbanism
5. Post-Professional Architecture and Academia

I invited Dr. Bilge İmamoğlu, Prof. Dr. Murat Soygeniş, Prof. Mehrdad Hadighi, Dr. Nishat Awan and Prof. Dr. Ashraf Salama, the co-chairs and invited speakers of the CAUMME II-2014 conference, to write forewords to these five chapters. After almost two years of work, the thoughts of the 31 authors came together and shaped this book. The 24 texts in this book from diverse points of view are shedding light on the transition of architecture and urban planning in different geographies or fields. Each text has its own originality and not necessarily or completely is corresponded to my own ideas. For this reason, I hope these texts can open variant further studies on the conception of the transition of the profession of architecture parallel to the other movements of our time, and of course I desire we can lead this transition to make changes that will bring peace, freedom and better quality of life for all inhabitants of this universe.

Kyrenia, Cyprus/New York, USA   Hossein Sadri

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Chapter 1
Introduction: Neo-liberalism and the End of the Profession of Architecture

Hossein Sadri

Architecture today refers to many incompatible theoretical and practical fields deriving from a very general understanding of studies of human habitats to very solid physical products designed by authorized architects. The confusion originating from the denotation of several concepts in the word architecture can be eliminated if and only if we try to identify clearly these concepts and their denotations and create several terms for each of these concepts and make them as clear as possible (Nuccetelli and Seay 2008, p: 40).

Today, the term of architecture is erroneously used to identify six distinguishable fields related to making human habitats. These are the culture of habitation building crafts, architectural design discipline, the profession of architecture, construction and real estate development business and spatial agency (Sadri 2017). Identifying the differences between these fields and denoting specific terms to each of these fields will prevent complication and help us to distinguish clearly the activities that can be specifically categorized under the profession of architecture.

1.1 Fields of Practice Related to Human Habitation Practices

(1) Culture of Habitation

Similar to all other living beings, individual or collective attempts of human beings in creating habitats for themselves result in the culture of habitation. Based on the

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local conditions of the habitat, this culture of habitation contains the skills, techniques and knowledge of adapting to nature for creating sustainable resources for the inhabitants' survival needs, such as drinkable water, preservable food and adequate shelter. This culture shapes the vernacular habitats, and its knowledge is being updated and transferred to the next generations.

(2) **Building Crafts**

As a result of the human settlement and establishment of civilization, domestication of nature and agriculture, building mastery or traditional building crafts have strengthened as a working area in the cities/castles and for centuries served the political, economic and religious powers until the end of the Feudalist era. Contrary to the culture of habitation and vernacular habitats, the building crafts have focused on the production of stronger, enduring, everlasting, high and large spaces, not compatible with climatic and local conditions, independent from the human scale and needs, and disassociated with the context and place (Kostof 2000; Roth 2007).

(3) **Architectural Design Discipline**

Spatial or architectural design discipline was formed at the intersection of art and technique. It has enabled the development of the architectural discourse, research and education as an intellectual field and played a significant role in the transformation of the building crafts. By providing the necessary education to become an architect, the spatial design discipline paved the way for shaping the profession of architecture (Ettlinger 2000; Wilkinson 2000).

(4) **Profession of Architecture**

The profession of architecture is a legal body which grants architects an exclusive right in shaping spaces and is nationally controlled along with the monopolistic guild structures protected by modern governments. This profession is a production-oriented field of practice which was founded, in direct association with the demands of industrialisation in the nineteenth century, by the educated architects being organized against the craftsmen and master builders (traditional architects) and supported by the capitalist/socialist modern states (Larson 1977; Draper 2000; Wilton 2000).

(5) **Construction and Real Estate Development Business**

Subsequent to the implementations of the neoliberal policies, governments withdrew their support from public life. Parallel to the privatization of services, such as education and health, the profession of architecture has also lost its public role and transformed into a business being brought under the control of private construction companies, real estate developers and contractors. Accordingly, protecting the interests of private enterprises became the primary mission of architects rather than their own professional profits and the public benefits (Sadri 2013).

Following the loss of the social role of the modern state, the profession of architecture, as the by-product of the modern state, and its authority derived from its

public mission has been weakened and in most countries has even come to an end. Architecture which was previously functioning as an arm of the public authority turned into a subsection under the main sector of the construction industry.

(6) **Spatial Agency**

In addition to the effects of the neoliberal policies in dissolving the profession of architecture, with the main motivation of restoring the authority of inhabitants in creating their own habitats, spatial agencies have become the most crucial movement of de-architecturization in recent years. Activist organizations such as Architecture Sans Frontieres, Habitat International Coalition, along with the new fields of habitat creation and design such as permaculture design and transition town movement, could exceed the limits of the profession of architecture in various ways:

a. inclusive approach towards all areas of habitation and life, from food production to community-making strategies (invisible structures);
b. holistic approach and attention to ecological solutions, earth rights and usage of resources;
c. supporting and empowering vulnerable groups in creating resilient communities and habitats;
d. re-politicizing the field of spatial design;
e. transforming design field to a process-based horizontal cooperative and creative work which can deal with the process of pre-production, production, post-production (usage) and post usage (decomposition).

1.2 Conclusion

As it was discussed in the above text, the profession of architecture denotes the activities of organized, recognized and certified architects during the modern post-industrial era. As a result, the transformation of architecture in the post-modern era, particularly under the effects of the neoliberal policies, created radical shifts in the profession and its capabilities, structure, function and relationships with the other agencies of the modern society and state. While the power of the profession has been neutralised in the neoliberal era, the rise of the two new dynamics dissolved the function of architecture in the field of spatial production: The first one, commodification of the architectural profession and its transformation to a business, pairs with the neoliberal policies of the privatization of the state and public services. The second is the counter movement of resistance against the neoliberal policies and an attempt to empower people in occupying and appropriating the process of the creation of space.

Even though architecture, like many other professions, struggles to survive in this post-professional era, the real estate and construction industry destroys the

profession steadily. The exception is the few design companies which have enough capital to run only their professional design activities; all other architecture offices undertake construction works to be able to carry on. The real estate and construction industry employs most of the architects who cannot individually exist in this sector and utilizes them for profit gain.

Today, the profession of architecture does not have the capability to act as an alternative to this real estate and construction business, because it does not have enough political momentum, transdisciplinary coverage, bottom up implementation tools, cooperative process and public legitimacy. Our world's current problems need more active and radical solutions. Green architecture, sustainable urbanism and participatory designs are unidimensional and accordingly are naive ideas to confront with the generators of wars, environmental pollutions, and terrorism and extreme consumptions of resources.

Apparently, the profession of architecture and all the organizations related to it are becoming decadent, supposing that there is no need for such a selfish profession in our century.

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Part I
The Rise and Fall of Professionalism in Architecture

Foreword

Bilge İmamoğlu

Scholars of modernity tend to refer to a list of major processes that altogether define the decisive changes that the world has gone through in its recent history, such as the secularization of arts and sciences, institutionalization of democracy and bureaucracy, industrialization, urbanization. The combined outcome of the list is then referred as *the* definitive process itself: modernization. İlhan Tekeli, for instance, as a prominent scholar of Turkish modernity summarizes the process in four interrelated dimensions.[1] One is the economic dimension with the industrialized capitalist relations with merchandized goods, paid labour and institutions of liberalist proprietorship. A second one builds upon the positivist development of science with the objectified and universalized knowledge. The third dimension is the birth of the individual as a free and rational citizen. The fourth dimension is the institutional structure, which is reorganized regarding the three dimensions above, and which can briefly be defined in the nation-state democracy. Yet, as such conceptual structures should always be, this list should also be seen as an intellectual instrumentalization of an idealized pattern and not necessarily the narrative of the modernity itself. The narrative itself involves numerous deviations from and alternatives to the ideal pattern, as well as many productive conflicts (Tekeli himself exemplifies how the conflict between various dimensions historically gave rise to the left critique and eventually the socialist version of the modernity). Yet another interesting aspect that differentiates what actually happened in the modern history of the world from the idealized pattern of modernization is the non-ignorable chronological disparities in varying localities and contexts that result in the incongruous operational appearances of different dimensions of the modernization

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[1]Tekeli, İ. "Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye'de Kent Planlaması" in, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2001, pp. 11–12.

pattern. The widely debated issue of "other modernisms" is an example; the modernization of the non-Western world did not just follow the same pattern with the Western modernization but only a little later; its whole ontological stance was based on the fact that it took place in the dominant influence (colonial or otherwise) of the Western world equipped with modernized means. The study of the processes of modernization is still a non-exhausted field, thanks to all the deviation and alternatives that many narratives of the modern history provide, in comparison with an idealized modern pattern.

For a considerable time now, "professionalization" is also considered as one of the defining processes that the modern world has gone through. The professions as we understand them today (both in the ways that the society regards the concept of professions *and* the ways that professions define their role and meaning within the contemporary society) are surely products of the modern world. The process through which the professions evolved into their current form also exposes multiple and diverse relations with all the other processes and dimensions that are involved with the process of modernization. The current definition of professions, including architecture, still relies heavily on a "modern" world, in which not only commodities but also the expert knowledge is a marketable possession via capitalist interrelations; on universal institutions that not only organize the production and distribution of knowledge but also administer the jurisdictions within the marketing of expert knowledge; and on a global system of ethics, law and bureaucracy that handles the interactions of the professional with the society at large. On the other hand, many also observe that things have somehow changed; professions and especially architecture and planning do not enjoy the momentum of the modern times, and some sort of "crisis" is voiced.

The details of the theory and the history of the process of professionalization, especially of architecture, can be found in many following chapters in this book, as well as its problematic relation to the contemporary world. Yet here, in this short foreword, it may be favourable to point out that what is really interesting in defining the current situation and is potentially productive in discussing future possibilities is not just figuring out how the professionalism in architecture "rose and fell" in an ideally defined pattern, but in addition to that how certain narratives are deviating from that pattern. As a matter of fact, the process of professionalism in architecture tends to resist uniform patterns even within the context of the Western world; one can point out to many essential differences between how architects defined themselves in the English-speaking world and elsewhere in Europe, such as France and Germany, where a strong tradition of civil service and bureaucracy effectively conflicted with identifications of professionalism associated with the private service well until the mid-twentieth century.[2] As one moves outside the Western context, the alterations and deviations intensify, as some studies in the following chapter exemplify. Nevertheless, whether in "Western" or "non-Western" forms, the

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[2]Stevens discusses in that manner in: Stevens, G. *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998.

narratives of the praxis regarding the architectural profession (if not of the architectural discipline) as it evolved from the patterns of early modernization towards the globalized forms of the contemporary neoliberal world seem to be reflecting both uniformity and uniqueness, in an interesting way.

One should not expect that any discussion on the current condition of the professions (any design and planning profession as well as all the others) should be any different than the discussion on the current condition of modernism(s) and modernization(s). Some may tend to feel that architecture was "orphaned" as the heroic modernism faded away in the second half of the twentieth century; others may still refer to the architectural profession as yet "an incomplete project". Yet there are multiple and diverse narratives on how the built environment is produced and on how all the agents involved are defined and then can critically be redefined in their roles and identifications, which present debates that can only improve our understanding on the ethics and politics of architectural production.

Chapter 2
The Trouble with Architecture

Graeme Bristol

Abstract Architecture is in trouble. It is always in trouble, and architects have been whining about it long before they formed the Architects' Club in 1791. But this is not just whining about nothing. There is some validity to the precarious nature of the profession. Yet, despite that precariousness, architecture has always been aligned in some way with power, whether it is building houses for God as a client (or at least His high priests) or, more currently, building cathedrals to Mammon and other forms of conspicuous consumption. The opening question then is: 'Why has so little changed?' Why have architects not solved this 200-year-old problem of the profession? There are historical answers, and there are more contemporary answers to these questions. This paper is intended to identify these problems more clearly by addressing three broad areas of the profession:

- Its history—the problems of the profession have deep roots going back to the shift from the Gothic Master Builder to Alberti and the 'Renaissance Man'.
- Professional education—it has been said that an architecture degree provides the graduate with the most well-rounded education possible. A myth? There is also a troubling chasm between the school training future architects and the profession which has to take them in.
- Globalization—between WTO and GATS, APEC negotiations on the trade in architectural services, and the newly proposed TPP agreement, there are a number of problems with architecture, tied as it is to culture, freely crossing borders to practice architecture anywhere in the world.

Having identified some of the core problems, the real issue is how the profession can extricate itself from this quicksand. The argument here is that the profession needs to clarify its responsibilities to society. It has to understand that while a firm must survive to do work, an architectural firm is not just a business, it is a profession. This difference is founded on ethics—unfortunately very thin gruel in the profession. The weakness and lack of coherent principles informing professional

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codes of ethics lead to some very compromising decisions on the part of practicing professionals. I submit that the founding principles should be based on human rights, beginning with the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and expanding from that. A rights-based approach (RBA) to development can provide the practitioner with a means to better understand professional obligations to society. The professional using this approach was once aptly described by one of its practitioners, the late Sam Mockbee, as 'the Citizen Architect'.

Keywords Human rights · Ethics · Globalization · Participation · Education

2.1 Introduction

Back in olden times—the days before NAFTA, the WTO and the ubiquity of computers, meaning the early 80s—when I was working to satisfy my registration requirements as an architect, the jurisdictional authority over the licensing process was much more local. In Canada, this meant the authority was given to the provincial institute, the Architectural Institute of British Columbia (AIBC), to determine the worthiness of each candidate. This was done, as it is in most jurisdictions, through examinations and the completion of a logbook outlining the range of experience over the period of internship.

The written exam covered a number of issues of concern to the practice of architecture. One of these was 'Constitutional'. This covered the legislation governing the profession—the Architects Act and the Bylaws the AIBC. These courses were taught, and the exam questions set and marked by practicing members of the AIBC. In the Constitution course, there was only one question: 'What is the role of the professional architect in today's society?'

My answer to that question was a virtual guarantee of failure. My first sentence was: 'The professional architect has no role in any society'. Having read Illich, I continued with what amounted to a variation on his arguments about disabling professions (Illich et al. 1977) and, in general, the deprofessionalization of society.

> "A profession, like a priesthood, holds power by concession from an elite whose interests it props up.
>
> . . . .
>
> Professionals tell you what you need and claim the power to prescribe. They not only recommend what is good, but actually ordain what is right." (Illich et al. 1977, pp. 17–18)

As such, I saw the profession as an extension of state authority but even in a post-professional society architecture could and should provide an essential service to the community. I wanted, in my answer to that question, to make that distinction between the professional and the architect—and all at the same time as I was submitting to the system of professionalization by seeking the recognition of the authorities who would deem me 'a professional'.

My personal conflict between that recognition as a professional and my continued abhorrence of being seen as a representative of state authority is quite another story. What I want to concentrate on here is what that distinction means for our practice of architecture. In accepting Illich's premise here, I want to see what that means to practice. It could also mean something about the profession as well but for the moment I will maintain a distinction between the profession and the practice.

There are historical foundations to the profession which contribute to the creation of the distinction I see between the profession and the practice. There are also a number of forces at play in the current profession; most notable among them is what we teach future practitioners and the forces of globalization affecting not just the trade in services (GATS) but cultural homogenization that began with the modernist movement in the early part of the twentieth century.

The trouble with architecture, as I see it, is that the profession (as distinct from the practice) has been dealing with these issues poorly. If it continues to fail in its response, Stewart Brand's keynote question at the 1997 AIA Convention will be answered with a resounding 'yes'—'Has the last architect been born?' (Hobbs 2002). Brand warned the AIA that 'unless we change our fundamental understanding of who we are and rediscover the manifest value of our skills, education, and training' the profession faces extinction in the face of competition. His warning, however, was really nothing new.

2.2   Historical Foundations

The fact is architects have been agonizing about their place in society for quite some time. The global architectural profession continues to strut and fret its hour upon the stage. They (we) whine about their contracting role in the design of the built environment and plead against the further erosion of their sphere of influence. Often, the solution is not, as Stewart Brand suggests, the redefinition of what it is we do for the public but rather how we can strengthen the existing legislation in order to better protect the monopoly the state has given the profession through that legislation.

These questions of erosion of influence have a long history—a history which defines the current profession.

That current definition of the profession turns, I would suggest (Bristol 2011), on a particular passage from *On the Art of Building,* the treatise on architecture by the Renaissance architect/writer, Leon Battista Alberti. In that book, we can see, quite distinctly, the shift from the empirical approach of the master builders who thrived in the Middle Ages. With the arrival of the Renaissance and Alberti, the role of the master builder became that of the architect. That broadly cultural source for design became the inspired product of the architect as director of design. A further change in roles was the shift away from the direct involvement with the site and builders themselves. This was emphasized by 'the introduction of a novel set of forms, based

on the Classical remains' (Ettlinger 1977: 121). The Gothic patterns understood by masons and master builders were passed down from generation to generation. There was a tradition and an architectural language understood by everyone on the building site. With Alberti, those traditional patterns were abandoned. The only place the master mason could turn was to the instructional drawings of the architect. These were new forms quite separated from that long cultural history.

It was clear, though, that Alberti desired that separation. For Alberti 'the architect was an artist whose activity had nothing to do with that of a craftsman' (Wilkinson 1977: 125). Alberti made that point quite plainly in this telling passage from his book:

> . . . the carpenter is but an instrument in the hands of the architect. Him I consider the architect, who by sure and wonderful reason and method, knows both how to devise through his own mind and energy, and to realize by construction, whatever can be most beautifully fitted out for the noble needs of man . . . (Alberti 1988: 3)

If the craftsman/carpenter is without agency—'an instrument'—then there is only one person left on the site with agency, with 'wonderful reason'—the architect. From such a starting point, it was inevitable that this would evolve into our current situation where accusations arise from the building trades that the architect is incompetent in the technique of building and, as such, is merely a flitting dilettante in the construction industry. On the other side, architects continue to view the contractor and sub-trades as simply one or more of the many tools at their disposal in achieving the design they previously determined in conjunction with other consultants. With the blossoming of the Industrial Revolution, and the exploding urban population that came with it, this gulf between the architect and the site had grown to the point that there was plenty of space allowing for many others to compete for the control of the design and of the construction site itself.

"[E]ngineers, surveyors, cabinetmakers and even house agents" (Saint 1983: 60) were a very competitive force in these early days of the Industrial Revolution. How were architects to overcome the competition from this rabble of non-professionals? Architects desperately needed to separate themselves from this rumbling herd by improving their social status and joining the ranks of the more traditional and august professions—the 'learned' professions of law, medicine and the clergy. It was time for architecture to make itself one such profession. To start that process, British architects formed the Architects' Club in 1791. Of course, its membership had to be severely limited and definitely had to exclude house agents and the like. Membership in the Architects' Club was restricted to members of the Royal Academy of Arts and related luminaries. At their regular gatherings, the main topics of discussion were 'professional qualifications, fireproof construction, and professional fees' (Wilton-Ely 1977: 192). Since then we have added a number of additional topics to this ongoing conversation but it still centres on qualifications and fees.

In turn, the Architects' Club evolved into the Institute of British Architects in 1834. Its stated purpose was 'for facilitating the acquirement of architectural knowledge, for the promotion of the different branches of science connected with it,

and for establishing an uniformity and respectability of the practice of the profession' (Wilton-Ely 1977: 193). One means of improving that 'respectability' was the designation 'Royal' which was conferred on the Institute in 1866, thus creating the Royal Institute of British Architects. The separation between architect/artist and the site called for by Alberti was certainly similar to the motivation of RIBA members to distinguish themselves from rabble on the site by their 'Royal' designation and by presenting themselves as professionals in the traditional, 'learned' sense.

Once established, their position had to be defended and the relationship between the profession and the building industry had to be defined and codified. Alberti had already made an effort to do that. The book was, after all, entitled *The Art of Building*, not the Science of Building. And so, it was to art that architects turned to distinguish themselves from the pedestrian mud of the building site and its workers (as 'instruments in the hands of the architect').[1]

There were other pressures, though, that contributed to this separation between the architect and the builders on the site.

Firstly, as mentioned above, the Industrial Revolution had a profound effect on both architecture and the construction processes and products. Between 1800 and 1830, Britain's population increased from 9 to 14 million. In 1800, London had become the first city to reach 1 million residents and by the end of that century it had reached 4.5 million (Porter 1998: 186). This created an unprecedented demand for housing. Meeting this demand required 'far larger speculative ventures in urban development than had been connected with the leisurely evolution of Georgian London, Bath, or Edinburgh' (Wilton-Ely 1977: 193). Construction methods had to become far more efficient. It was no longer possible for the master mason and apprentices to meet such a demand through traditional means. A 'general' contractor was necessary to assemble the appropriate team of craftsmen to undertake the project within the framework of a fixed price. Of course, one would need/depend upon quantity surveyors to provide estimates of these costs. But based on what? A much more detailed set of drawings. These drawings and the accompanying specifications became an important part of a legal contract between an owner and a builder.

Secondly, with the advent of general contracting and the requirement for increased efficiency, the improved documentation of the contract through drawings

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[1]It is interesting to note in modern universities under which faculty schools of architecture are placed. My own school at UBC was placed under the Faculty of Applied Science (https://apsc.ubc.ca/) with engineering and nursing. Harvard's undergraduate architecture programme is in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Cambridge has a peculiar history because, as their website history points out, the architecture programme proposal of 1906–8 'was coolly received by the University, which disliked the professional training element—always suspect in Oxbridge degrees' (https://www.arct.cam.ac.uk/aboutthedepartment/aboutthedepthome). This disparagement of 'professional training' did not apply to the Cambridge School of Clinical Medicine. The learned profession of medicine had been taught there since the 1540s. Architecture, even in the early twentieth century and with 'Royal' designation, could not quite make the 'learned' grade and eventually was placed under the Faculty of Architecture & History of Art when its doors first opened in May of 1912.

and specifications had to make up for the diminishing 'skill and initiative among the building crafts through general contracting' (Wilton-Ely 1977: 194).

Thirdly, there was a need for new building types such as specialized hospitals, office buildings, factories (Blake's 'dark satanic mills'[2]), railway stations and certainly new forms of housing. These new forms could not develop out of a tradition as did Gothic cathedrals. They had to be designed with little in the way of precedent. The new forms called for new processes of design which led to further divisions between the 'art' and the 'science' of architecture.

> When in 1841 T.L. Donaldson, first Secretary of the RIBA, was appointed Professor of Architecture at [University College, London], he gave two courses of lectures for part-time students, on "Architecture as a Science" and "Architecture as an Art" – a symbolic division which was to flaw Victoria architecture throughout the century, producing such confrontations as between George Gilbert Scott's hotel and P.W. Barlow's engine shed at St. Pancras Station. (Wilton-Ely 1977: 198)

Fourthly, building legislation grew necessarily with the increased density of the cities. The motivation to regulate the construction of buildings was not new. The Great Fire of London in 1666 proved to be a great motivation for the Rebuilding of London Act of that year[3] (Ley 2000: 1–3). With rapid urbanization during the Industrial Revolution, the urgency to control built form with legislation grew as rapidly. Needless to say, in an unregulated environment, sanitary conditions were abysmal and cholera outbreaks were common. 'People were beginning to realize that the conditions of urban life could kill' (Ley 2000: 8). With the long-standing desire, then, to improve fire safety there was a new push to respond to ongoing outbreaks of typhoid, smallpox, tuberculosis as well as cholera and a number of other 'fevers' often caused by cramped quarters, lack of ventilation, no sewage disposal, inadequate drainage and water supply. A Parliamentary Commission was formed in 1840 to address that. With expert testimony from both the building industry and the medical profession, a number of recommendations about public health and safety were made. Many of them appeared in the influential London Building Act of 1844. As these regulations proliferated from city to city throughout the UK, the responsibilities of builders grew. Architects began to take on those responsibilities in a way that speculative builders would not (Wilton-Ely 1977: 197; Ley 2000: 28).

With all of this chaotic development surrounding the birth of the modern profession of architecture, we might expect that there would be fragmentation in the direction of the profession itself. While on the one hand we had architects competing for status and control of the built environment by taking on the responsibilities of design drawings for new buildings in a new urban environment, on the

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[2]See 'And did those feet in ancient time', William Blake 1808—https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/54684/jerusalem-and-did-those-feet-in-ancient-time.

[3]See 'Charles II, 1666: An Act for rebuilding the Citty of London.', in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628–80*, ed. John Raithby (s.l, 1819), pp. 603–612. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp603-612 [accessed 19 September 2017].

other hand we had (still) the image of the architect as described by Alberti—the artist who can realize, as Alberti put it, 'whatever can be most beautifully fitted out for the noble needs of man'.

These two forks in the road—the move away from the site and the move towards professionalization—are key elements in the separation of the skills of the architect from the needs of society.

The intentions of these early 'professional' architects, however, were clear. They wanted to join the ranks of the 'learned' professions—an elite. They wanted to define beauty and taste in the built environment, and finally, they wanted to cement their position as the controlling profession responsible for the built environment (and the fees that come with that responsibility).

Their vehicle for that would be the RIBA. In 1890, they began to advance the idea that the registration of architects was necessary. Registration would mean a form of monopoly over the practice of architecture (however, that would be defined, once again, by the profession itself). If there was to be a registration process, then there must also be control over the education of architects. What do you have to know to be a 'registered' architect? The RIBA was the natural institution to determine the answer to that and many other questions the building industry and, indeed, parliament might have for this call of professionalization.

The question, though, remains to this day. When the state allows for the monopolistic control of a certain area of knowledge and skills by passing legislation to create the profession of architecture (or law, or medicine), what responsibilities does the profession (and the practicing professional) take on in return for that monopolistic control? What obligations does the professional have to society? Is their training appropriate to that responsibility?

When we consider the motivations behind this movement towards professionalization, it seems clear that the profession's understanding of these obligations to society is quite fuzzy and that our training is poorly suited to enact the changes Stewart Brand was suggesting at that AIA convention in 1997. From Illich's perspective, this has moved the profession even further away from community needs.

2.3   Globalization

Making matters even worse, the implications of modern globalization have compounded this problem. As professionalization moves architects further away from community needs, those needs are growing rapidly.

(a) **Five Facts**

Here are five critical facts that should help architects shift their perspective on the value and application of our skills in the world we have before us:

- Urbanization of the planet has now crossed that threshold where more than 50% of the population lives in cities (though how we define 'urban' or 'city' will vary from country to country[4]). What the UN often refers to as the 'crisis' of urbanization[5] will certainly continue and may rise to 66% by mid-century (UN-ESA 2014: 1).
- Related to that is the growth of slums. One-sixth of the earth's population now live in slums around the world. It was estimated in 2003 that without intervention the population is expected to double in the next 25 years (UN-Habitat 2003: 189). More recent figures (UN-Habitat 2016: 58) point out that the proportion of the urban population living in slums has actually gone down from 39% in 2000 to 30% in 2014. Nevertheless, in absolute global numbers the slum population has increased 28% from 689 m in 1990 to 881 m in 2014.
- The gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen. OXFAM pointed out 'that over the last 25 years, the top 1% have gained more income than the bottom 50% put together' (OXFAM 2017: 3). For 17 of the 22 OECD countries, the Gini coefficient has risen from 0.29 to 0.316 between the mid-1980s and the late 2000s (Vieira 2012). More recent figures from the International Monetary Fund show this inequality has continued to worsen (IMF 2015).
- Climate change—buildings consume about 40% of global energy resources and contribute about 30% of greenhouse gases. 'The Building Sector has the largest potential for delivering long-term, significant and cost-effective greenhouse gas emissions' (UNEP 2009: 6).
- Access to energy resources—the rapid depletion of non-renewable and the lack of access to energy contribute directly to growing income inequality. If access to energy is to be addressed, a move to renewable sources of energy will be essential. The European Commission is now calling to '[h]alve the use of "conventionally fuelled" cars in urban transport by 2030; phase them out in cities by 2050; achieve essentially CO_2-free city logistics in major urban centres by 2030' (EC 2011: 10).

Architects and policy-makers must act on these five facts if we are to survive in our increasingly urban environment. The first two facts—rapid urbanization and the consequent growth of slums—mean that if the status quo remains, the poor will be designing our cities simply through the act of finding whatever housing and jobs they can.

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[4]See Satterthwaite (2002), 'MYTH 5: "More than half the world's population live in cities"' available at http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/21st_Century/myths/pdf%20myths/Myth5.pdf (accessed 29SEP16).

[5]See, for example, https://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/Publications/Files/WUP2014-Highlights.pdf (2014); http://mirror.unhabitat.org/content.asp?cid=2479&catid=365&typeid=6 (2003). See also David Harvey—http://post.at.moma.org/content_items/520-the-crisis-of-planetary-urbanization, or https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qbqbzprPI38.

The remaining three facts also have pervasive effects on:

- Sustainability—in addition to the now traditional definition,[6] this must concern society's commitment to reduce the degradation of the environment by honouring the rights of future generations to a healthy environment. The Brundtland Report also pointed out: 'A world in which poverty and inequity are endemic will always be prone to ecological and other crises' (WCED 1987: 43–4).
- Security—the rising Gini coefficient is actually a threat to society (OXFAM 2014: 12) leading to rising crime along with increased political and social discord. It will also exacerbate the global refugee crisis.
- Health—the rising incidence of tuberculosis (Lewis 2017) as well as the widespread and significant effects of AIDS have inevitable and far-reaching effects on the economic development, particularly now in Africa. AIDS has created a growing shortage of teachers which affects education.[7] In addition, fewer students are able to attend because they must leave school to support their dying parents.
- Development—while the 'right to development' may still be controversial, it is highly unlikely that development funding will be attracted to any country with a degraded environment, political/social volatility, a workforce that is diminished by growing health problems, lack of training and education, etc. Though there is no doubt this affects architecture, more importantly, it violates the rights of those who must live under such conditions.

Are the architects of the future—the students of today—prepared to address these global problems effectively? While I think the professions of architecture, engineering and planning are well-placed to do so, the history of architecture, the state of accreditation of schools of architecture and the almost exclusionary emphasis our curriculum places on design[8] suggest that our profession is poorly prepared. If that is the case, what implications might there be on the traditional architecture curriculum and the practice of architecture?

(b) **Implications**:

One of the first implications concerns human rights. One of these is the right to be included and the right to be recognized as a citizen or at least as a meaningful participant in the polity. A necessary element of the right to participate[9] in development is inclusion, but it is important to understand that the first necessary element of participation is recognition of one's existence, of one's right to be, and to be

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[6]"Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED 1987: 43).

[7]Stephen Lewis reported that in 2001 alone, one million children lost their teachers due to AIDS. See http://www.g6bpeoplessummit.org, Stephen Lewis 'Keynote Address', People's Summit, 21 June 02, Calgary Alberta.

[8]See, for example, Boyer and Mitgang (1996), pp. 77–82.

[9]See the Vancouver Declaration, General Principles, para. 13 (http://mirror.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/The_Vancouver_Declaration.pdf).

somewhere.[10] In a variety of ways, slum communities are typically ignored or viewed as an active threat. While professionals responsible for the built environment may agree in principle with the right of citizens to participate in the development of the built environment, if those citizens are rendered invisible or are defined out of the process, even the faux participation of manipulation or consultation (Arnstein 1969) is not about to happen. Such was the case with the Pom Mahakan community in Bangkok (Bristol 2010).

One broad definition of development is the enrichment of the human condition. That definition, though, demands that we understand the principles within which development must happen if rights are to be protected. Architects are intimately involved in development and have an obligation to recognize both the limits on development and the principles that set those limits. There are a number of UN documents which outline these principles. Among them are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the Declaration on the Right to Development.[11] Underlying these documents are two implied basic principles: 'recognition' and 'inclusion'. The right to be seen to exist as a person before the law (UDHR, Art. 6) precedes the right to inclusion. If one is not recognized as a rights-bearing individual with agency, then inclusion is not possible.

Recognition and inclusion are basic principles of democracy—a concept which architects and the development industry already support in most cases. While architects are not likely to take exception to the concepts of democracy and citizenship, there is no shortage of development decision-makers who, through their lack of knowledge, actually undermine these concepts by establishing other priorities before basic rights.

2.4 Overcoming Our Professional Troubles

How, then, does the architectural profession support these principles through their actions? There will be additional responsibilities, both in the profession (in representative institutions and in practice) and in the education of architects. If we are to overcome our historical problems, I suggest one approach is to support those global principles in our actions in education and practice.

A. Professional Responsibilities

There are three key issues that should be considered in the design process of practicing architects: participation, organization and human rights. These responsibilities should also be reflected in the supporting administration of their representative institutions.

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[10]This relates to our definition of 'citizen'. The draft of the World Charter on the Right to the City (abahlali.org/files/WorldCharterontheRighttotheCity-October04.doc) defines 'citizens' as 'all persons who live in the city either permanently or in transit'. Further, Art.2.3 refers to the social function of property and citizens' access to space in the city.

[11]See http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r128.htm.

1. **Participation**—In conjunction with the Civil Rights movement and the Free
   Speech movement in the 50s and 60s, civic groups have been demanding greater
   participation in the future of their cities. This is often expressed as an issue of
   community solidarity, of self-determination and of autonomy (see Arnstein
   1969). If, along with the UN nations, professionals accept the position that
   communities have the right of self-determination,[12] then we must find ways to
   honour that global commitment.
   Implications for architectural practice: Stiglitz points out, 'broadly participa-
   tory processes (such as "voice", openness, and transparency) promote truly
   successful long-term development' (Stiglitz 2002: 164). These processes are
   now broadly recognized in the regulation of planning processes throughout the
   West. It is standard practice in most Western cities that architects and developers
   are expected to engage the communities to which they expect to contribute new
   projects. This typically applies at the global level with World Bank or UNDP
   projects and most bilaterally funded projects.
   Because participation emphasizes process over outcomes, tension arises between
   the intentions of process and the formal demands of the architect, or what the
   architect might refer to as the infamous design by committee. The training and
   practice of architecture has always stressed the product over the process—as
   Alberti put it: 'whatever can be most beautifully fitted out for the noble needs of
   man'. Architects are also vitally concerned about what that product represents
   about their design abilities. At the same time, these central issues of rights and
   democracy are sidelined when they are seen by the architect to be interfering with
   the formal aspects of the project. Mind you, many architects feel the same about
   the interference of building codes and zoning bylaws in their designs.
2. **Organization**—One has only to see the effects of social media on social
   movements in the last decade to understand that there is a necessary shift from
   hierarchies to networks. This affects our access to information, the respon-
   siveness of decision-making and the administrative structures of organizations.
   'In those flatter, more network-like organizations, people won't be merely
   information transmitters—they will be empowered assets, acting independently'
   (Rischard 2002: 43).
   Implications for architectural practice: Generally, this has greater implications
   on city planning than it does on architecture but both are affected. In order to
   have a more effective participatory process, for example, architects and planners
   must be responsive to a multiplicity of dynamic needs from many stakeholders,
   not just a paying client.

> [I]n most cases it would be a waste of resources to put forward a masterplan. This is
> certainly the case where rapid urbanization is taking place . . .The days of the 'Masterplan'
> hanging on the wall behind the desk of the proud Mayor or Governor must be numbered.
> (Rowland 1996: 78)

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[12]See International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Art. 1.1.

A master plan is an example of hierarchical decision-making that often leaves many stakeholders out of the process. They are rendered invisible, in part by the nature of the hierarchy itself. We began to see growing global opposition to master planning in the 60s with the resistance to expressway development through urban neighbourhoods. Jane Jacobs' indictment of urban renewal in the introduction to her book, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, was a clarion call to the long-term struggles of communities against redevelopment. Similarly, the struggle of the Pom Mahakan community (Bristol 2007) in Bangkok against the Rattanakosin master plan points to the failures of master planning, the need for participation and the ability of architects and planners to shift away from that hierarchical approach. Further, as the Vancouver Declaration at the 1976 Habitat conference stated, participation is a right.

3. **Human Rights**—Participation is not the only right we need be concerned about here. There are two important historical issues regarding human rights which will affect the relationship between rights and architecture: the evolution of rights after the Second World War and the growing demands on the part of the UN and other multilateral and bilateral agencies to establish a human rights-based approach to development.

   (a) Evolution—After the Second World War, the cause of human rights became a central issue of the newly founded United Nations. The US President's widow, Eleanor Roosevelt, was called upon to chair an international committee to draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The UDHR was adopted by the General Assembly in December 1948. While the UDHR was an aspirational document, it has formed the moral foundation for our modern understanding of rights.

   (b) Rights-based approach—Since Kofi Annan's 1997 'Renewing the United Nations: A Programme for Reform'[13] and, more recently, Ban Ki Moon's 'Human Rights Up Front'[14] initiative, the UN has been, with varying success, mainstreaming a rights-based approach (RBA) throughout the entire UN system. Other multilateral agencies involved in development are doing the same. Within the UN, the RBA has become the standard in development practice.[15]

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[13]Available at https://www.unicef.org/about/execboard/files/A-51-950_Renewing_the_UN-ODS-English.pdf (accessed 19SEP17) para. 194–202.

[14]See https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/ban-ki-moon/human-rights-front-initiative and https://undg.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Detailed-Plan-of-Action.pdf (accessed 30SEP16).

[15]A starting point for understanding the RBA can be found in 'Frequently Asked Questions On A Human Rights-based Approach' available at http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FAQen.pdf. In the rights-based approach, duty bearers have 'positive obligations to protect, promote and fulfil human rights, as well as negative obligations to abstain from rights violations. In addition to governments, a wide range of other actors should also carry responsibilities for the realization of human rights, including individuals, local organizations and authorities, the private sector, the media, donors, development partners and international institutions' (UNICEF 2007: 11). Architects, with their legislated obligations to society, are primarily duty bearers.

Implications for architecture: For work in the international arena, it is important that the professions of architecture, planning and engineering understand the application of the RBA in practice. The UN Right to Development calls for 'free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting therefrom' (Article 2.3[16]). Architects, planners and engineers are proud to take credit for their lead role in 'development' as it relates to the built environment. That credit is often well-deserved but it also means we have a professional obligation to develop processes that encourage meaningful participation and the fair distribution of the benefits of such development. For architects, this will require much better understanding of distributive justice as well as the protection of those most vulnerable in society. One of these vulnerable populations most directly connected to architects is migrant construction workers. A mounting number of reports from Human Rights Watch suggest that architects involved with international projects are not dealing with such responsibilities very well.[17] If the profession is to begin to understand their responsibilities as 'duty bearers' in a RBA, they need to be exposed to it in their architectural education as well their practice.

One step towards that should be taken first by the International Union of Architects (UIA). I have proposed to the UIA that they add to their current 12 standing committees (work programmes)[18] another committee on architecture and human rights in order to bring to architectural practice some practical illustrations of the implementation of human rights principles in all areas of practice as well as in national institutions of architecture.

B. Architectural Education

There are opportunities in focusing on these global issues in the architectural curriculum. If, as Stewart Brand suggests, we are to change 'our fundamental understanding of who we are and rediscover the manifest value of our skills, education and training' (Hobbs 2002), then what direction should that change take? This is the core question of architectural education. Does the curriculum prepare the graduate in any way for what lies ahead in the profession? I think it is failing miserably at addressing these global issues. So, what can we do? Where do we start?

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[16]Available at http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/.

[17]See HRW reports such as 'Island of Happiness' (https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/uae0509webwcover_4.pdf), particularly p. 16 for recommendations to the architects involved with projects on Saadiyat Island.

[18]The UIA has 3 commissions (architectural education, international competitions and professional practice) and 12 work programmes: Architecture and Children, Architecture for All, Architecture and Renewable Energy Sources, Cultural Identity/Heritage, Educational/Cultural Spaces, Public Health, Responsible Architecture, Spiritual Places, Sports & Leisure, Architecture & Tourism, Intermediate Cities, Action without borders. See http://www.uia-architectes.org/en/participer/organes-de-travail#.WeQU8YhrxPY.

I want to make it clear that should not and does not call for an exhaustive re-examination of the architecture curriculum. David Orr has said that 'all education is environmental education' (Orr 1991). In the field of architecture, there would be broad agreement with that statement. Even in my own architectural education which began not long after the first Earth Day, many students and some of their professors were becoming fully engaged in many of the issues relating the environment to architecture. This became a clear focal point of education after the Brundtland Report and the 1992 Rio UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED).[19] Unfortunately, the cause of human rights never entered the curriculum. I think now it is important to add to Orr's statement that 'All education is human rights education'. As such, I suggest that we have a shift in emphasis in the architecture curriculum. We have already done that, in many respects, with the inclusion of a multitude of environmental issues. We can and should do the same for the rights of all.

It should be pointed out, though, that there are some aspects of globalization which lead architecture further away from communities and further into the arms of professionalization. The worst of these—at least in one sense—is the move towards reciprocity and global standards for the profession. As the WTO and other regional trade agreements push towards the opening of barriers to the trade in services (see GATS[20], for example), the competition becomes much more intense and the pressure to develop reciprocal standards is greater. The organizations negotiating these standards—both for education and practice—are themselves professional organizations intent on the protection of this body of knowledge and who is permitted to use it. This takes us well away from Illich's intentions about the deprofessionalization of society.

And yet, I think there is an opportunity within this move towards global standards. It is the opportunity to inject into these developing global standards the basic principles of professional ethics and of a rights-based approach to the profession.

The inclusion of a rights-based approach to architecture would be no more difficult than our inclusion of environmental issues since they began to arise in the architectural consciousness after the first Earth Day in 1970.

The National Architectural Accrediting Board (NAAB) sets the criteria for architectural education in the USA and sets an example for other national and international accreditation boards. While they have adopted environmental concerns into their criteria over the last three decades, they have not addressed anything to do with the relationship between rights and architectural education. It is time they did.

This does not have to entail a wholesale revision of the curriculum. It can be done by a shift in emphasis. One of the most common responses to adding anything to the existing architectural curriculum is 'there is simply not enough time in the program/credits available to add anything without taking something out. We can't

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[19]See http://www.un.org/geninfo/bp/enviro.html.
[20]https://www.wto.org/English/docs_e/legal_e/26-gats_01_e.htm.

take anything out!' Currently, there are 25 requirements in the NAAB 'Student Performance Criteria'. This list is reduced from 37 requirements in the 1998 list. In other words, they have already reduced the course load as much as they possibly can without damaging the comprehensive requirements for architectural education. Understanding a rights-based approach to architecture would be included in Realm D (Professional Practice) under D1-'Stakeholder Roles in Architecture'. D4-'Legal Responsibilities', and D5-'Professional Ethics'. In addition to that, like environmental studies, the RBA can and should be included in each of the other three realms.[21]

In order to expose students first to these global issues of distributive justice and vulnerable populations, we have to focus not only on the infusion into each of the four 'realms' but more specifically community design studios. The studio programme would provide a practical alternative to the traditional programme by engaging students in the field working directly with vulnerable communities in their region. One approach to that follows an old UIA programme (1998)[22] for the student competition they hold in advance of each of their Congresses. The simple brief we gave the students in that competition was to implement the Habitat II Agenda in Bangkok. This allowed students to come to grips with some of the elements of the UN Agenda and then face some of the problems in the implementation of that agenda. At the same time, it exposed students to some very fundamental issues surrounding development and the poor.

The broad purpose of this programme is to train architecture students, architects and field workers in the rights-based approach (RBA) to the practice of architecture, planning and engineering. The programme should also be able to demonstrate the implementation of the RBA in the practice of architecture through practical projects in local communities.

More specifically, it is to introduce students to the issues in which the design of the built environment intersects with human rights. At present, I have identified five areas of focus:

1. Cultural rights—working with vulnerable communities in the protection of their cultural history;
2. Right to access—working with communities to overcome exclusion in access to buildings, to resources and to the city;
3. Forced evictions—working on advocacy and design alternatives for the victims of development-induced displacement;
4. Environmental rights—working on advocacy and design alternatives which protect traditional and legal land rights in the face of disaster and development as well as broad issues concerning environmental justice;

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[21]See NAAB (2015) http://www.naab.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Full-Document.pdf-pp. 110-115. Realm A is 'Critical Thinking and Representation', Realm B is 'Building Practices, Technical Skills and Knowledge', Realm C is 'Integrated Architectural Solutions', and Realm D is 'Professional Practice'.

[22]See http://www.uia-architectes.org/en/participer/congres/5752#.Whc2AEqnFPY.

5. Workers' rights—providing a safe haven away from the construction site for children of migrant construction workers and improving access to education and health care.[23]

Between 1998 and 2010, I was working with architecture students in each of these areas of rights. This has resulted in a number of examples which have been used in lectures to practicing architects, to different UN bodies, and to institutions governing the practice of architecture. It also resulted in the founding of the Centre for Architecture and Human Rights (CAHR).

Without going into the details of proposed courses for the professional degree programme and the research masters programme, it is important to note that the initial intention here would be to keep the core curriculum of the given university and create what amounts to a 'major' in the RBA by making use of the electives in the programme and by integrating specific lectures into other core courses.

There is an opportunity now to expand on these examples and cement them into the mainstream curriculum of architectural education. In so doing, there are a number of goals in addition to teaching architecture students a specific programme:

- The RBA to architecture should become a recognized alternative to traditional practice. In order for that to come to pass, the NAAB and other regional bodies or agreements such as the Canberra Accord[24] will have to be lobbied.
- To be effectively lobbied, there must be a network of support amongst a number of universities offering professional degree programmes in architecture.
- There must be improvements to the solidarity amongst existing faculty teaching a rights-based approach and, more broadly, community architecture. This will involve alliances not only with specific faculty in other universities but with NGOs supporting community architecture such as the Association for Community Design[25] and the Pacific Rim Community Design Network.[26]
- To be effectively lobbied, it must have the support of the multilateral agencies such as the UN, World Bank and others.
- This rights-based approach to the built environment cannot be dependent on any one person. It has to be institutionalized so that when one leader retires or dies, the university must find someone to fill that specific position to continue teaching the RBA. In order for that to work, the RBA must be a global network and have the support of regional and global organizations such as the UN and the UIA.[27]

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[23]See http://www.architecture-humanrights.org/#!__cahr-home/cahr-&-rights.

[24]See http://www.canberraaccord.org/.

[25]http://www.communitydesign.org/.

[26]http://faculty.washington.edu/jhou/pacrim.htm.

[27]L'Union Internationale des Architectes or the UIA (International Union of Architects)—http://www.uia.archi/en#.V_HnhiRrM8U.

- Establishing a UNESCO Chair[28] in human rights and community architecture would go a long way in achieving these goals. This would be a partnership between UNESCO, CAHR and a host university prepared to commit to this approach.

C. **Where now?**

Professionalization separates the citizenry from the decision-making power. How can that be returned? The solution has to respond to these existing conditions of professionalization and globalization, and it has to respond to the power of transnational organizations. The solution requires 'we the people' to have global support as well. UNESCO, while it supports the official understanding of culture, also supports the protection of more vernacular forms of cultural expression. Can we use that vehicle (UNESCO) to institutionalize a citizen-led approach in a rights-based framework? I think we can.

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[28]"The UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs Programme covers training, research and exchange of academics and offers a platform for information sharing in all fields within the competence of UNESCO" http://en.unesco.org/unitwin-unesco-chairs-programme.

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Author Biography

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Chapter 3
Architectural Professionalization in Turkey, Professionalism and Its Posts

Bilge İmamoğlu

Abstract The chapter discusses professionalization and development of a professional ideology in architecture by means of focusing on a historic narrative in which the process was not reflecting the sociological definition of the process (which is also discussed at length); the twentieth century developments of architectural profession in Turkey. Through this example, the chapter aims to discuss how certain ideological identifications regarding the architectural profession is still being reproduced in architectural historiography and architectural education, as well as the current architectural practice. The chapter additionally proposes to discuss possible new perspectives on how the architectural praxis is understood by utilizing the critique of professional ideologies and their reproduction within the field.

Professionalism is one of those ambiguous concepts which can be observed to be used with a wide variety of theoretical references and discursive implications in different contexts. The everyday use of the word usually refers to the set of skills, judgment and behaviour that is expected from a professional; simply, it is the noun derived from that adjective. As language almost always contains strong hints on how we understand and reflect the world, and words we choose to name concepts carry within in a sense the biography of that concept, I will start by pointing out a plainly obvious fact in the nature of that derivation: that the noun form of the adjective professional is professionalism and not "professionality"—that word does not exist in the majority of the main dictionaries. "Professionality" would imply that being a professional is about being in a state or quality in relation to that adjective; nevertheless, "professionalism" does more than that, the suffix -ism takes the noun from a passive to an active nature and relates it to the acts, practices and processes and their manifestations, renders it a behaviour and not just a condition.

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"Professionalism" then, in everyday use of the word, is about acting professional, rather than simply being one. That also makes perfect sense if we look further into the etymological root of the word "profession".

The oldest use of the word in the European languages is rooted in the religious practices, and starting with around the thirteenth century the word is used for "the vows taken upon entering a religious order"[1], coming from Latin professionem, which is "public declaration", from past participle stem of profiteri "to declare openly". In that form the verb "profess" is still in use, meaning to declare openly. From early fifteenth century, the word "profession" expands from religious to occupational practices, meaning "occupation one professes to be skilled in", and from early seventeenth century on, it also means the "body of persons engaged in some occupation".[2] In this sense it is worth pointing out that, as observed in the history of the use of the word, being a professional has not only been about acting as one, but also, and even more importantly, is about carrying this action to the level of a public declaration. Even the etymology of the word, in addition to everything else to professions and professionalism, suggests that being a professional goes well beyond possessing a set of skills and training; it gains its meaning in its social manifestations. Well before the modern age, the word profession was referring to the social practices of having an occupation, as well as the occupation itself, in which the occupation holder manifests his use and services for the society in relation to a specialized set of skills, and in return for convincing the society in that sense, collects its social rewards, commercially or otherwise.

Yet despite the long history of its etymological roots, "professionalism" is a modern word.[3] The appearance of the word with this suffix in the English language is not before the mid-nineteenth century. It is not a surprise, as well; the concept as we understand it today is a modern one. As a process, the professionalization of occupations is considered by many scholars of modernity as one of the fundamental processes that the modern age underwent, together with and parallel to other major ones such as secularization, nation-states, industrialization and urbanization. Similar to the pre-modern nuances within the word profession, professionalization as a modern process is also not limited with the changes and developments in the particular ways individuals receive a specialized training and practice their occupational skills, but is understood in the radical shift in the organization of the whole set of practices in its institutional, legal and social means. Such organizational processes that end up in the formation of modern professions have been studied for some time in a wide variety by many scholars, within the field of research now

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[1] Interestingly, more or less the same is also relevant for the Arabic word "*meslek*", that we also use in Turkish. Its root is "*süluk*", entering a route, an occupation or a religious sact; an attitude, behaviour.

[2] http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=profession&allowed_in_frame=0.

[3] http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=professionalism&searchmode=none.

mostly referred as sociology of professions. In a very rough generalization of the field's analysis, certain common patterns can be observed.[4] Such patterns include several steps and layers that can be summarized in the following form.

One layer is the formalization of the production and circulation of the knowledge specific to the occupation within centralized educational institutions, such as established and acknowledged schools of architecture. The circulation of knowledge produced in such institutions is reinforced by publication of scholar and professional journals, a process which also organizes the professional means of circulation itself, as well as the content of the knowledge to be circulated. A second important layer is the formation of professional organizations, preferably operating nationwide rather than local. Through both these institutions, development of a self-implemented code and set of regulations that go beyond issuing quality standards of the practice and extending into a form of professional ethics follow. And finally, as the ultimate aim of all these, acquiring on the one hand the social legitimacy of explicit rights for occupational privileges, most important of them being the exclusive rights to monopolize the market for the service provided by the profession for its members, and on the other, the state's legal approval for those rights and privileges comes forth. All these processes do not only occur within a series of interactions and negotiations between the professional community and the society and the state, but also professions confront and dispute each other in debating jurisdictional boundaries. Throughout the processes of professionalization, such jurisdictional boundary disputes mostly happened when sub-specializations within a single profession developed separately enough to become separate professions on their own. One of the oldest of such cases is architecture and civil engineering. Or a more recent one can still be considered to be in progress as computer engineering is born from electrical engineering. Through all these debates, disputes and negotiations, social identifications of professions are formed, defined and publicly manifested; in other words they are literally professed.

Sociological studies on professions did not stop at describing and defining the organizational processes through which professions are defined, but went on to study the nature of this self-definition asserted by professions. One important aspect for any disciplinary field of knowledge to become a profession is the autonomy in the definition of cognitive norms. Studies like Freidson's analysed how such cognitive and normative aspects could also provide a potential for bringing in a distinct definition regarding the social relations and their meanings in the area in which the members of the profession function.[5] Starting with the 1970s, rather critical studies on professions began to read the term "professionalism", not merely as certain behavioural and organizational patterns, but also as a "professional ideology" with all the critical

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[4]For a wider overview, see: MacDonald (1995).

[5]Eliot Freidson is considered to be among the founders of the field with his study on medicine. See: Freidson (1970).

Marxist emphasis on the term ideology. Ideology in the professional context is seen as a false consciousness on one's social identifications that is developed not through actual class relations of production and distribution but through some other norm, which are training, skills and social values assigned to professional services.

One important name among such scholars whose studies are also significantly important for architectural profession is Sarfatti-Larson.[6] She studies the whole modern age as one wide and large professional project, emphasizing the important relation of professionalization to two other major aspects of modernity, the scientific knowledge and the free market. In analysing the professional practices in which specialized knowledge is transferred into social and economic rewards, she points out that the construction of "institutional means for self-definition and corporate defence" and the search for "adequate ideological legitimations for the monopolistic exclusion of competitors" from the market of services become two levels of the same professional project.[7] Larson also singles out architecture as an exemplary case where such ideological legitimizations could not be built as smoothly as in others, such as medicine and law. Architects' claim that architects and only architects should be producing architectural designs was not as compelling as the ruling out of, say, amateur surgery or unprofessional practices of law. Especially as engineers were building more and more types of structures that the modern age required, architects defended their disciplinary autonomy in a distinction of their "architecture" from the ordinary "structures" produced by non-architects, with ever-increasing references to the symbolic, cultural and theoretical forms that architecture operate with, and underlining their function as creative individuals who invest meaning in structures.

There are numerous other studies on professions that can be consulted in questioning how architects increasingly defined the social meaning and value of their services in the field of production of cultural forms and cultural norms and not necessarily referring solely to the inner and autonomous mechanisms of the discipline's discourse and knowledge production, but also by taking into the account such societal practices in which the discipline and its members are actors and sides and reflexively respond with professional agendas. One of the courses may, and many have, also refer to studies that are not built on the same concept. Foucault's studies on discourse and disciplines have many similarities to the concepts discussed here, only with a difference that shifts the focus to the vintage point of those that are subject to such discursive formations.[8] One other study on the other hand, Steven's, used Bourdieu's concept of "field" to discuss architecture, to arrive at similar observations to Larson's, where he argued that in the pursue of an autonomous control of the rewards of their field, architects chose to define their production within the "cultural field", where architecture with a capital "A" can actually claim autonomy to validate architectural products, whereas the everyday

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[6]See: Sarfatti-Larson (1977); Sarfatti-Larson (1983).

[7]Sarfatti-Larson (1983, p. 61).

[8]See, for instance: Goldstein (1984).

production of ordinary buildings, which is "not architecture proper", happens in the economic field, and in that field architects are far away from claiming autonomy to assign and distribute value.[9]

As mentioned above, this social pattern of organizational processes of professions is observed as a process of modernization; historically, though changing both from one context to other and from one profession to other, it is roughly dated to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As we discuss post-professionalism in architecture and urbanism in the context of this book, we are basically acting upon the premise that some fundamental things about the operational context of professions, or at least of ours, have transformed in our age, in the late twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries. That's parallel to the studies on modernity itself; theories and/or discourses on the modernity and modernism dated to the first half of the twentieth century is not seen completely encompassing to define what we are going through in our day, yet at the same time it is also not quite different enough to come up with entirely different names. So, we have been discussing about post-modernity, and yet not without dispute and ambiguity. The post in "post-professionalism" can also be argued to be sharing the ambiguity of similar other posts, as well as their usefulness in broadening the perspective of the discussion. Scholars of professions, such as Burns, acknowledge such usefulness in assisting further resolution of certain problems in the contemporary theory on professions, however only after reminding that the term has not actually been devised within the mainstream study on the field but in a variety of other disciplinary contexts, and that in many aspects contemporary analysis of professions has already been post-professional before the term's appearance.[10]

The assistance that can be employed on broadening the contemporary theory on architecture, and especially on the pedagogical perspective in architectural education, is most certainly welcome, considering to what extent the everyday educational practice in architectural schools is equipped to meet the realities of global architectural practice today. We actually should be updating our discourse on architectural knowledge, practice and education with renewed observations, not withholding the ultimate hope of arriving at another, a better architectural practice for all. Observations and interpretations of contemporary organizational realities of architectural profession can and will open up renewed critical positions that are deeply required for such hopes of betterment. But before proceeding with the topic here on the context of Turkey, let me give out the little note that the aim here in this text also includes the reminder that the studies that have been summarized above on professions and professionalism actually do include such critical positions which can be utilized to produce theoretical and pedagogical responses to whatever the professional practices are bringing upon the field. The argument here is that we can still provide great insights from the existing literature on professions in our attempts

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[9]Stevens (1998).
[10]Burns (2007a). Also see: Burns (2007b).

to understand the architectural and urban reflections of this new condition that we label as "post-professionalism", before rushing out to create a post-professionalist theory of our own profession.

Yet in any way, this text cannot put forth such a claim, as the author is not after all equipped to propose a post-professionalist study on professions, as not being a scholar of sociology, but just an architectural historian studying modern architecture of Turkey. In fact, the research that is cited here did not initiate at a predefined interest in the studies of professions; its intention was not bringing in sociological definitions of professions to the field of architectural historiography on Turkey. The field of professions presented itself to the research on the way, as a useful tool to help answering some fundamental questions that was hard to answer without some insight from the theories that are formed outside the discipline. It all started (if I am allowed to carry this text a little into being a personalized narration, something of a "how I met my research topic" kind), when I was working as a research student for the digitalization of the visual archive on modern architecture in Turkey in Middle East Technical University, Ankara. At a later stage of the project, when the database we built for the archive was big enough to provide some statistical data, we wanted to see who the most cited architect in the archive was, hoping to get a quick list of the most prominent and/or important architects of the modern period in Turkey. According to the database, on the top of the list (and with a great portion that sums up to something around a quarter of the whole archive) was the letters NA: "Not Applicable".[11] We were curious, because as people in charge of building up the database, we knew for fact that we did not have that many buildings with architects unknown. When we looked into the archive, we found out that lack of information about the architects was not the majority of the cases; for a greater part of the NA's, the archive had the information where, when and how that architectural project was designed; but just not who. For most of such cases, buildings were designed by an office of a state institution, and for especially for the period from the late 1930s to the 1950s, by the Office of Construction Works within the Ministry of Public Works. Though we had this information for these cases, while applying them in the database we chose to put down this information in the "notes" part, and not in the part in the database reserved for the "architect" of the given building; since we did not know by whom and which architect individual the building was designed, we had decided that the authorship information in relation to such buildings was "not applicable" for the purposes of our database. In the cold-hearted rationality of the

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[11]There were a total number of 698 buildings and/or projects in the database, 172 of which were registered with NA in the "architect" column. For those who wonder, architects who followed NA were: Sedat Hakkı Eldem (41 projects), Kemalettin Bey (27 projects), Clemens Holzmeister (25 projects), Seyfi Arkan (19 projects), Doğan Tekeli – Sami Sisa partnership (19 projects), Ernst Egli (17 projects), and Behruz Çinici (17 projects). The archive was significantly more complete for the first half of the twentieth century and around 60% of the content belonged to the period 1920–1950. Among NAs, 114 projects were produced in various state offices and rest were mostly residential buildings with actually unknown stories.

software, that decision led to the statistical conclusion that "NA" was the most important, prominent and productive architect of the early Republican period of Turkey.

This almost overwhelmingly simple observation led us to two basic points: one pointed out a well-defined research topic and architectural production in state offices, and the second to an additional research question: how come we know so little about this obviously major topic. There was a huge building stock that is dated to the two decades mentioned above and that is so large in numbers and wide in variety that it should have established the major perspective in all attempts at narrating, understanding and defining the architectural practice and discourse of the period in Turkey. The numbers in our database alone made it very clear that the production of the state offices constituted an important portion of the whole production. Among the NAs in the database, 114 projects were produced in various state offices and rest were mostly residential buildings with actually unknown stories. As a matter of fact, to be able to estimate the total share of the production of the state offices in the whole database, another 126 projects should be added to that number, which were buildings with known designers and had their place in the database in reference to those architects, but who in fact produced those designs as employees of certain state offices. Some of such architects were well-known names such as Ernst Egli and Bruno Taut; and some others had the privilege of being credited with the authorship of their designs because they personally published the projects in contemporary journals. All in all, 240 projects out of the total 698 were produced by various state offices, making the ratio 34%. Yet this field was not much researched at all, at least not with a perspective which took the mode of occupational organization into focus. Instead historiography insisted on architect names (such as the ones named in footnote 11) and observed the totality of the production as the individual's creation, not differentiating individual authorship from institutional practices. The general narration on the other hand has a lot to gain from a shift on the focus.

In the beginning of the Republican period of Turkey in the 1920s, when the young state was initiating a grand modernist construction program nationwide, the professional manpower to realize this program was too weak, almost even absent. There was almost no construction industry, know-how was limited and technical expertise was far from being extensive. There were schools of engineering and a fine arts academy that included a school of architecture in İstanbul that were all founded in the late nineteenth century, but still there were only a handful of architects. The lack of experts grounded the decision by the state on an extensive program of enrolling foreign expertise, not only in architecture but in many fields including education, medicine, law. That foreign expertise invited to Turkey was not only expected to practice but they also either founded or reformed the higher education institutes for the training of the future generations of Turkish experts. Ernst Egli from Switzerland, for instance, reformed the school of architecture with a revised curriculum in the 1930s on the one hand and designed many educational buildings in the office that was practically run at the academy but which was officially the Office of Construction for the Ministry of Education.

State's modernization program included aspects of industrialization and urban renewal, but an economic class capable of financing that was also lacking; so the state itself also directly undertook a planned industrial program, as well as almost all forms of construction throughout the nation. By the second half of the 1930s, the Ministry of Public Works was designed as the state institution assigned with all levels of responsibilities in handling almost all construction projects of the state, including infrastructure and planning.[12] The Ministry performed this responsibility within its own institutional means, and apart from some very limited exceptional cases of architectural competitions and private commissioning, production of architectural designs of various types of public buildings, as well as duties related to realization and control was handled within the Office of Construction Works within the Ministry of Public Works, and by architects and engineers employed here as civil servants. Considering the state's greater role in the production of the built environment at the period until 1950s when compared to private entrepreneurs, it is not a surprise that a significant portion of new construction in big cities like Ankara and İstanbul apart from private dwellings and limited number of commercial investments and almost all of designed buildings outside major cities was produced by this office, or some similar offices in other state institutions, as our database in the METU Archive project also confirmed.

Yet the appearance of these architectural products in the literature of the architectural history of the period is not proportional to this fact. The anonymous production of the prominent "NA" is hard to find in the literature. When these buildings are examined, one can put forth that the reason is not related to their architectural qualities. The number of well-designed buildings that have consistent connections to the architectural discourse in circulation in the country at the time is not significantly less when compared to the building stock designed by free architects of the time. It is also true that "ordinary" buildings that lack outstanding design characteristics are also many, but it only should be expected to be so, since the total numbers here at the side of the state institutions are also much greater, both in terms of buildings and number of architects involved. It would not be wrong to conclude that the average design qualities are not significantly differing, not at least enough to explain the exclusion of one side totally from the canon of architectural history. The only unquestionably apparent difference is in the institutional and organizational means of production, the state employment versus free practice.

At exactly this point, the question invites in the input from the studies on professions and professionalization. A viable interpretation to the absence observed here relates to the possibility that we, as architectural historians, are not also free of the professionalist definitions of our discipline. And that is understandably so, since at least for Turkey, people studying architectural history are mostly trained as architects. Those definitions include, if nothing else, an unbreakable bond between the two assumed ends of the process of architectural production; at the one end, we need to see and identify the architect, as the creative individual or at least a group of

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[12]For a detailed narration, see: İmamoğlu (2010).

individuals, and his/their individualized, identifiable professional work at creation and at the other hand the unique architectural product as a single artefact. The production of the state offices blurred both ends of this assumed relation. When documents of the Ministry of Public Works are studied, especially the journal Yapı İşleri (Construction Works), it can clearly be observed that authorship was almost always denied in a consistency to individuals who took part in production, in a consistency which implies conscious choices. The buildings, either small and ordinary or big and prestigious, were credited as the production of the office in its institutional identity, even when a single building was designed by a single architect. At a later and very interesting case in the late 1940s, when the journal finally started mentioning the names of designer architects, the citation was only used in reference to the illustrations showing the architectural drawings; thus the architects were tacitly referred as "the producers of architectural projects", not as the designers of the building and not as its authors or its creators.[13] This shows very clearly how the institution reflected an environment in which usual assumed professional definitions on jurisdictional boundaries were irrelevant to the identification of various roles in the production of a building within the institution and secondary to its collective character. And also in many cases, architects involved did not assume their architectural roles in usual individualized ways; architectural projects were produced by many architects collectively or in a rotating sense, mostly unavoidably because of the high mobility of employed architects in between different state institutions, and the office made an extensive use of practices like type projects, modifiable model designs.[14]

If we continue to read the publication of the Office of Construction Works in the Ministry, we can also observe that issues and debates on architectural style were also completely absent in its pages, an issue which was a most popular topic in the architectural publication of the time run by free practicing architects. Instead, two issues dominated its representational attitude: one being a special emphasis on the quantity of the production, underlining again and again the fact that the Republic is constructing, and in huge numbers, in various scales, for towns and cities big and small, a fact that is rhetorically tied to the revolutionary character of the Republic. The qualitative value assigned to this production on the other hand is always grounded and sought legitimization on the concept of public interest. That of course is not particularly an architectural ground; it is put forth as the base for everything that the Ministry did and architectural production is not seen as an exception. These two recurring themes, the extensiveness of production and public interest, as its definitive motive formed the whole ethos that can be read through the pages of the journal.[15] The Ministry had no interest in the cultural forms of architectural meaning and did not approve the production of it as a separate marketable service.

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[13]Anon (1948).

[14]İmamoğlu (2010), 90–92.

[15]See, for instance: Anon (1938).

This indifference towards discursive issues of architectural discipline also explains why this journal published by the Ministry is not much popular among the architectural historians studying the period, although it does include extensive statistical and material data on a significant portion of the production of the built environment of the time. Instead, historians exhaustively studied Arkitekt, the only journal published by the professional architectural community starting with 1934. This journal is in fact a heroic deed, managed by a handful of architects for numerous decades, and thanks to it we now have information and documentation on many buildings that do not exist anymore, or designs that were never built. But on the other hand, its position in our literature as a single reference is so strong that we are tending to treat its documents and manifestations as a direct and holistic reflection of whatever was going on in that period in terms of architecture, forgetting from time to time to preserve our critical distance to its discursive formations. We are tempted to overlook the fact that it was published by architects who were still at an early phase of professionalization, in which they were still far from securing their practices and their control on the field of their practices, both in legal terms and in terms of social prestige and approval. Foreign architects, as mentioned above, were an issue, as they were given almost all prestigious public buildings. On the other hand, the state was making it very manifestly clear that, for its construction program, it preferred to employ architects within its own bureaucratic organization, rather than commissioning free practicing architects. (That was also so for foreign architects, they were actually employed by the state, with the exception of Clemens Holzmeister, who designed numerous prestigious administrative buildings in the capital city Ankara.) Even for the limited amount of commissioning that these architects could find for themselves, either from the state or private investors, the market was not in a full sense protected legally from external competitors; laws which make sure that only architects can produce architectural designs were appearing slower and less effective than they should. In this context, it should be very hard to read discursive and even theoretical articles in the journal as free from this very pressing professional agenda.

In this context and in a way that perfectly follows the abstract model put forth by Larson, the journal Arkitekt became one of the lead medium where theoretical debate on the style proper for the architectural representation of the cultural values of Republican revolution was held. By the endless debate on the national and modern identifications that should be reflected through the architectural language of the Republic, architects of the time tried to convince the state that they possess the necessary expertise and means to provide the architectural form that is necessary for a proper representation of republican values, for the creation of a Republican Turkish architectural style, with an enthusiasm that the state itself or its construction offices did not actually share.[16] In accord with the same professional agenda, the

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[16]A large number of articles in the journal, especially the editorials maintained a non-aggressive yet insistent debate against the state's architectural policies. See as examples: Sayar (1943a, b, 1944, 1946), Eldem (1940).

journal Arkitekt also completely ignored those offices' actual architectural pro-
duction, except for the times they were harshly criticized. (And that in fact is
another basic reason why those buildings are still absent in our literature, as many
students of architectural history use Arkitekt as their sole primary resource.) Such
criticism aimed at the practices of state employment and its forms of organization
but utilized almost every time the argument that was derived from issues of style.
The architects gathered around the journal Arkitekt were trying to establish the
definition of their expertize on the cultural field, for the goal of a greater autonomy
in order to free the profession's control on the rewards of the field from the actual
relationships of production and consumption that was at the time mostly happening
in state control.

Professionalization narrative in Turkey did not conclude with this dispute of
architectural community versus state offices. The 1950s witnessed a change in the
political power with a new and much more liberal government, which is also more
sympathetic towards free practice when compared to their predecessors. In the year
1954, the national Chamber of Architects was founded, which marks an important
milestone in the process of professionalization. In 1950s, there was an accelerated
urbanization, and the first waves of migration to big cities appeared. New schools of
architecture and planning were formed and this time not only in İstanbul. There was
an increase in commercial activities but the state was still a major commissioner of
architectural projects, but luckily it was much more open to the idea of architectural
competitions as well as private commissioning. The period 1960s–70s brought
again a turn. With the overthrow of the liberal government of 1950, there was a
renewed role of state and planned development. Following the effects of 1968, the
Chamber of Architects also radically changed its motives and themes. Architects
organized in such professional organizations this time were characterized by being
politically engaged in a manifest left orientation. The word "professionalist" at this
time, translated as "meslekçi" in a downgrading manner, became an accusation in
the debates of various groups within the Chamber, as a critic of prioritizing abstract
qualities within the discipline over the social consequences of the production of the
urban space. Everything shifted again after the military coup of 1980, and a
completely liberal ground was formed paving all the way to the neo-liberalism of
today. There was a significant rise in the construction industry, small investors were
working hard to meet a never ending housing demand and architectural trends were
following the exchange value rather than the use value, not very differing in today's
big real estate development based corporations, except for scale. And finally today
in Turkey we are living in the absolute dominance of a construction industry based
on an endless production of shopping malls and residences.

Today in Turkey, the construction industry is enjoying a livelihood and upraise
in the volume of business. In terms of the relations of the economic and political
histories, there is a pattern that can be observed here, as was observed by Balaban[17]:
Right after the military coup in 1980 with the election of 1983, Turgut Özal's party

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[17]Balaban (2011).

that consolidated the decisively liberal and scattered conservative sides found a chance to maintain an almost unchallenged rule that lasted well into the beginning of the 1990s, and in the period the share of construction industry within the whole economic life increased significantly. A similar rise is now seen, as Erdoğan's conservative and neo-liberal AKP is establishing an even stronger authority on all levels of political and economic decision-making processes since the first years of the twenty-first century, after a brief period of coalitions and shifting shares on power. The urban spaces now and especially the urban public spaces are becoming targets for commercial investments with ever-increasing ambitions. As the political power is establishing its unchallenged rule more and more, they are also following the much older and commonly shared pattern of building their monuments as signs of their rule. The latest example is the presidential building that is built at a site which has been protected as a public urban green area with special laws since the beginning of the Republic.

Academics and professional organizations in Turkey such as the chambers of architects and city planners are trying to challenge such uses of public space. But the ruling party has long shut down communicative access to such NGOs in decision-making processes. On the other hand, the professional community at large also does not always share the critical position that the professional organizations assume. Numerous commercial projects with large shopping malls and luxurious high rise housings that are developed for previously state-owned public spaces with questionable (and questioned) legal procedures are designed by well-known and respected architects. The government also found for itself a particular architectural style to be assigned for the identification of its own prestigious buildings, as exemplified in the new presidential palace. This is, as expected, an eclectic historicism based on the common neo-classicism and traditional Turkish decoration, and particularly with Seljukid decorative forms. The choice of the stylistic language can be discussed at large, as a contemporary addition to the long history of eclectic historicism in the context of conservative political authority. However for the purposes of the discussion here, how the architectural profession is expected to provide its services to the political authority in terms of the stylistic and representational language, and nothing more, is more thought provoking.

For a long time in the Turkish urban history, which goes well beyond the beginning of AKP's rule, political authorities have found it too easy to dismiss criticism coming from professional organizations on the policies on urban spaces and built environment, simply by pointing out that the critic is "ideological and political" and not "professional". The professional vocabulary on architecture that seems to have met acknowledgement of the state today is the stylistic discussion, as exemplified by Birkiye, the architect of the presidential palace, who puts forth his design approach as "whatever that is classical is long lasting."[18] Such comments

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[18]Birkiye remains mostly silent on the heated discussion on the latest project, this comment is related to a previous, smaller local administrative building of his design. http://www.arkitera.com/haber/11068/sefik-birkiye--klasik-olanlar-uzun-omurludur.

demonstrate that the architect is willing to discuss his designs on their stylistic choices, the issues that the critics are willing to urge on the other hand are simply dismissed, because the idea that the decisions on what to build, where to build, for what purpose and with what social and economic consequences have nothing to do with the architectural profession is maintained at large. In a disciplinary perspective, looking from our positions as scholars of architecture and through our body of knowledge defined within the discipline, that idea is far away from how we wish to see it. But if we take a rather wide step outside our disciplinary boundaries to be able to view things in a critical distance, that is, also critically distant to those boundaries, too, we may have to admit that such a limited definition has a lot to do with the social identifications of the professionalization of architecture throughout the history. The way political authority denies the architects the right to provide professional opinion on the social aspects of architectural production is not unrelated to the way the society at large understands or assumes definitions on architectural profession. And that is only so because architects themselves demanded for ages the social acknowledgement on the autonomous nature of architectural value. The existence of the notion of architectural value itself, which is produced and controlled autonomously and free of economic, social and political dynamics that are impossible to claim an autonomous control on, can in fact be considered to be the product of the profession itself, in its efforts to persuade the society that buildings have meanings that can only be produced by architects and their training and their knowledge field.

Here, there is no intention of discussing the architectural qualities of the projects that have been mentioned above. That is also why I am not providing any images of those buildings; what does that Seljukid historicism look like is irrelevant. The choice on historical eclecticism is also not the question that only makes it an easier target for architectural criticism; but the issue on professional identifications and its boundaries is unrelated to the name of the particular style. The question at hand is not very different when compared to other cases in which the architectural language is not historicist but high modern, such as Hadid's latest work in Azerbaijan.[19] In terms of basic professional services, what the architect provides in all is a translation to the architectural language of some predefined representational forms. The social, political and economic consequences are predetermined and are given to the designer as inputs of the design problem, and the architect in this context is the expert who translates those inputs into outcome as the architectural form.

I will go on to suggest that, even the cases in architectural history, where architectural production included concerns on better social consequences and where

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[19]The works of "starchitects" in the non-western context of the "developing" world has for long been subject to debate in terms of an "architecture arms race". With the latest case, a New York Times article in 2013 answers the question "Who is Winning the Architectural Armsrace" as: "Baku, Azerbaijan, where the government is spending an estimated $6 billion a year on architecture projects. As we wrote in February, Azerbaijan's leaders want to make their capital city a destination for the rich and fabulous". http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/10/13/magazine/look-architecture-arms-race.html?_r=0.

architects had invested social awareness in their designs, cannot avoid being reproduced epistemologically in the disciplinary field with reflexes and habits of the professional ideology. A straightforward example is how some important modernist housing projects appear in many architectural history classes of our architectural schools, at least in Turkey. Siedlungs of pre-war Germany or Corbusier's housing blocks in post-war French are mostly discussed with their avant-garde forms and strong innovative architectural language. Such notions are of course not wrong, but limiting the narrative with aspects that are distinctly and only architectural is not making justice to those masterpieces; on the contrary, it is underrating their importance in the history of the built environment. The professional definition at work that results in the misconception of these projects here is the same with the one that is referred above on the case of architectural historiography on 1930s and 1940s of Turkey, the assumed direct link between the architect as the creator and the building as the product. Our students mostly assume that those housing projects could be created because those architects were good architects capable of creating them. True story, on the other hand as well known, has also a lot to do with the local governance and their unique policies on housing in the Weimer Germany, or with the French Ministry of Reconstruction and some open-minded intellectuals who ran it. Such should not be just details of the narration reserved for graduate students in architectural history. Or else, inclusion of such modernist avant-garde narratives in our undergraduate education will only serve for the reproduction of idealized assumptions on our profession, which will not be very helpful for our graduates especially in this contemporary context in which such idealized assumptions are bouncing back to hurt the profession itself in its claims to have a professional word on the urban spaces.

The sad truth about the dismissal that the professional criticism on architectural and urban policies of the authority in Turkey has to confront is that the society at large approves this dismissal. A very enlightening example is a campaign held by the taxi and minibus drivers of Ankara at the late 1990s: when both the chambers of architects and planners took on legal action to stop construction of overpasses in the city centre that are being built by the local government in conflict with the existing plans, the taxi and minibus drivers organized holding posters on their vehicles which say: "architects should mind their own business and leave the issue of roads to us, who actually live on the road". The social response to our chamber's campaigns has not changed much ever since. Such examples make it very interesting to discuss post forms of professionalism, because these cases, and there is plenty of similar ones, remind us that the way in which everyday realities introduce themselves can also be pre-professionalist as well (and that one is so not only because of the sentimental remark on "living on the road").

Yet it is still extremely important to discuss what have recently been changing in our professional environment. Such discussions are providing good opportunities in reassessing our disciplinary conceptualizations in the ways they may still be reflecting older ideological identifications of the professional service. And they may still be ideological indeed, because for most of the time we are willing to propagate such identifications as conclusions of a "professionalism" which is a noble pursuit

for knowing better and acting better, and they still are products of a "professionalism" which simply formulizes and controls the marketability of professional services. One example for how such ideological identifications can limit our perspective is summarized above in the field of architectural historiography, where we as historians of architecture in Turkey for so long tried to read and understand the whole story following the theory and practice of the free practicing architects only and ignoring an equally large and important portion only because that did not fit our professional definitions. Studying history functions and means best when it provides a full narration, including narratives that defy the limitations of strict norms, and so also pointing out to the future possibilities where that norm can again be challenged. Of course, no conclusion as simple as "it was all much better in state employment" will follow. Nevertheless it is worth remembering that in contexts like Turkey, both the development of the profession itself and the development of market forces that originally created the western notion of professionalism may not be typically similar to the contexts where such concepts originated. In the Turkish narrative, some particularities lead to the fact that the political and commercial influences of modernization started to affect the architectural practice and discourse much before the field could establish itself as a profession in the modern sense and thus issues like autonomy and social identifications in relation to professionalism have even further twists than usual. In this context, discussions on new concepts such as post-professionalism can indeed bring in some fresh air and help for a better definition of the social role of the discipline. However, it is equally possible that they get lost in the maze of the unresolved complexities of their pre-post forms and end up being just used for a re-polishing of the old idealizations of the profession as marketable expertize in a postmodern disguise.

Apart from the Turkish context, many concepts that come in the package with the debate on post-professionalism can already go either way. The concept of interdisciplinarity for instance; if the concern is that traditional "disciplinary" professional practice is resulting in a loss of professional roles in the market, it is simply logical to assert that interdisciplinary approaches to architecture can bring in some new equipment for reassuring those roles. Yet, referring to the studies on professions given above, there is nothing post-professional in such an assertion. In fact it is professionalist to the bone; interdisciplinary in such an approach is merely about formulizing (or inventing, if that need be) new professional niches of marketable specializations. Or in a better scenario, we can utilize the concept of interdisciplinarity to get rid of epistemological reflections of jurisdictional boundaries that limit our pedagogical methods and integrate its implications to the ways that we train new architects in which they are also trained in the ways they communicate with the non-architect and even the non-professional actors in the shaping of the built environment, with the ultimate hope that they do not only become good designers capable of creating good architecture but also be equipped with tools to take part in the collective creation of the social ground that can create better urban spaces.

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Bilge İmamoğlu graduated from the Middle East Technical University, Department of Architecture, in 2000 with the degree B. Arch. He completed his thesis on the workers' houses designed in the early Republican period for the Zonguldak coal field in 2003 and got his M.A. degree from the History of Architecture program in METU. He assisted architectural design studios and courses on modern architecture in Turkey, while he was employed as a research assistant in METU from his graduation to the year 2007. In this year he went to the Netherlands, to carry on his research on the professionalization of architecture in Turkey that he began in the doctoral program at the Department of Architecture, METU, at the Institute of Art, Architecture

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His studies and researches into various fields in the general frame of modernism and theories and applications of modern urbanism and architecture are such as twentieth century architecture in Turkey, professionalization of architecture in Turkey, documentation and conservation of modern architectural heritage.

Chapter 4
De-modernization of the Architectural and Engineering Profession in Serbian Society at the End of the Twentieth Century

Duško Kuzović and Žaklina Gligorijević

Abstract The Serbian architectural profession was established over a period of two hundred years, during which it was internationally praised for architectural pieces of extraordinary quality. Serbia's architectural education became an internationally recognized brand in the twentieth century. Members of the Yugoslav architectural society participated in public life and were equally respected and admired in a way similar to journalists, writers, actors, movie directors, and painters. The end of the century brought conflicts and economic crisis in the Balkan region. It was a period of interrupted post-socialist transition in which architecture, among other professions, was struggling for existence and losing its authority, social influence, and the solid foundations it was built on. In this chapter, we analyze the architectural profession at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, taking into account its historic development patterns in order to understand its values, capacity, and accomplishments, and to envision its future. We will analyze various aspects, and context, of the profession and demonstrate both its positive and negative trends over time. The first aspect addresses the nature of the profession, its concepts, boundaries, organization, and relationships between its various specializations as well as relations with other complementary professions. We will try to recognize and evaluate its historical and contemporary identity. The second aspect addresses the relationships between the profession and society, government, civic groups, and public and educational institutions in which professionalism presents a governmental or societal goal. Finally, we will look at whether there is still trust in the profession, in and outside Serbian society.

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4.1   Introduction

The Republic of Serbia and the whole Balkan region had experienced profound changes by the end of the twentieth century. The early 1990s saw the collapse of what was Yugoslavia, the final form of the complex state founded in 1918, unifying different cultural and economic spaces, nations, religions, traditions, and different statehoods (sovereignties). Nevertheless, Serbia was especially interesting because of the overlapping interests that competed for decades in its cultural space. Besides the significant overall history of the region, it was also burdened with national conflict during the 1990s, imposed by and transferred from the military realm to the wider social space including its economic, cultural, philosophical, aesthetic, and religious aspects. We have to consider this specific context when analyzing the architectural profession, since it reflects all the complexity and longstanding conflict remaining in this region. In that sense, we have to broaden the research all the way back to the beginning of the nineteenth century and look not only into the architectural but also into the complementary professions of engineering and urban planning that share the same context.

Our understanding of the extraordinary results of Serbian architects that became a part of the national and international architectural heritage during the twentieth century requires significant and wide-ranging research. Analyses of the current architectural profession in Serbia require an understanding of the processes of the nineteenth and twentieth century, influenced by Anglo-Saxon, German, and Russian cultural circles. Architectural education played a special role in creating the reputation of the Serbian architectural profession. It influenced not only the developments in Serbia and Yugoslavia, but also in the Non-Aligned Movement countries of Africa and the Middle East, as their citizens were studying at Belgrade University and other universities in Serbia in the second half of the twentieth century.

We will analyze the generative process instead of focusing only on the state-of-the-art architectural profession in Serbia in order to better understand and offer an answer to the research question: is the current situation just one phase in the long-lasting destruction of the professional system that existed until the end of the twentieth century or an indicator of a new phase known in contemporary literature as *post-professionalism* (Burns 2007)? Understanding this process will help define the concept of the profession, which not only changed over time but also shaped this unique discipline in Serbia.

We will also broaden the research to complementary fields, i.e., the professions that are jointly acting in modern architectural practice, which should help in understanding and defining the range of the profession. In order to recognize its positive and negative aspects we will look into the following important elements: the concepts, the boundaries and organization of the profession, identity, relations between the profession and society, inter-professional communication, educational institutions, general confidence in the profession in and outside national borders, as well as the import and localization of ideas.

4.2 The Overview

4.2.1 Influences

The status of the architectural profession in Serbia cannot be understood by simply evaluating the results from the turn of the twentieth century, due to its geo-strategic position and related historical development. Therefore, we will look into major events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the flow of ideas and influences from European politics to Serbian social and spiritual development, the economy of the region, social structure, culture, and philosophy among other factors. We recognize three significant geographic and cultural areas of influence that considerably affected Serbian architecture. These are:

- Austria, Germany, and Switzerland.
- Great Britain, the United States, and Japan.
- Russia.

These cultural sources have formed a fruitful base for the development and advancement of the architectural profession in Serbia, differently influencing parts of society, creating patterns and interrelations between architects and different schools of architecture over time. Regardless of the level of influence, popularity, or recognition, all three groups constantly participated in the architectural market independent of the administrative organization, political attitudes, or the publicly demonstrated commitments of the state. In the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the French and Russian influence was dominant in education and the architectural profession in general. It was empowered by the presence of Russian architects working in Serbia and by Serbian architects educated in Paris. However, the Anglo-Saxon architectural schools, culture, and aesthetics strongly influenced Serbian architecture in the second half, and particularly at the end, of the twentieth century.

4.2.2 The Four Periods of Serbian Architecture

The Serbian legal framework in architectural education and professional work was consolidated at the end of the twentieth century, but different ideas existed about how to start the reform and what the vision of the profession should be for the years to come. It was a time of political, economic, and social transition and required a new, appropriate legal environment and specific regulations for parts of the profession, and the profession as a whole. While the existing legal framework became weak and insufficient for the demands of the new era, the representatives and followers of the three influential professional groups insisted persistently on their specific legal concepts or the system of legal reforms. As an example, the national government adopted two planning and building laws at the turn of the millennium,

in 1995 and 2003, differing in visions for the architectural profession, resulted from the differences in education of the professionals involved in the legal reforms.[1] Professionals who were educated locally or in Russia anticipated a different future for architects and their professional positions and responsibilities within the state compared to those educated in Anglo-Saxon or German schools and universities. This illustrates the international cultural influence on history, the present, and most likely the future of the national architectural profession.

For the purpose of this research, the development of the architectural profession and education of architects in Serbia can be divided into four periods:

- 1813–1918, the period of the Serbian Kingdom.
- 1918–1945, the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.
- 1945–1991, the period of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.
- 1991–2016, the period of the Republic of Serbia.[2]

The period of the *Serbian Kingdom (1813–1918)* was a time of renewal and development of educational institutions in Serbia, which started in 1846 with the establishment of the first engineering school (later technical high school) in Belgrade, by the decree of Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević. At the same time, Serbian engineers were educated in Vienna, Munich, and Zurich, thus establishing strong scientific relations between Belgrade and other European educational centers. Likewise, the engineers from Austria, the Czech Republic, and Switzerland were engaged in construction works in Serbia at the time. The imported developed knowledge from the above listed countries served as the foundation for professionalism in architecture and construction works (later civil engineering) in Serbia, which replaced the dominant but outdated construction model inherited from the period of the Ottoman Empire.

A transformation of the value system was also brought to Serbia from Austria and Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the social and economic status of the architects (engineers) changed. Namely, the Serbs educated abroad and foreign professionals who worked in Serbia restricted their professional engagement to the professional work at hand, putting the contemplative or reformative ideas aside or reducing them to a minimum. The boundaries of the profession were strict, with no overlapping between the fields of architecture, construction, and urban planning. An engineer was educated to work on urban plans, architecture design, and to perform or control construction works.[3] Through the reforms of the architectural profession in Serbia, the government was imposing other social reforms accordingly, like the reform of tourism facilities implemented mostly through the architectural and urban design projects and technical consulting

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[1]*The Law on Planning and Organization of Space and Settlements,* RS Official Gazette, No. 44/95 and integral *Planning and Building Law*, RS Official Gazette 47/03.

[2]The first attempts for separation of the former Yugoslav republics occurred in 1991, producing incidents, political and social insecurity, and finally military intervention that escalated into a civil war in Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia.

[3]Franc Janke, Slovak architect working in Serbia between 1833 and 1842.

for the new generation of inns (Serbian: "mehana") and hotels instead of the Ottoman "khans" and "caravanserais."

The first engineering school in Serbia, with architecture being one among five courses, was established in 1846. The first technical high school and the Faculty of Technical Sciences with the Department for Architecture (1889) became Belgrade University in 1905 (Lazović and Mako 2016). The first professional associations were also established in Belgrade in this period.

During the period of the *Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1945)*, the professors educated in Serbia who advanced their knowledge in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland further developed the educational system established in the nineteenth century. The professional associations organized the first international architectural design competitions in Serbia to demonstrate professional self-esteem, promote cultural values, and the need and the will for professional and cultural exchange. Running away from Russia after the October Revolution, a number of architects found asylum in Serbia and brought with them their own values and knowledge, subsequently having a significant cultural influence on Serbian architecture, urbanism, and the arts in general (Fig. 4.1). They continued working in the style of Late Classicism, leaving behind the buildings and structures that still marked the cultural space of Serbia.[4] The professional associations were also reorganized in this period.

Another significant international trend, the Modernist movement, emerged in Serbia at that time. Locally educated Serbian architects who had spent some time in France, and especially in the atelier of Le Corbusier, strongly promoted new ideas in architecture, urban design, and planning.[5] The government supported the extensive construction of public, military, and administrative buildings in the biggest Serbian cities Belgrade and Novi Sad, which were predominantly built in classic styles, while the private housing or commercial buildings were built in the Modernist style.

The University of Belgrade invested in and constructed the Belgrade Technical Faculty with the Department for Architecture in 1931.

In the period of the *Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1991)*, Belgrade was the leader in the region in implementing the post-war industrialization and electrification carried out by the highly educated engineers, as compared to other Eastern European capitals. In addition, the first Conference of Architects and Urban Planners of Yugoslavia gathered a significant number of professionals at the Athens Charter in Dubrovnik in 1950 (Krstić 2014), after the first 5 years of implementation of the Charter in the Federal Civic Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ). It was unofficially published in Paris in 1942 and officially in 1958. It is also worth mentioning that the last The Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne CIAM congress took place in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia in 1956.

Although the mid-twentieth century urban plans for Eastern European capitals like Bucharest, Belgrade, and Sofia were rather similar, Belgrade's modern districts were better supplied with services, their design was of a superior architectural

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[4]Nikolaj Petrović Krasnov (1864–1939).

[5]Zloković and Krunić, and from Yugoslavia Ravnikar, Pantović, and Antolić.

Fig. 4.1 General plan of Belgrade, 1923 (architect Jurij Kovaljevski) from the archives of the Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade

quality and constructed with higher quality materials (Hirt 2008, pp 785–810). The neighborhoods provided a higher living standard (compared to their socialist counterparts) with plenty of open public space, which was different from the typical monotony of the communist housing projects. Moreover, Yugoslav architects continued to be an integral part of the world's avant-garde (Hirt 2012, p 58). The quality of urban plans was also an indicator of professional and societal capacity for strategic thinking during the second half of the twentieth century (Gligorijević 2016, p 129).

A significant example of the long lasting and consistent conceptualization/ design/construction process was the construction of New Belgrade, the new part of the capital city. The first ideas about the new city across the river Sava were conceived in Romantic style (Fig. 4.2), originating from the time before World War II (Blagojević 2007). Nevertheless, the new city was built years later through a new plan for the capital city made by the new state, the post-war Yugoslavia. It was just the right social setting for the concept of functional urbanism and the ideas of the CIAM established in the Athens Charter in 1933. The capital was built according to a political decision to host thousands of citizens in regular, stan- dardized orthogonal housing blocks. Constructing the new city was a socialist accomplishment and a way for the government to show gratitude and support to the impoverished society. In such a city, citizens would live in their new, standardized apartments (Blagojević 2007). Although the old town of the city of Belgrade was

seen as a whole, New Belgrade represented a consistent implementation of the new, Modernist, governmental urban development project and the demonstration of the technical and professional capacity of the Yugoslav and mostly Serbian architects and construction companies (Figs. 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4).

The growth of the civil engineering field and its general development in the 1980s was still a fruitful environment for the education of architects in Serbia. In this period, the exchange with scholars from all over the world that began in the first half of twentieth century continued with visible results. Civil engineering remained one of the most successful state products regardless of changes in the political and economic systems, administrative organization of the state, or the separation of some of the constituencies. In this period, both the government and the private sector were founding a large number of construction companies and employing architects. The well-known reputation of the Serbian construction companies and their international contracts supported the state economy even in times of serious economic crisis and

Fig. 4.2 The design contest for New Belgrade's urban plan, 1947, architect Nikola Dobrović, Urban Planning Institute of Serbia (from Blagojević 2007, p. 67)

Fig. 4.3 The Conceptual urban design project for New Belgrade, 1948, architect Nikola Dobrović, Urban Planning Institute of Serbia (ibid.)
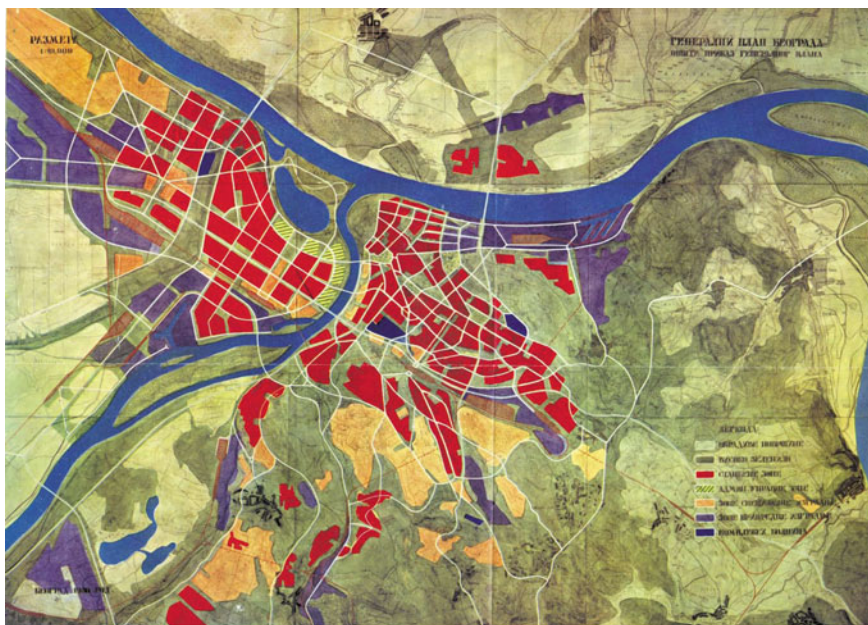
Fig. 4.4 General plan of Belgrade, 1950 (architect Miloš Somborski), from the archives of the Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade

international political, economic, and cultural sanctions imposed against Serbia. Modernist architecture became absolutely dominant. Serbian professors of the Faculty of Architecture gained their professional experience in Serbia or through the international engagements of Serbian companies, as well as through specializations during the visiting periods in France, Denmark, Great Britain, and Italy.[6]

Architecture was a matter of public interest at the time. Mihajlo Mitrović, a well-known Belgrade architect, started a column on architecture in the most popular Yugoslav daily newspaper "Politika" over 50 years ago, and has been publishing with the same success and popularity ever since. Several professional monthly magazines or periodicals attracted curious, educated, and ambitious members of the architectural society.[7]

The existing Society of Architects and Engineers transformed into the Serbian Association of Architects, and later into the Serbian Union of Architects and the Association of Yugoslav Architects. Some Serbian film directors, actors, world-renowned painters (Vladimir Veličković), and politicians were educated at the Belgrade Faculty of Architecture. That also contributed to the change in status of the architectural profession in the period between the Kingdom of Serbia and the

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[6]Stanko Mandić, architect and Professor at the Belgrade Faculty of Architecture, spent some time studying in Italy.

[7]*Arhitektura i urbanizam*, Belgrade; *Izgradnja*, Belgrade; *Čovjek i prostor*, Zagreb, etc.

Kingdom of Yugoslavia. An architect was no longer only a professional who offered services in construction works and design, but had also become an active participant in the public and social life of Serbia.

On the one hand, the boundaries of the profession expanded when the architects gained different roles in society, but on the other, a significant divide emerged within the profession that reflected on urbanism (urban planning and design), architectural design, interior design, and construction works. The reason for the divide might have been the overall economic development that induced the development of the construction industry, and accordingly, the expansion of construction companies offering a wide range of works and various specializations. The level of knowledge and growing technological development was also a factor in remaining highly ranked in the world market.

During this period, Serbian companies were building different structures and buildings designed by Serbian architects in Kuwait, Iraq, Libya, Zimbabwe, Peru, and Angola among others. For the first time in history, Belgrade University accepted students from Africa and the Middle East, at first using the multilateral cooperation between the Non-Aligned Movement countries, and later accepting all the other interested international students out of this group of countries. At that time Serbia was exporting architectural education to Third World countries.

The main architectural educational institution at the time was the Faculty of Architecture at Belgrade University. During the 1980s, the government allowed the establishment of the Faculty of Architecture in Novi Sad, Niš, and Priština.

The period of the *Republic of Serbia (1991–to present day)* administratively started within the shaken former Yugoslavia boundaries, still under socialism. The complicated transitional period that went from the centrally planned economy to the liberal market economy required complete political, economic, social, and legal reforms, which were initiated by the collapse of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia followed by the civil war on its territory (1991–2000). The period marked economic, social, and moral crisis. What remained of the successful economy and world-renowned construction and design companies was finally sold in several privatization cycles from the mid-1990s to the present day. The biggest and strongest companies were the first to be privatized, so the number of companies that could work on complex construction projects radically decreased. The number of offices where young engineers could get professional practice also decreased. Many young and educated architects and engineers left the country looking for jobs, better living conditions, and professional growth.[8]

With the economic downfall, the banks could no longer finance significant projects, so the construction industry had to adapt technology and capacity to the needs of small private investors. At the same time, small firms without enough specialization could

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[8]An estimation from 2000 shows that 230,000 people moved to Serbia because of the war (and a significant number to Belgrade), gaining the status of "displaced persons." During that period, 106,000 predominantly young and educated Belgrade citizens left the city permanently. Natural and migration-driven increase of population, 1961–2010, Statistical yearbook of Belgrade 2010, City of Belgrade Institute for informatics and statistics.

not build contemporary structures, and a gap arose between design capacities on the one hand and construction capacities on the other. The schools of architecture remained open for students, but the practical knowledge went with the closing down of companies and with talented architects and engineers leaving the country.

It is interesting to look back into the legislative framework for the architectural profession during the last two periods in the former Yugoslavia. The laws regulating urban design were the responsibility of the Sector of Construction Works in 1938, 1995, and 2003; the Sector of Urbanism, Housing and Constructing in 1989; the Sector Constructing, Environment, Mining, and Spatial Planning in 2009; and the Sector of Constructing, Transportation, and Infrastructure since 2014 (Gligorijević 2016, p 111).

4.2.3   The Synergy of Influences

The consequences of the factors discussed earlier were:

- Depleted architectural language due to a size of projects and investment.
- Basic constructions dependent on the capacity of construction firms lacking educated staff.
- Simple forms, uncostly, affordable for common households' financial capacity, mainly from savings.
- Irrational, surprizing architectural forms in an attempt to construct the maximum capacity of the parcel, commonly ignoring planning regulations and design guidelines.
- Neighborhoods lacking basic technical and social infrastructure and low standards in planning regulations.

Consequently, the architectural profession was engaged in legalizing informal buildings in order to provide technical documentation for the cadastre. These documents are of little importance for planning and architectural design.

Schools of architecture are lacking a faculty with practical experience and specific theoretical knowledge. The ideal architectural expertise should be a combination of both practical skills and theoretical knowledge, a mixture of theory and praxis. With the national educational reforms (2006) shifting to the *Bologna Declaration*, the faculty were less practically experienced albeit theoretically knowledgeable. The transfer of knowledge remained mainly theoretical, even when it came to beneficial international exchanges. Graduation gave architects a chance to enter the professional world of materialization, regulations, and administration. However, since graduated architects could not use and develop their theoretical knowledge in the local market, they usually tried to develop their skills in the wider international professional community. Therefore, it seems that the architectural profession had no capacity to respond to local, lower market–based demands, nor to the demands of general society to solve the practical problems of everyday life.

After a 200-year-long tradition, the profession seemed not only to suffer from a lack of capacity but also experienced a serious decline in its authority and self-esteem.

According to national legislation, certification of architects is divided into two administrative fields: the field of education, which is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, and the field of planning and construction, which is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Transportation, Constructing Works and Infrastructure. According to the regulations, a condition for a graduate architect to work as a practitioner is to first gain 2 years of practical experience and then to apply for the Engineer of Architecture Certificate before applying for their license with the Chamber of Engineers of Serbia (CES; founded in 2003).

The professional associations of architects have been sharing the destiny of the profession as a whole. The establishment of the CES was rooted in the 2003 Planning and Building Law. Although the claimed intention of the reform was professional cohesion, the chamber caused an even greater divide among architects. The CES consists of four main sections: regional planners, urban planners, design engineers, and construction engineers, who once licensed and have their licenses renewed annually.[9] To lead and govern the projects within their legal offices or institutions, all engineers in Serbia have to be certified under one or several sections of the CES. A continuous education program was regulated by law and established within the CES, but after its 13-year-long history, the national system of continuous professional education is still under construction and facing adjustments to new EU regulations. The CES has put efforts into equalizing the evaluation and licensing systems to the EU professional chambers' regulations, so as to provide equal conditions for free access to professional jobs all over the EU, however, this was only undertaken for some professions, with the architectural profession not being included. Since the system is under reform, we will restrain from commenting on the programs and the quality of offered lectures, seminars, and workshops within the CES continuous professional educational programs. We can only say that they are similar to the professional exchanges previously conducted by the professional associations of architects and planners.

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 The Concept of the Profession

4.3.1.1 The Social Framework

The trajectories of the profession at the turn of the Millennium, i.e., at the time of transition from professionalism to post-professionalism, can be understood by

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[9]Amendment of the Decision on the types of licenses issued by the Engineering Chamber of Serbia, No. 4078/1-3, effective from 20th December 2012.

following the three main previously explained twentieth century concepts: Anglo-Saxon, German, and Russian.

Due to the circumstances inherited from the two-decade-long transitional period, the legislative institutions and their regulations faced a loss of authority; the government, supported by the profession, intended to establish a consensus for all the participants in the planning–design–construction process of a particular territory. Without going into too much detail, the political structures involved usually tried to reach administrative efficiency through changing the regulations: in Milan, Italy (Mazza 2007), in New South Wales, Australia, Ontario, Canada (Schatz and Piracha 2013), and The Netherlands (Schultz van Haegen 2015). Despite good intentions, the changes were often made without the democratic consensus of the professionals who had been interested in, and affected by, the legislation. In other words, the changes were rather implemented as rigid political tools and a demonstration of political will and power. Being detached from professional patterns, heritage, framework, and needs, the laws and rules have become another administrative obstacle for the conscientious professional work that brings extraordinary results. Serbia is also trying hard to adjust the legislation to the needs of local governments, investors, and developers, and to enable a business-friendly environment.

For over 20 years efforts have been made by the government to impose a legislation model that would fit all. During this time there have always been supporting and opposing professional or interest groups whose opinions and arguments have needed to be taken into account. Also, the rationalization of the local authorities, having no capacity to provide appropriate building controls within their territories or being inconsistent in implementing regulations, unintentionally weakened the system and contributed to illegal or semi-legal construction as well as preventing a sustainable legalization solution to be found.[10]

Professional organizations were not properly involved in the decision making about the status and the future of the profession. The Republic of Serbia Planning and Building Law, Article 130, 2003, prescribed the establishment of the CES, the organization to which the government transferred the right to certify architects and other engineers and planners in the Republic of Serbia. The promotion of personal licenses represented the will of the government to support the private sector and reduce the importance (or monopoly) of governmental planning and design institutions.

Professional organizations also lost their significance. Some of them, like the Association of Architects and Engineers, which was respected and influential all over the former Yugoslavia, or The Union of Architects of Serbia (UAS), which used to be the most significant professional association for more than 130 years, lost their power and reputation when their duties and responsibilities were transferred to the CES under the authority of law. The UAS, for example, transformed

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[10]Common practice in local administrations was to reduce the number of employed building inspectors saving local budget expenditure. Only one or two people controlled developing areas in municipalities with populations of up to 85,000 like Čajetina or Užice in western Serbia. Familiar with this situation, developers have been using the chance to increase the permitted floor area ratio (FAR) of their properties in order to gain greater profits.

into a group of volunteers mainly devoted to architectural design contests and the promotion of national architecture, its identity, tradition, and its significance for society. The Association of Urban Planners of Serbia also lost some of its authority being focused only on achieving better practices by organizing the annual planning exhibition.[11] The legal status of these professional associations has become equal to that of groups of birdwatchers, chess players, or cheese producers, showing a lack of recognition by the state and the public. The state has already shifted its formal power and the power of the professional associations to the CES, so the former contribution of the professional associations has disappeared, as well as their legitimate professional dialog about important professional, administrative, and regulatory issues. Their role is evidently missing in education and the promotion of the architectural profession, as well as national architecture, its role, heritage, importance for the state economy, cultural position, and national identity.

An open market for jobs and ideas was a privilege available in the former Yugoslavia, enabling architectural design contests for local and international teams and architects, as well as numerous scientific and professional conferences where architects could share and gain knowledge and experience. The scope and role of the profession has changed. It became blurred and unclear due to the new building and construction organizational reforms from 2003. Societal needs to engage knowledgeable and skillful architects for its benefit have also diminished. Finally, without professional authority, there cannot be a clear vision for the profession itself nor its role within society.

4.3.1.2 Economic Framework

The impact of the economic framework on the concept of the profession should also be analyzed in a broader time-frame. The "*Engineering News Record*" magazine listed several important Serbian construction companies among the top 50 in the world. Most of them were Belgrade based, including "Energoprojekt," engaged in all sectors from urban design to construction; "Mostogradnja," engaged in the bridge-construction sector; "Ratko Mitrovic," in hydro-construction and military facilities; "Proleterski put," known for road construction; and "Rad" and "Napred," in housing construction. These companies employed several thousand people and developed construction sites on all continents during the last decade of the twentieth century. Their international competitiveness resulted from a high quality organization and highly educated architects and engineers expanding their knowledge in their respective companies, while, at the same time contributing to companies' capacities and reputation. The quality of internal organizations enabled the exchange of knowledge between young and experienced engineers. This was proven to be one of the best standardized professional education methods through

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[11]Annual Urban Planning Exhibition, Niš, organized by the Association of Urban Planners of Serbia, since 1990.

which theoretical knowledge could be tested directly in practice. The socio-economic transition, privatization, grey economy, and political restrictions and interventions first weakened the Serbian construction sector and eventually destroyed it at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

As noted earlier, with the restructuring of the sector into a small and medium enterprise (SME) system, companies tried to achieve as much work as possible with the least human resources possible, so an overlap of professional responsibilities became unavoidable. Specialization was lost and both architects and civil engineers shared the same duties and responsibilities. The latter gained an advantage, since their education had always been closer to praxis than that of architecture, so the scope of their work was broadened to include the architectural design of structures up to 400 m^2 and housing up to two floors high.[12] The aesthetics of buildings became irrelevant during this time of economic crisis, resulting in illegal and informal constructions, and a lowered standard of living. The main concern was building stability while the aesthetics and context, belonging traditionally to architectural design, became irrelevant to owners and investors.

On the other hand, architects thoughtfully developed an integrated model of designing and constructing buildings during the most successful period of the Belgrade School of Architecture, while the modern advocates of such a system contributed to the integration of basic architecture with the civil engineering profession. In aim to achieve high profits and an efficient construction process, investors engaged a construction office to produce a "design and build" package instead of consulting architects, who first regard the future design or context. Interdisciplinary communication and the tradition of teamwork, which were common until 1991, were lost under the transition process for the sake of higher efficiency, profits, or market competitiveness. Under such circumstances, there was no need for inventive and innovative architects or for functional, aesthetic, contextual, and sustainable architecture. This aspect of authorship became non-essential.

By losing the conceptual position in urban, architectural, and building processes, the role of the architect as its creator and/or director was diminished. It was a big shift for the profession that used to be admired, respected, and socially engaged in harmonizing human, economic, and political interests up until 1991.

4.3.1.3   The Industry of Building Materials

Serbia developed the industry of building materials in the mid-twentieth century and was as equally innovative and competitive as other developed European countries. The end of the century was highly productive because of market demands and active communication among the various fields of the profession, that is, the educational, the design, and the construction components of the construction

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[12]The CES designing license allows the civil engineering sector to design buildings.

industry (Share 2009; Share et al. 2012). They supported research and development (R&D) of new products giving constant feedback from construction sites to the R&D sector.

The extensive privatization of Serbian construction companies, usually taken over by foreign companies from the same engineering sector, caused the closure of production sectors and the layoff of many experienced architects and engineers who spent their entire careers in this field. This produced many personal, professional, and social problems leaving a proportion of the working class without jobs and basic incomes. The new owners usually adjusted or imported construction materials and applied technology according to their new needs.

Different cultural, political, and economic interests in Serbia also influenced the professional sphere. Without any consensus achieved, none of the three (previously discussed) interests were dominant or willing to accept a compromise. The former Yugoslav Standards (JUS) were a synthesis of German (DIN), American (ASA), and Russian (ГОСТ) standards, a synthesis which enabled local companies to produce and export products and professional services internationally.

4.3.1.4 Politics

The role of the construction industry in Serbia was very important to the general economy of the state after World War II. The construction sector participated in many economic activities; it employed thousands of people from all social and educational groups; it generated income in and outside the country, and contributed to the cultural landscape of the nation and state. As a sector, it has always been promoted in political marketing either by presenting its achieved results or in a metaphoric way when promoting the future visions of national development and progress, and was therefore, both directly and indirectly, linked to political structures and politics. The interference of local politics in the profession is common in urban planning. The history of Serbian planning goes far back. It became standard in Serbian municipalities from the early nineteenth century. Namely, the first regulatory plans were made in 1829 for the standardized building of urban settlements. In 1833, the first building was destroyed because it was not built in accordance with urban planning regulations.

There is another aspect of the spatial policy of local governments in which politics is a crucial factor. The informal construction phenomenon appeared in Serbia in the second half of the twentieth century, predominantly in housing. There was a sudden growth of urban centers not prepared for the new building demand or the weakening of local authorities. The vast number of illegally constructed houses and buildings was the result of transitional processes at the end of the century. There were two main sources of informal building in Serbia at the time. The first was social, numerous families were coming from the former Yugoslav republics to Serbia running away from the war and the nationalist violence to find a new home. Neither the state nor the cities were able to accommodate the newcomers in an official, regulated way. The second was the result of a failed, incomplete transition,

and grey economy, as a significant number of informal structures were built in middle-income and high-income neighborhoods and even in luxury housing zones and city centers, not strictly obeying regular building permits. According to The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe UNECE study (2006), Belgrade significantly contributed to the estimated number of over one million illegally constructed buildings in Serbia (Mojović et al. 2011). Approximately 43% of all housing land and 22% of the central City of Belgrade contained informal settlements.[13] There are also estimates that the number of legally constructed buildings was equal to the number of informal structures in 1997, not only in terms of houses, but also administrative, commercial, and industrial buildings and structures. By the end of the century, the urban planning process became equally important for surveying or mapping informal sectors and planning urban development. The role of the architectural profession became important in mediating the political and social interests of local communities and municipalities through the planning process.

4.4   Conclusion

The question of professionalism and post-professionalism in Serbia at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty first century should be analyzed in a wider context of the 200-year-long tradition and in the context of an incomplete political and economic transition. The conflicts that occurred in this period have brought new and unique processes within the scope of the profession. These processes questioned the values established during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

The concept of the profession lost its essence due to the changes in the education system, economic system, and the general downfall of the Serbian construction industry. All of this dramatically affected the overall level of knowledge and skills that professional architects acquired before 1991. The changed perception of national production, the dominant role of SMEs in the construction sector, and the economic crisis made different segments of the profession compete in a weakened professional local market. Architects and civil engineers who had previously specialized in large professional teams, became "designers" with their specializations often overlapping. This situation marginalized important elements of architectural expression and historical significance related to conceptualization, aesthetics, and organization from urban planning and design to construction, which led to the loss of the architectural profession's authority within society.

National structural, social, economic, and legal reforms made traditional professional associations disappear rather than transform into professional organizations. The integrative state policy, imposed in 2003, officially unified the planning,

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[13]Documentation of the General Plan of Belgrade, 2021, Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade, 2003.

architectural, and engineering professions into a single national organization to which the government transferred the certifying rights that had been under the jurisdiction of the state administration or professional associations, some of which had existed for over 130 years. Although the number of new organizations is higher than before, their significance has been considerably reduced, unveiling the obvious lack of a clear vision, professional cohesion, and activism.

The boundaries of the profession have changed to the detriment of the architectural profession. The notion of architecture lost its professional influence on other fields due to the overlapping of responsibilities with other professions for things like regional planning, civil engineering, surveying, and engineering. Process evaluation is important for strategic decision making about the national architectural education system, achievement of competencies in architectural production, quality and attractiveness of national and international studies, as well as for the EU professional and educational exchange and ranking system.

The links between education and the construction industry radically weakened due to the privatization and collapse of large construction companies and the sector for the production of construction materials. Interdisciplinary collaboration and teamwork, considered traditional before 1991, were lost due to transition, political sanctions, lack of capacity, and xenophobia for the sake of higher efficiency, profits, and market competitiveness. The discourse of professionalism was blurred given the lack of specific standards that were supposed to be set through the consensus between the architects and the architectural guild.

Educated architects, who were the leading professionals in planning, design, and construction, significantly participated in social and cultural life and were successful in venturing into other professions such as the film industry, theatre, painting, and politics. Architectural "language," both in written and visual communication, became incoherent and reduced, partly due to social crisis and poverty, the lack of high-quality education, and adaption to the needs of the laic construction market.

Professionalism as a social project was a successful concept initiated by individuals and associations, but it was not visible in Serbian contemporary professional society. The competition between professions for higher contribution to the quality of life practically disappeared. Social perception of the profession shifted because of architects' inability to timely respond to the needs of society, social change, innovation in technology, and the economic crisis. The profession's identity based on innovation and creativity became unnecessary and consequently, architecture shifted into reproduction (Duffy 2001). The role of architecture in society has evidently changed from an active, respectable, to a rather marginalized profession. The public trust in the architectural profession has fading due to unsatisfactory planning, a lack of architectural participation in the design processes, a lack of participation of architects in political debates, and especially a lack of cooperation with political parties. The potential causes of this unsatisfactory position were the constant changes in society, its constantly changing value systems, and the changes in professional focus from dominantly humane to other aspects and attractions.

In conclusion, the architectural profession needs an urgent change in terms of its organization in order to achieve the ability to self-evaluate, improve quality, increase competitiveness, and collaborate within a wider and international environment. The current performance model of the architectural profession can be perceived as *deregulated*, not *post-professional*. To reach the phase of post-professionalism, the architectural profession needs to achieve clear, creative, and productive solutions oriented toward a better quality of life. For this to happen it is necessary to evaluate many possible solutions and define the architectural profession's position within partnerships with complementary professions, to re-establish the scope of the profession, and to evaluate and reform the educational system so it can better contribute to the profession, the economy, and society since that represents the first step in the ethical and professional development of an architect (Banks 2004). The new vision of the Serbian architectural profession should rely on a successful historical framework adjusted to a new context in order to set up its vital elements which include competitiveness, creativity, and innovation.

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Chapter 5
Architecture Beyond Construction

Evren Aysev Deneç

Abstract The last decade of urban space-making practices in Turkey has been dominated by a construction frenzy caused by the neoliberal alignment of capitalist market forces and urban governments. Not unlike the current global architectural scene, the effect of this situation toward professional architectural practice in Turkey is twofold: On the one hand, architecture and design in general are becoming booming professions as creative forces of the construction industry that forms the core of the national economy. The job opportunities and commissions for practicing architects are proliferating, and the clientele profile has been expanding with national–international investors as well as the central and local governments promoting large-scale urban development projects. On the other hand, the architectural practice is so immensely dominated by the neoliberal policies focused on "building as a means for economic growth" that there is virtually no room for a professional discourse encompassing disciplinary ethics charged with social agenda, informed by spatial intelligence, formulated with public participation, aiming for the greater good. This paper aims to discuss the current state of the architectural profession and the practicing architect as a spatial intellectual in the globalized world, focusing mainly on the İstanbul experience and reflecting on the possibility of an architectural practice beyond the constraints of the construction industry. In the course of the paper, firstly a brief account on the condition of normative/conventional urban space-making practices at the age of neoliberal urban politics is given through the example of İstanbul. Then, a reflection upon the capabilities and capacities of the architectural profession in terms of producing alternative spatial practices is delved upon. Lastly, concluding remarks underlining the necessity for an architectural practice beyond construction are introduced.

Keywords Architectural profession · Practicing architect · İstanbul
Neoliberal politics · Urban space production

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5.1   Introduction

The modes of existence in today's postindustrial, globalized, neoliberalized world are subjected to a constant state of change. The ways in which we perceive the world, communicate, produce, and consume are all transforming. Architecture, being one of the many human practices that build up culture, is no exception to this condition. As the modern, centralized, national state of the industrialized society is superseded by the postmodern, decentralized, global state of the postindustrial society, it could be argued that the discipline of architecture is shifting from professionalism to a post-professional condition.

As a profession based on the corporealization of power, architecture has been in close relationship with dominating power structures throughout its history. Yet it has never been focused on mere image production and creation of exchange value to the extent it is, in today's neoliberal political climate. On one hand, globalized economy is celebrating the construction industry as a highly profitable means for capital accumulation. In the last two decades, while some cities such as Dubai were built from scratch, becoming new global business centers, some industrial cities on the verge of recession such as Bilbao were reinvented as artistic and cultural hubs by inserting iconic architectural pieces. In any case, architecture has become a tool for marketing cities in the global scene, leading to a simultaneous popularization of architecture and loss of disciplinary content.

This chapter focuses on the current state of the architectural profession and the practicing architect as a spatial intellectual in the global, neoliberal city dominated by the construction industry as an economic generator, reflecting on the possibility of an architectural practice beyond the constraints of the construction industry. This issue is handled through a threefold discussion. Firstly, an account on the condition of conventional urban space-making mechanisms at the age of neoliberal urban politics is given, through an in-depth analysis on the "construction" practices going on in the last 15 years at the city of Istanbul. As the cultural and economic capital of a developing country, namely Turkey, İstanbul has been going under a tremendous amount of construction work that has irreversibly changed the cityscape, during the 2000s. This quantitative magnitude is the reason why Istanbul is chosen as the case of this part of the discussion. Secondly, a reflection upon the conventional architectural practices in the global city of the twenty-first century is presented in order to understand the current condition, capabilities, and shortcomings of the profession facing the "construction frenzy," as pointed out previously. Lastly, concluding remarks underlining the necessity for an architectural practice beyond construction are given. Here, the possibility of generating an architectural practice beyond the constraints of the construction industry, having the potential to produce alternative spatial practices that could go beyond being utilitarian tools for creating exchange value for the real estate market, having the potential to engage with urgent, real-life spatial issues, is addressed through looking into a number of cases throughout the world.

5.2 Construction: An Account on the Urban Space Production Practices at the İstanbul of 2000s

Construction has become an exhaustive economic and political mechanism that produces urban density and bigness, especially in the developing cities of the globalized world. With a population over 15,000,000 and a rapidly growing construction industry, the city of İstanbul in the 2000s is a vivid example of this condition. The last decade of urban space-making practices in Turkey, especially in İstanbul, has been dominated by a construction frenzy caused by a neoliberal alignment of capitalist market forces and urban governments. Within the last 15 years, not only has the city been growing toward the periphery but also the existing building stock at the center has been renewed via mechanisms of urban transformation. This vast construction activity resulted in rapid urban growth despite the loss of collective urban memory, destruction of public spaces and natural resources, transformation of the demography and property patterns of neighborhoods, an intolerable increase in urban density, and expropriation of the citizen's right to the city.[1]

The content and title of the 270th issue of Birikim Magazine being "Construction in the Name of the Prophet" give a valid summary for Turkey's current neoconservative, neoliberal urban space policies in the 2000s (2011). Due to the neoliberal spatial policies of the urban governments of Istanbul in the last 15 years, capitalization of urban space has become not only the major resource for economic growth but also a battleground where opposing political agendas manifest themselves, clash and collide with each other. As the neoconservative, neoliberal political urban agenda of the current ruling government, namely the Justice and Development Party (JDP), was unfolded, Turkish society witnessed the manifestation of some of the most crucial political oppositions in its republican history through urban space. This manifestation was twofold: First of all, neoliberal urban governments that perceive urban land merely as a means for profit aimed to privatize, commodify, and capitalize public land, natural resources, and domains of underprivileged social groups within the city. This approach was reflected in the:

- Privatization processes of large chunks of urban land (Zincirlikuyu Land of Highway Offices becoming Zorlu Center, Mecidiyeköy Liquor Factory becoming Quasar Istanbul, etc.),
- Infrastructural projects jeopardizing natural resources of the city (Third bridge, third airport at northern Istanbul, etc.),
- Urban transformation projects that aimed profit gain through confiscation and displacement of existing social groups in favor of a new, mid-high income demography who can afford the land value (Sulukule, Tarlabaşı, Ayvansaray UTP's, etc.).

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[1]As theorized by Lefebvre (1996) and Harvey (1996, 2008).

Coming to the 2010s, a supplementary cultural agenda of creating an architectural imagery of the "New Turkey," as uttered by the JDP elite, became visible, in addition to the commodification of urban land. In line with the conservative values promoted by the government of JDP, a number of urban projects carrying a motivation of reflecting the "glorified Ottoman past," "elevated Islamic culture," and "governing power" besides the maximization of rent value were issued at especially politically charged, symbolic urban spaces of the republican era. Projects such as Çamlıca Mosque at Çamlıca Hill, Beştepe Presidential Palace at Ankara Atatürk Forest Farm, and the attempted remodeling of Military Barracks at Taksim Gezi Park could exemplify this agenda. All of these spatial implementations discussed above created public opposition on a regional or national scale, reaching to a peak at the Occupy Gezi revolts in the summer of 2013, triggered by the disclosure of the Taksim Military Barracks Project.

Hence, it is safe to say that urban space has been the focal point of political conflict and social confrontation in the Turkey of 2000s and Istanbul exhibits the crescendo of this condition. Streets, squares, parks, and neighborhoods of the city have become both battlegrounds and causes of the battles between:

- capital trying to occupy urban space versus citizens defending their rights to the city,
- objectives of the neoconservative "New Turkey" versus secular ideals of the republican era,
- suppressive implementations of the central government versus civil forces of democracy.

The space production practices discussed above are charged with ethical, legal, economic, and political issues to such an extent that there is virtually no room left for architectural discussion. In other words, Turkey is going through a phase where construction, being the core of the economy, is maximized while architectural agenda is on the verge of extinction, bringing us to the question if it is possible to have an architectural discussion in this political climate at all, as posed by Akpınar (2014).

The "Mega Projects of İstanbul" provide a valid frame of reference for the discussion above. In the 2000s, more than 70 large-scale urban interventions having major impacts on the natural habitat, cultural identity, life quality, and urban memory of the city were issued in İstanbul by an urban consortium of central government, local governments, and large-scale capital. With an estimated investment cost of more than 77.5 billion USD and a surface area of nearly 350 km^2, the "Mega Projects" of Istanbul, as declared by the "Mega Projects of Istanbul Research" initiated by the free Architects Association of İstanbul, exhibit the immense scale of construction going on in İstanbul in the last 15 years (www.megaprojeleristanbul.com).

In order to understand the agenda behind this construction frenzy, it is important to take a closer look at the nature of the so-called Mega Projects of İstanbul.

Among these projects, five functional categories surpass the others by scale and investment cost. These categories are namely:

- "The New İstanbul" project,
- Transportation projects,
- Infrastructural mix use projects,
- Residential mix use projects,
- Urban transformation projects.

The largest of the Mega Projects with the most crucial impacts upon the future of the city is probably the "New İstanbul Project," consisting of the establishment of a new city of 245 km^2 on the northern European side of İstanbul. Although the implementations for the "New Istanbul" city have not begun, it is evident that the urban impacts of such a grand-scale project will be immense.

The second largest project group is the transportation projects with an estimated cost of 29 billion USD, 76 km^2 of land, and 550 km of transportation routes. Among the transportation projects, the third airport, being supposedly the largest airport in the world with 76 km^2 of land, the third Bosphorus Bridge, and the Trans-European Motorway connecting Asian and European banks of the city, cutting through the northern forests of İstanbul, could be regarded as projects with irreversible impacts upon the natural resources of the city. Marmaray, Avrasya Tunnel, Bosphorus Tunnel, and Bosphorus Boat Parks could be named as other major transportation projects.

The third largest mega project category consists of infrastructural projects containing mix use functions, with an estimated investment cost around 16 billion USD, 3.7 km^2 surface area, and 42 km length. This category consists of Canal İstanbul, being a secondary water channel along Bosphorus on the European side of the city and inner city ports/marinas with mix use functions such as Ataköy Port, Galataport, Haliçport, Haydarpaşa Port.

These three categories clearly imply the central government's intention of opening up vast lands containing natural resources to urban development. To a great extent, the second and third categories could be seen as infrastructural preparations for the urban expansion of İstanbul, as the rent values have been rapidly changing around the project areas, following the issuing of these projects. The majority of the transportation projects such as the third airport, third bridge (Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge), Northern Marmara Motorway, and Canal Istanbul are in fact strategic infrastructural elements, issued directly by the central government that bypassed the 1/100,000 Istanbul Environmental Plan, attracting and transferring additional density and population toward the northern Istanbul where majority of natural resources, water supplies, forest, and agricultural land are located (www.kuzeyormanlari.org, 2015). Thus, it could be argued that the main agenda behind the transportation and infrastructural projects is to capitalize and commodify the unpopulated urban land at the expense of the destruction of natural resources. These projects raised intense public criticism and legal conflicts, yet the

implementation of the third airport is still in progress and the construction of the third bridge is terminated, despite public and legal repercussions.

The fourth largest category is the mix use residential projects initiated mainly by the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (HDAT), being an institution directly connected to the central government. This category has an estimated investment cost of around 33 billion USD and 6.75 million m^2 of surface area. These projects are located both at the inner city such as Mashattan (Maslak, by Taş Yapı), Maslak 1453 (Maslak, by Ağaoğlu Corp.), or Akasya Acıbadem (Sinpaş and Akkök Holdings) and at the outskirts of the city such as Bio İstanbul (Başakşehir, by Bio Istanbul Development), Bosphorus City (Halkalı, by Sinpaş Holding), or İstanbul Financial Center (Ataşehir, by Ağaoğlu Corp.). Either way, these projects are initiated by the mechanism of integrating big chunks of public land to the capitalist real estate market via privatization through the hands of HDAT.

The last major category is the urban transformation projects (UTP) with more than 14 billion USD of investment cost and 12 million m^2 of surface area. Some of the UTPs consist of the urban transformation of historical residential areas within the city center, such as Tarlabaşı, Sulukule, and Ayvansaray UTPs, while other projects consist of the urban transformation of the slum areas at the periphery of the city, such as Ayazma UTP (Başakşehir) and Sarıgöl UTP (Gaziosmanpaşa). Both of the UTP mechanisms stated above have caused intense public oppositions, and legal conflicts as the main agenda behind these mechanisms have been the displacement of underprivileged residents with middle-upper income groups, creating a rent increase and land profit and therefore incorporating large chunks of urban land to the capitalist real estate market.

A third group of UTPs, such as Küçükçekmece and Kartal projects aimed to produce new urban subcenters, connected by Marmaray, therefore attracting urban density toward the southern İstanbul. Although this is a viable urban agenda, it is overwritten to a great extent by top-down infrastructural decisions that focused on the northern Istanbul, as discussed in (Table 5.1).

The Mega Projects of İstanbul are clear indicators of the overwhelming construction intensity taking place in the Istanbul of 2000s. As a city tired of construction, deprived of architectural discussion, urban space of Istanbul has become a commodity left with only one kind of value, being the exchange value. The semantic, cultural, natural and existential values of urban space are increasingly being disregarded. Even the use value of architecture is no longer valid as large scale, multiuse projects tend to be produced based on the design criteria of mediocre market practices, mass produced for an anonymous user, mainly for investment purposes. In this mechanism where the architectural client is almost never the actual user, the architect mainly produces tools for investment, not spaces where urban life can inhabit. As the urban density and congestion increase, public open spaces and natural resources diminish, resulting in a vicious cycle that produces unhealthy, antidemocratic, mediocre environments, and unhappy citizens. In such an economic environment based on property transfer from the community to a privileged few, "thinking outside the box" becomes imperative for a meaningful architectural

Table 5.1 Mega Projects of İstanbul: initiation years 2000–2015

	Project type	Number	Area (m^2)	Length (km)	Cost (USD)
1. New İstanbul ?	Commercial residential recreation culture education	1	244,750,000		?
2. Transportation 29 billion USD	Transportation	12	76,626,771	550	29 billion
3. Infrastructure + mix use 16 billion USD	Transportation commercial tourism	8	3,740,000		10.5 billion
	Transportation commercial tourism residential	1		42	5.5 billion
4. Mix use residential + 34,08 billion USD	Commercial residential	10	4,528,853		9.98 billion
	Commercial residential recreation	2	2,100,000		3.15 billion
	Commercial residential culture	2	118,500		2.75 billion
	Residential	3	229,500		1.1 billion
5. URB. transformation 14.26 billion USD	UTP	10	12,824,972		14.26 billion
7. Tourism 760 million USD	Tourism	3	108,000	15	670 million
	Commercial tourism	1	4305		90 million
8. Sports 345 million USD	Sports	2	51,038		345 million
9. Public facilities and recreation 74 million USD	Public square	3	873,850		28 million
	Public square transportation	1	45,500		
	Public square recreation	3	1,444,000		71 million
	Recreation	3	714,000		3 million
10. Commercial ++40 million USD	Commercial	3	180,000		++40 million
11. Religious	Religious	3	65,000		38 million
12. Health	Health	1	789,000		??
13. Culture	Culture	1	22,000		6.5 million
	Total	74	349,215,289,349 km^2	607	77.53 billion

Data source

practice (Çetin 2015). In order to discuss the possibilities of such a practice, it is important to take a closer look at the conventional architectural practice of the globalized, neoliberalized city of the 2000s.

5.3 Practicing Architect in the Globalized City: Possibilities, Capabilities, and Shortcomings

In the mid-1990s, Rem Koolhaas was celebrating the new, global urban scale as a generator of urban potential beyond the limits of architecture, in his well-recognized book S,M,L,XL. As stated in his words: "Bigness no longer needs the city; it competes with the city; it represents the city; it preempts the city; or better still, it is the city. If urbanism generates potential and architecture exploits it, bigness enlists the generosity of urbanism against the meanness of architecture" (Koolhaas and Mau 1995). Coming to the mid-2010s, it is no longer that easy to share Koolhaas's enthusiasm about the potential of urban bigness, turning into a mechanism facilitating capitalist space production–consumption cycles. Antonio Negri criticizes the urbanism of bigness as he positions the architect in today's global city with these words: "Bland, anonymous, repetitive, empty, dispersive, vacuous, risible, 'post-existential', and so on. We are here in a Rabelaisian situation, often full of sarcasm and intense irony, but with no smile. The metropolis we inhabit is a huge grotesque theatre with no exit routes, and effectively hopeless. The architect is tired. The same urbanism that was meant to defeat architecture and demystify the architect only survives as the non-planning of an indefinite and perverse metropolitan landscape. The architect, demystified, continues to exist as a worldly and bitter witness, a disenchanted accuser" (Negri 2009).

So what does this new, global urban scale of bigness do to the discipline of architecture? Not unlike the current global architectural scene, the effect of this situation toward professional architectural practice in Istanbul is twofold: On one hand, architecture and design in general are becoming booming professions as creative forces of a construction industry that forms the core of the national economy. Job opportunities and commissions for practicing architects are proliferating, and the clientele profile has been expanding with national–international investors as well as the central and local governments promoting large-scale urban development projects. It is possible to detect this sectorial growth by looking into the increase in the number of practicing architects in the last 15 years. 1323 registered architectural offices were operational in Istanbul in the year 2000 while this number increased to 3853 in the year 2015, indicating that the number of architectural offices in İstanbul almost tripled in the last 15 years. Consecutively, 9764 registered architects were operating in the year 2000 in İstanbul while this number became 18,249 in the year 2015, indicating that the number of architects in Istanbul almost doubled in the last 15 years (Istanbul Chamber of Architects 2015) (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Sectorial growth between the years 2000 and 2015

Year	No. of architects in Istanbul	No. of architectural offices in Istanbul
2000	9764	1323
2015	18,249	3853

Data Source Istanbul Chamber of Architects (2015)

These numbers clearly demonstrate the immense sectorial growth of the business of architecture in Istanbul in 2000s. When it is considered that 47,209 registered architects operate in Turkey in 2015, it is possible to get a clearer idea about the scale of architecture sector in Istanbul, forming almost 40% of the national sector.

On the other hand, architectural practice is so immensely dominated by the neoliberal policies focused on "building as a means for economic growth" that there is virtually no room for a professional discourse encompassing disciplinary ethics charged with social agenda, informed by spatial intelligence, formulated with public participation, aiming for the greater good. The national meeting held by İstanbul Bilgi University and The Building Information Centre (Yapı Endüstri Merkezi) focused mainly on this issue, posing the question if it is possible to "Discuss Architecture in Today's Turkey?" in its heading (Günümüz Türkiye'sinde Mimarlık Tartışmak?, İBU & YEM, October 2015). The invitation text of the meeting, which brought together over twenty-five acclaimed practicing architects and academicians from Turkey, problematized this condition by underlining the difficulty of discussing architecture in Turkey due to the overwhelming suppression of the dominating political agenda. The introductory speech of the meeting, underlining that the urban space production, transformation, and consumption mechanisms in Turkey have become major axis for both politics and economy, posed the question of what kinds of architectural production and professional discussion grounds could emerge from this quantitative intensity and construction-based political agenda (Aysev Deneç 2015). A number of noteworthy approaches could be mentioned within the framework of the meeting. Some of the practicing architects responded to the question through reflecting on their own architectural and urban design approaches. Piker underlined the possibilities of publicizing architecture through rethinking the issue of housing (Piker 2015). Yazgan pointed out the intricate and multi-actored nature of building and the role of the architect within the mechanism, through the design and construction process of Ankara Arena Sports Center (Yazgan 2015). Çalışlar mentioned the challenges of operating creatively under the existing conditions of the building sector and the existing building codes that pressure for high density (Çalışlar 2015). Erginoğlu took the discussion to a further point by exemplifying the impact of building codes on the production of urban and architectural space through the example of Ortaköy (Erginoğlu 2015). Pekin underlined the need to understand the change between the professional and the post-professional era, in order to be able to operate as not only architects but also intellectual individuals living in the twenty-first century (Pekin 2015). Dündaralp exemplified a transgressing professional position of the practicing architect as a

mediating agent between community and policy makers, while Gürdoğan displayed how architectural practice could be redefined at the edge of art, communication, technology, and proactivity through their work (Dündaralp 2015; Gürdoğan 2015).

While professionals seek to find answers within their practices, a number of academicians took a more critical approach toward the conventional urban space-making processes, demanding the discipline of architecture to take a more socially engaged stance. Güzer pointed out the irrelevance of the mainstream contemporary architectural agenda in Turkey with regards to the profound political, economic, and humanitarian issues the country is facing, underlining the need to redefine architecture as a point of resistance and rupture (Güzer 2015). Ertaş followed a similar track as she claimed that the architectural milieu in today's Turkey is playing a game of "as if", disregarding the social and political context and being stuck in the mere formal aspects of the discipline (Ertaş 2015). Baydar and Korkmaz separately underlined the fundamentality of taking a positively critical stance, in order for productive architectural thinking to emerge (Baydar 2015; Korkmaz 2015). Sargın called into question the possibility of a revolutionary spatial praxis, while Cengizkan underlined the essentiality of communal knowledge (Sargın 2015; Cengizkan 2015).

Some of the major points brought to attention at the meeting which manifested the crisis of the architectural discipline in Turkey in the post-professional era were:

- The platforms of architectural discussion in Turkey today are quite barren, as pointed out separately by Tanyeli (2015) and Arolat (2015).
- The architectural production in the Turkey of 2000s is hegemonized by the market-oriented rules of the construction industry and restrained by current building codes.
- The conventional architectural agenda is ignorant to some of the crucial social, economic, and political issues the country is facing, such as social displacement, immigrant accumulation, gentrification, and poverty, stuck to the formal aspects of architectural design.
- There is a call for a more socially engaged architectural practice.

As underlined by Rem Koolhaas, to be an architect who builds in today's economy means to a large extent accepting the status quo (Goldhagen 2006). Yet, is it possible to transcend the status quo and become more than "architects who build," adopting a professional understanding that focuses on a "useful practice," as theorized by Perkes (2009). In order to open up a viable discussion on the possibility of an architecture beyond construction, it is essential to reflect on the dynamics of the conventional architectural practice in the global era. What do architects do? How do they operate? Which roles do they play in the complex network of neoliberal space production of today's globalized city? Those are intriguing questions, especially in an age of spectacle where the "built object" becomes the main attraction. Of course there is no single story of "the architectural practice" but multiple realities within the profession, and the fact is far more complicated than the stereotypical answer of "designing beautiful buildings and

making the world a better place," as discussed by Awan et al. (2011). In fact, the nature of the architectural practice is charged with a multitude of professional positions often contradictory and dilemmatic. It is essential to understand the ambivalent nature of the profession in order to put into perspective the role of the discipline within the compelling political–economic context it operates within.

Probably the most dominating yet the least reflected upon aspect of the conventional architectural practice is the fact that it needs a client to exist, who is bound to impose his/her agenda to architectural production. Architectural design is in fact a dance of reconciliation between the design objectives of the architect, the demands of the client, and the realities and regulations of the real estate market. This is one of the major reasons why there cannot be an essentially autonomous architectural practice. Probably one of the most time conceiving tasks in an architectural practice is following up on potential clients. Only after securing the potential client, the actual, billable architectural design work could begin.

Coming to the architectural design stage, the first question comes to mind is about the nature of the prominent production of an architectural office. Contradictory to the common conception of the practicing architect being a master builder, the majority of the work produced in an architectural office are representations of an imaginary spatial existence, such as spatial analyses, sketches, graphics, diagrams, drawings, physical and 3D models and texts. Most of the architectural firms produce drawings in order to pitch their ideas and get a commission. In a highly competitive industry, this means that most of the creative work produced will not be transferred into reality. Architectural competition is another milieu where offices produce the majority of their intellectual work before being commissioned. Even after being commissioned for a certain project, a great deal of documents produced in an office involves revisions and alterations. Hence, the answers to the question what architects indeed produce are numerous representations of alternative realities. Only a minor percentage of these alternative visions are transferred into actual built space. It is safe to say that the main production of an architectural office is creative, visionary discourse, not buildings. The major task of an architectural designer is not only to design but also to convince different interest groups that their design proposal is the most rational, economic, proper, inspiring solution to a specific problem via an extensive representational palette. Hence, the architect is in fact more a storyteller than a master builder, as pointed out by Wigley (2002).

This operational model might suggest an inefficiency in terms of the business of architecture. As the conventional practice is billed by the size of the commissioned project, it is safe to claim that most of the work produced in an average architectural office is actually done for free, based on the nature of the architectural product revealed above. Even if the experimental nature of design methodology based on successive counts of trial and error is disregarded, this unintentional "pro bono" character of the practice might seem somehow inefficient, if not bad business. Yet, it is exactly this experimental, creative, and visionary focus of the practice that might propose a way to transgress the oppression of the neoliberal space production mechanisms.

Table 5.3 Myths and realities about the practicing architect

Myth	Reality
A creative and artistic individual who produces visionary futures	An entrepreneur/business person who is responsible to run the office, meet the costs and deadlines, provide wages, face clients, get commissions, prepare contracts
Subject of the architectural myth of the "creative genius/auteur"	A team member/leader mediating between a wide range of spatial actors from clients to laymen, engineers, governmental structures, and public at large
Advocate of the public realm due to intrinsic disciplinary ethics	A relatively ineffective actor of urban space production mechanisms dominated by the capitalist real estate market
A professional of an autonomous discipline	A powerless actor dependent on the exterior forces of the neoliberal space production mechanisms
Claiming to possess a social agenda for the greater good	A marginalized actor of the construction sector, providing service only for the privileged 1% of the society
Creative, visionary intellectual qualities	Operating with archaic and inefficient business models
High communicative skills	Detached from public
Possess professional authority in terms of urban space creation	Detached from the decision-making processes within the urban space production mechanisms
Revolutionary, innovative, avant-garde	Entire existence depending on the client

The dynamics of the conventional architectural office, as discussed above, address to a number of dilemmatic, contradictory features. There is a set of almost mythological values attributed to the designing architect, through the social perception of the discipline. Then there are the realities of the conventional profession, created by the conditions of the real estate market. The architectural professional often finds himself/herself pendulating between the mythological and the reality, occupying different positions in every design process. In an overly generalized manner, some of the dilemmatic disciplinary positions the architectural professional finds himself/herself are stated in (Table 5.3).

5.4 Conclusion: Architecture Beyond Construction

Tschumi defines three probable positions for the discipline of architecture. The first is the conservative position advocating the status quo, serving to the political and economic priorities of the hegemonic power structures. The second is the critical position, continuing with the praxis that exposes the contradictions of the social structures. The third is the revolutionary position that utilizes the urban and spatial capabilities in order to produce new social, communal, and urban structures and

strategies (1996). An architectural practice that has the capacity to transgress the post-professional condition and reach out beyond the norms and limitations of the construction industry is likely to fall into the third category. Such a practice is bound to revisit and redefine a number of roles and issues that are taken for granted within the norms of the conventional practice. A number of these issues are discussed below.

First of all, the architectural client should be redefined. As pointed out by Parvin, only 1% of the world population is wealthy enough to receive architectural service by being architectural clients (2013). This means that the 99% of the world population is bound to put up with the architecture created for the 1%, having no say at the production processes of the built environment they live in. Parallel to this fact, only 2% of the buildings on the face of the earth are designed by architects. These data clearly indicate that the problem definition of the conventional architectural practice is restrained within the limits of the urban agenda of the financially privileged few, hence becoming utilitarian tools for the physicalization of the capitalist urban agenda. The unaffordability and exclusivity of architectural service pose not only an ethical and democratic problem but also an inefficient business model. Redefining a new, public/communal client could be a viable strategy to break this vicious circle and transfer the spatial intelligence and know-how of the profession to the service of larger groups and communities. In other words, discipline of architecture should aim to provide service for the 100%, not the privileged 1%.

This opens up the issue of the redefinition of the practice itself as a proactive disciplinary existence. This stance requires a constant state of problematization and positive action, instead of searching for a paid commission with a predefined program. Beyond designing skills, the mediation role of the architect acting within a network of urban coalitions becomes imperative for such a professional stance.

Through the redefinition of the practice comes the redefinition of the position of the architectural professional. In such a transgressive practice, architects would reposition themselves as catalysts who transfer spatial knowledge in order to enable social and physical improvement, instead of master builders and designers. This would inevitably challenge the office culture of the practice, requiring a great deal of work to be done outside the office, working closely with the community in order to understand and meet their imminent needs.

This brings up the redefinition of the autonomy of architecture. Obviously, a discipline repositioning itself with the task as a mediating agent would project an engaged sense of disciplinary autonomy, being in a constant state of interaction, instead of an exclusive, confined sense of autonomy.

Another issue to be addressed is the restructuring of the modes of production. For one thing, the culture of change should be an integral part of the architectural production. New technologies that enable to share resources and information should be embraced. The archaic design production model based on copyright should be transformed into a more collaborative, open-source design understanding that puts weight on the design of processes, not objects. The practices should restructure themselves so as to be able to operate within global information networks. In connection to this, information management in the offices should be restructured in

order for the tacit knowledge produced in the traditional design culture to be transformed into explicit knowledge that could be preserved, transferred, and shared.

In a nutshell; an architecture beyond construction should embody:

- The redefinition of the client,
- The redefinition of the practice,
- The redefinition of the position of the architectural professional,
- The redefinition of the office culture,
- The redefinition of the disciplinary autonomy,
- The redefinition of the modes of production,
- The restructuring of the information management.

In order to reach beyond the limitations of the post-professional condition, the conventional design practice needs to evolve into the redesign of the practice itself, channeling the spatial intelligence of the architectural profession toward the production of applicable, realistic solutions for real, existential problems of communities, constituting the truly avant-garde visions of the discipline of architecture. Most importantly, it is imperative to understand the potential of "little victories" through the coming together of diverse coalitions, as pointed out by Pugalis and Giddings (2011). There are a number of architectural professionals emerging on different parts of the world trying to push the limits of their practice beyond construction.

The guerilla tactics are valid examples of such a stance as proactive, socially and politically as well as spatially engaged movements. Guerilla tactics aim to produce socially responsible, sustainable, cheap, and user-friendly solutions to urgent communal problems with speed and creativity that existing building regulations cannot meet. They tend to challenge the hierarchy of existing architectural and constructional production mechanisms with unconventional spatial interventions which are standing at the verge of legality, such as occupation. The works of Santiago Cirugeda (Urban Recipes) from Spain, Ricardo de Oliveira from Brasil, Kunle Adeyami from Nigeria, and Yasmeen Lari from Pakistan provide a number of interesting examples for this approach.

Another significant practice reaching beyond the limits of construction is the initiative, namely Architecture for Humanity (A4H), founded by Sinclair and Stohr (2006). Founded in 1999, A4H performed as an interface that aims to bring together the design professionals with the public client, meaning the communities in need, in order to answer urgent dwelling crisis emerged due to natural disasters, wars, epidemics with functional, easily applied solutions using local materials and manpower. Although the main branch was shut down in January 2015, the A4H network consisting of 59 branches aided 2.8 million people in 45 countries. The organization adapted the open-source model in 2005 and founded Open Architecture Network in 2007, being one of the first open-source databases where design ideas, documents, and resources were shared.

WikiHouse, being another open-source architectural database that contains the construction documents of single dwelling units that could be 3D printed and easily

assembled on-site, provides an interesting example of the democratization of building production and accessibility of architectural service (Parvin, 2013).

These examples provide a small percentage of the architectural design practices in the post-professional era that deliberately engage with the urgent dwelling crisis around the world. In fact, there are numerous emerging practices that aim to reach out for the 100%, in search of a useful practice, transgressing the limits of the neoliberal urban space mechanisms of the construction. After all, architecture is not solely about building things, as pointed out by Betsky (2008). Buildings are just objects, yet architecture has more to do with creating visionary spatial approaches that has the potential to make the face of the earth, our home.

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Between 1998 and 2000, Aysev Deneç has worked as a project Architect in New York City. Between 2000 and 2015, she has continued her professional work in Istanbul as a practicing architect. As the founding partner of Açıkofis Architects (2006–2015), she has designed and built numerous architectural, urban design, and interior design projects and won prices at architectural competitions.

Since 2015, Aysev Deneç is a full-time academic member of İstanbul Bilgi University, Department of Architecture. She is the Director of the Graduate Architectural Design Program of the same institution. She also teaches second year architectural studio and architectural design communication courses. She has published a number of academic articles and participated in conferences nationally and internationally. Her research areas consist of urban space production, architectural praxis theory interference, and architectural design.

Part II
Neo-liberal Urban Policies and the Collapse of Architectural Profession

Foreword

Murat Soygeniş

Changing Trends in Practice of Architecture.

The format for this introduction will be remarks and observations with some examples of research reports and studies on the subject of 'Changing trends in practice of architecture' with an overall look at some significant aspects of transformations that architecture profession faces.

Architectural and urban practice, research and education face new challenges in the era of post-professionalism and neoliberalism. These challenges extend from globalization issues to redefinition of 'professionalism' and 'neoliberalism,' to significance of interdisciplinary approaches in practice and research.

As it was expressed in many professional environments, among many other issues, local architectural practices have been challenged by the existence of global mega-corporations, and of course the research affiliated with the real-world practice needed to be questioned and re-evaluated;

– Do small local architectural practices have no chance in global market?
– Who decides on main players in global architectural arena?
– Do local values and cultures lose their significance since business-led corporations are taking command at global scale?

These questions interest many regions and countries all over the world. For instance, some discussion forums in Korea touch upon the 'global versus local' issue on contemporary Korean architecture. These forums emphasize that local architectural practices, conscious of the local culture in detail and more than their counterparts, should be part of the teams shaping the new urban identity in Korea.

Some statistical data is also very important. Top 20 architectural firms in the USA receive 30% of their total revenue from work outside USA. This is becoming similar for other countries. Another projection is seven countries, namely China, India, USA,

Indonesia, Canada, Australia, and Russian Federation, will hold almost 70% of global construction market by 2020, only three years from today. Based on this data, a Web site article formulates that there are a number of things that can be done to be part of the global practice for those who are after global expansion. These include, starting relationship and establishing trust with main players of global market, knowing what specific parts of the globe is convenient for your work, demanding for excellent work, having the ability to think globally and act locally, understanding the context well, training the team for success, etc, etc. The list goes on.

The nature of architectural practice and education is changing, shifting directions, and new trends are coming to forefront. This is not 'global-local' issue only. Let us quickly look at two reports/studies.

AIA—The American Institute of Architects publishes an annual report called 'foresight' report with the intention of pointing at the changing nature of business and practice of architecture. In 2014 report, the emphasis was on the strength of '**research and preparation**' for predicting the future for a successful orientation in architecture where shifts in social, economic, and environmental context shape the practice of architecture and design. In the rapidly changing world, some skills are considered to be key to success for preparedness for changing circumstances (AIA Foresight Report 2014). Researchers emphasize that five critical skills are needed for '**nonstop innovation**' era which is actually a tool to fight against rapid shifts and changes in an unpredictable professional world:

Skill 1: Feeling—empathy and intuition and social intelligence. In other words, it can be summarized as EMPATHIZING.
Skill 2: Seeing—systems thinking, or the ability to think whole thoughts. In short, we can call it DEFINING THE SITUATION.
Skill 3: Dreaming—imagination, or IDEATING.
Skill 4: Making—design and testing, or mastering the design process, including skills for devising prototypes or PROTOTYPING.
Skill 5: Learning—autodidactic ability to learn new skills, or TESTING.

Another study by **RIBA—Royal Institute of British Architects** examines the future for architectural practice with propositions for the year 2025. In the report, some key questions were answered by an interview group from built environment professions including architects, designers, clients, consultants, students, and graduates (Jamieson 2010).

One of the questions was '**Who would design our built environment in 2025?**'

The answers were grouped around three categories. First category is relatively STABLE group who would take part designing the built environment. These groups are:

– Small local practices that will continue to practice in a similar way to now.
– International star architects will continue to find clients who are in search for 'fancy' buildings although their number is likely to be less.
– Specialist practices who serve larger professional teams will continue.

– No design-interest, traditional delivery-driven practices will also continue to survive.

Second category is the group with the greatest OPPORTUNITY FOR GROWTH by 2025. In this group:

– Practices in emerging economies, such as Asia, will be preferred based on their ability to produce reliable design at lower cost and faster than their Western competitors.
– Global interdisciplinary consultancies will expand based on how cost-effectively and quickly they can complete projects with an integrated design process, and also will be judged on the quality of their design and international credentials.
– Build-Own-Operate-Transfer or BOOT (B-O-O-T) designers who can generate, realize, and manage mixed scale projects.
– Subcontractors, specialist suppliers.
– 'Design-thinking' graduates and agencies.

Third group is parts of the industry under the MAXIMUM PRESSURE and RISK OF VANISHING, and include:

– Medium-sized design offices that will be under pressure by larger practices with commercial clientele.
– Other risk group is small metropolitan 'boutique' offices.

The answer to the second question of '**What roles of architecturally trained people might have in 2025**' is showing a switch to interdisciplinary, internationally focused, creative, and strategic businesses in 2025.

Question of '**How might practice change by 2025?**' was answered by study groups, indicating that in the future architects may work in a more networked manner. One of these networks is **the integration of education and practice**. Most of the practices within the study felt very strongly that a connection with the school of architecture was important and integral part of their practice. It is strongly believed that courses offered by practicing professionals opened students to real-world problems while opening professionals to talent pools at architecture schools. More and more multidisciplinary firms are turning their practices into design studios just like the ones at academic schools.

We should also have a quick look at how some leaders of architectural practice see the future of the building industry. This may help us to orient ourselves in the right direction. One such prediction is 'BIM-BAM-BOOM' theory. With BIM/Building Information Modeling, the architect uses 3D modeling to test building performance during the building design process. After the design is complete, it is passed to the contractor who fine-tunes the design process with 'BAM' or 'Building Assembly Modeling' which helps to decrease construction costs. After this step, owner comes in and the process is referred to as 'BOOM'—'Building Owner Operator Model' which allows the owner to manage the building over its life cycle and ensure optimized performance. Shortly, they call this triple process as 'better

design' which refers to BIM, 'better construction' referring to BAM, and finally 'better operation' or BOOM (Rosenfield 2012).

Some newspaper columnists predict futures of major professions and emphasize that advances in technology is recognized as a threat to manual labor. They question the risk of adaptation to digital age of some highly skilled, knowledge-based professions that once regarded as safe professions. They attempted to figure out which professions were being lost to new technology. The findings indicate all jobs that had disappeared in the past four years were highly skilled and knowledge-based jobs. For instance, softwares were replacing administrators, travel agents, secretaries, bookkeepers at high rates. Knowledge-based professions, such as medicine, law, and architecture, were not safe anymore. Expert radiologists were outperformed by pattern-recognition softwares, diagnosticians by simple computer questionnaires. Even some predictions say that algorithms and softwares would replace 80% of doctors within a generation. These reports say three of the professions—medicine, architecture, and law—could be transformed in near future.

A law entrepreneur who founded online legal services reports that now 30 million paid users reach his office online to get legal advice, documents, and tutorials; otherwise before starting this type of online system for his office only a few knocked on his door. He is optimistic about the shift in how computerization affected his profession. He emphasized that whoever adapts to changing conditions stay alive and prosper.

In architecture profession, the report says, a one-man architect working from home with a bright idea can get access to the same amount of computing power in the cloud as multinational companies. With the use of technology, collaboration across continents is easy now which turns architectural offices into collaborative working environments.

In medicine, as research says, more computerized devices will be used to diagnose diseases. Surgeons will be using robotics more and more for online surgeries from anywhere in the world. Eventually, robots will be doing surgeries on their own.

All these transformations do not necessarily mean a collapse in the demand of doctors, lawyers, or architects anytime soon, but rather meaning precautions to adapt to transformations should be discussed and implemented.

As studies indicate and as one can imagine, architectural practices need to assign organizational roles to themselves and go after it whether it be at local or global scale. One thing should be noted. The era of **post-professionalism and neoliberalism** welcomes all who are equipped with flexibility to adapt to changing conditions and who are creative in terms of structuring their businesses. Today, practice, education, and research need to be structured in many other ways than it was done before. It is always good to have simple and understandable ways when restructuring the practices. As architects, we cannot design, think, finance, or lead offices, institutions, or corporations as we did before. We have to be more empathizing, researching, dreaming, ideating to adapt to rapid shifts that the practice of architecture faces quite often.

In light of these issues, I encourage all readers to discover the three essays that follow. The essays concentrate on urban and spatial planning in Greek cities, policies of place making and social participation, and the issues of urban shrinkage/ urban decline.

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Chapter 6
Advocacy Planning During the Economic Crisis in Neo-liberal Greek Cities

Despina Dimelli

Abstract Cities are constantly changing under the influence of many parameters. Their planning has diachronically followed many different steps. The decisions that are taken during the urban programming and planning procedure include political views. But what are the challenges facing planning today? Today's urban environments are strongly influenced by parameters of the system of competition; market forces, price mechanisms and the influence of globalization. Procedures that are taking place today in the urban space, such as production and consumption, are to a strong degree the results of neo-liberal stances. The neo-liberalism principles which serve hypercapitalism are intensified through conditions of economic crisis as local governments focus on promotion, competition and marketing, rather than place making, in central urban areas at the expense of investing in other areas or in urban issues based on social matters. What is the role of advocacy planning in these processes? As a result of neo-liberal principles, the large-scale projects focus on maximization of profits causing such phenomena as social segregation and gentrification etc. The current chapter will investigate the policies of advocacy planning in other cases where projects led by neo-liberal principles are promoted. As the Greek spatial planning system includes advocacy processes, what is the role of these processes and how do they affect Greek urban and regional status? The proposed chapter will attempt to investigate the above issues and propose ways to make participatory planning more effective against neo-liberal principles and more favourable towards sustainable environments in Greece, which are facing numerous challenges due to today's economic crisis and attendant conditions.

Keywords Neo-liberalism · Economic crisis · Greek planning system

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6.1   The Urban Dimension of Neo-liberalism

The term 'neo-liberalism' describes a variety of movements which are not dictated by state control or protection and are mostly encouraged by the private sector's move towards market control. Neo-liberalism is '*an authoritarian reconfiguration of liberalism* […] *specifically designed to meet the challenge of mass democracy and the welfarist demand that came with it.*' (Seymour 2014, p. 7; Blyth 2013)

According to Professor Brad DeLong, the economic historian and defender of neo-liberalism the 'ism' at the end of the word, has two meanings:

> The first is that close economic contact between the industrial core of the capitalist world economy and the developing periphery is the best way to accelerate the transfer of technology which is the sine qua non for making poor economies rich (hence all barriers to international trade should be eliminated as fast as possible). The second is that governments in general lack the capacity to run large industrial and commercial enterprises. Hence, except for core missions of income distribution, public-good infrastructure, administration of justice, and a few others, governments should shrink and privatize.

Economic and social studies look at neo-liberalism as a phenomenon in which the control of economic factors is shifted from the public to the private sector. The ideology of neo-liberalism is based on the belief that the mechanisms of competitive and unregulated markets, which are not controlled by any form of state interference, should be promoted. The principles of neo-liberalism are incompatible with democracy, but need to follow its rules in order to be developed.

Neo-liberalism emerged in the late 1970s as a new way for the restructuring of international capitalism and the restoration of conditions for the accumulation of capital (Harvey 2005). The social, economic and political conditions of this period encouraged this kind of development. It was premised on western societies' economies, where services predominated over economies based on industrial and manufacturing activities. In these economies the private sector was the basic pillar, while the public sector was limited to numismatic policies guided by central banks. At the same time, the bases that influenced the principles of neo-liberal governments, were the political conditions of liberal democracy which involved the right of citizens to pursue a better life, the development of services delivered in terms of competitiveness and the government's limited role, which was targeted mainly at delivering services in areas of social exclusion.

Today, critical geographers suggest that neo-liberalism is constantly adjusting to differing conditions over time and space (Brenner et al. 2010; Peck 2013; Theodore and Peck 2011). Neo-liberalism promotes economic and social restructuring, which is dictated by market rules. The public sector encourages privatization and the imposition of commercial rules. The private sector on the other hand is guided by a new political and legal framework that offers support for market issues. The main aims of neo-liberalism are the reduction of deficit spending by governments, and the reform of tax law in order to broaden the tax base. Simultaneously, its principle focus is on opening up markets to trade, with the subsequent limitation of

protectionism. In order to achieve the above, it is necessary to make public businesses private and to remove fixed exchange rates.

According to Newman (2000) urban space occurs as a result of three components: the private sector, the public sector, and the community. All of the above three components, influence the way cities are functioning today. This happens with the use of theories and practices that have diachronically changed according to each period's cultural, socioeconomic, and political conditions. Neo-liberalism is the result of the transition initially from modernism to post-modernism, and in a second phase of the transition from post-modernism to neo-liberalism.

Neo-liberal policies have spatial consequences (Sager 2011). Production and consumption in urban regions constitute long-term strategies that reflect the main principles of neo-liberalism (Theodore and Peck 2011). Real estate assets and their subsequent land revenue, interlink urbanization with capital accumulation. Sager (2011) describes common features of neo-liberal urban planning: public-private partnerships, marketing and city-branding, and the gentrification of formerly publicly regulated services. The development of neo-liberal governmentalities as they are adjusted to urban planning are used in order to favor private interests (Deas 2013). As for the effects of neo-liberal urban planning, Sager (2011) describes how treatment to private investors can render the provision of services to people who are not able to afford market prices difficult.

Geographers mainly focus on the displacement and social exclusion caused by neo-liberal revitalization and regeneration policies. According to other scholars, neo-liberal governance is the reason for the appearance of urban geopolitics characterized by control (Tulumello 2015). Urban planning policies reflect the effects of neo-liberalism as they constitute the field where practices, manifestations and spaces of resistance are taking place (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012).

Cities are organisms that are constantly changing, as they reflect the economic, social and environmental processes of their societies. They are regarded as centers of economic, political, and social changes, along with basic factors for the promotion of international competitiveness. They are shaped through the years at different rates according to parameters that influence their residents' quality of life. Urban planning can increase transaction costs through bureaucratization of the urban economy (Gleeson and Low 2000:10).

Cities are different areas of imagination, creativity and innovation, that most of the time hide their processes of social exclusion. Many urban areas are degraded and their residents face lasting unemployment. The new urban policies that are developing through new neo-liberal policies lead to new urban environments adjusted to the new needs.

Over the past fifteen years in South Europe, local authorities have cooperated with the private sector. This interplay has so far developed the planning and construction of large-scale projects which have enforced the city's competitive position. This is a very important development issue in economies that are constantly adjusting to conditions of competitiveness.

These projects were in most cases supported by the local authorities. In other cases, many changes took place in order to facilitate these projects. Many times

project agencies were created, while conventional planning tools were cancelled, passing statutory regulations at the national or regional level. In Greece, national governments became the main developers, ignoring the needs of local authorities.

The case of Greece allows a study of neo-liberalization in public policy and urban planning in a framework and context of many transformations. The country's economic development over the past decades caused many changes in urbanization and spatial planning. The crucial moments which have shaped Greece's urban status are the arrival of refugees in 1922, the Civil War, and the adhesion to the European Union. Recently, the Olympic Games were the reason for the creation of large-scale urban infrastructures and since 2009 the economic crisis has created new conditions for Greece's regional and urban planning and development.

More particularly, the metropolitan area of Athens lies between its isolated past and its recent efforts to become a global metropolis. These efforts present delays and contradictions as processes such as citizens' participation in decision-making have been legislated but are still not functioning. Due to its geographical position and the geopolitical changes in its wider area, Athens, the metropolitan area of Greece's capital has received large numbers of economic immigrants. Today, Athens presents two different pictures. The picture of the area that promotes neo-liberal principles with the construction of large-scale projects by international funds guided by the need for economic development, and the picture of the degraded city where immigrants and the homeless are simply trying to survive. In the current chapter, the ways in which advocacy planning faced the application of neo-liberal principles regarding spatial planning will be analyzed.

6.2 The Influence of Neo-liberalism on the Greek Urban Tissue

Neo-liberal projects are developing on many different scales in urban territories where the results of existing neo-liberalism (Brenner and Theodore 2002) are a part of their citizens' everyday lives. In a neo-liberal city, governance takes a certain mode based on the rules of the free market. These rules are expressed in a society's social structure as well as in the city's spatial development.

The crisis in Southern European countries, which has strongly influenced the everyday life of people, resulted from development guided by neoliberal governance (Blyth 2013). Austerity policies have been an application of neo-liberal principles (Seymour 2014) that were implemented on a wider scale in the countries that were bailed out by the Troika. Neo-liberal policies that are focused on spatial planning seek the alteration of the socioeconomic base, the development of profitable economic activities and the increasing of income from rent.

Some of the most representative cases of austerity are Greece, Portugal, and Spain. These countries constitute a periphery, as they have similar historical, sociopolitical, and cultural backgrounds. Their welfare structures are mostly based

on family support and informal networks, their urbanization process have common features, and finally they all have democracies with significant institutional problems. The inequalities caused by the economic crisis have created similar patterns of geographical development. In most cities, urban revitalization can provide an opportunity to change economic structures and create new jobs.

Spatial planning policies in the European city are today focusing on neo-liberal policies. They are associated with less democratic and more elite-driven priorities (Swyngedouw et al. 2002).

These projects are based on the fact that megaprojects can define future growth. Large-scale urban projects are the expression of changes in the political and economic parameters of each society, and subsequently their spatial changes. A crucial issue arising from these projects is the way the existing plans affect or are being affected by these new conditions. Although these projects should follow existing planning guidelines and restrictions, their conception and implementation rarely follows existing spatial rules (Swyngedouw et al. 2002). In many cases, large-scale projects are promoted by local authorities as they constitute tools of development.

The Greek urban tissue has its own particularities regarding the effects of neo-liberalism, and these are formed under a mix of informal activities, arbitrary housing and lack of planning. The processes of urban development were influenced by existing legislation which stated that all projects in public spaces should be undertaken by the public sector.

In order to better comprehend existing neo-liberalism in Greece, it is necessary to explore the historical framework and the political conditions that prevailed during the period of capitalist development and the patterns formatted by crisis. The neo-liberal restructuring of the country was implemented after 1996 under the leadership of PASOK and did not include an element of wealth redistribution. The urban development of the period was combined with policies that promoted competitiveness and entrepreneurship. This process was different according to the historical, political, economic and social background of each period. Athens, the metropolitan area of Greece, has made efforts to become a global metropolis. It has been diachronically shaped under the influence of policies that have differed through time according to social, political and economic parameters.

During the last few years of crisis, new kinds of collaboration have emerged between the private and the public sector. Under these a conditions, many parameters of regular planning procedures are being ignored and project-based development is occurring without the restrictions of regulatory plans and procedures. In order to facilitate large-scale projects, the implementation of new legislative tools and procedures have been promoted which follow the principles of urban policy making. These projects are shaped by the pressures of social and economic priorities.

6.3   The Greek Spatial Planning System

Urban planning should be analyzed with reference to the articulation of spatial scales. The Greek planning system presents differences compared with Central European practices. In Greece where ex-post planning is the only method employed, regulations cannot easily be adopted. A variety of plans and programmes are legislated for but never applied, a fact that makes planning inefficient. Participation in spatial planning procedures is often limited to professionals, while ordinary citizens are excluded.

The institutional and governance structure for spatial policies in Greece according to the law is structured into three levels: national, regional, and municipal. Programs of urban regeneration are mainly promoted by the Ministry of Environment. The capital's large-scale infrastructure is promoted by the Ministry of Transports and Public Works. The Ministry of Culture affects a urban policies to a lesser degree through major urban regeneration agencies; finally the Ministry of Finance plays an important role as is shapes the relationship between large-scale urban development and political, social, and economic relations (Maloutas et al. 2012).

The Greek institutional framework concerned with spatial planning and policy begins with the 1923 Decree which defined the principles according to which a great number of plans for many towns and settlements were formed. These plans were very often criticized because of their inability to organize the spatial, economic and social development of the urban space over the long term. In 1979, a new generation of urban planning laws was created which introduced two-step planning at the local level. Of these, the 1337/83 law was widely implemented within the framework of the 'Urban Reconstruction Operation,' a policy from the 1980s which aimed to produce new spatial plans for all Greek towns in order to secure new land for necessary urban activities as well as to control urban sprawl.

Greek spatial planning legislation was until that period dictated by the rules of physical planning. It focused on the interface between the development rights of landowners and the balance between private and public sectors. In the late 1990s, the spatial Greek planning system was directed by the establishment of the national regional spatial planning law (L. 2742/1999). Since the mid-1990s Greece has restructured its highly centralized spatial planning system into a new system based on the principles of decentralization. The provisions of the new law showed the influence of European Union planning rules on the Greek spatial planning system. The current law 2508/97 regulates spatial planning at the municipality level regarding the aspect of Sustainable Urban Development. At the national and regional scales, the recent law 2742/99 concerning 'Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development,' replaced the previous law—that was never implemented —in the mid-1970s, aimed to attempt an overall confrontation of spatial issues in Greece, mainly through the institution of spatial plans at national and regional levels. Although recent attempts to update and modernize the legislative framework for spatial planning, on both micro- and macro-scales and through the ratification of

two new laws (2508/97, 2742/99) still have to be positively evaluated, it must be noted that the previous laws are not going to be completely abolished.

The progress of spatial planning is today described as slow and complicated, something that is primarily caused by the bureaucracy which makes it ineffective. What also characterizes the Greek spatial system is its inability to accept changes and adjust to new needs. The detailed administrative levels of the Greek spatial planning system are shown in Table 6.1.

The Greek spatial planning system has been shaped through the last 40 years and contains instruments which comprise plans and programs at national, regional and local levels (Table 6.2).

The priorities during the conditions of the financial crises are focused on topics of employment and economic development, mainly in the sector of tourism, and are included in the main objectives of spatial development. The problems that spatial planning is called on to solve concern the development of private space against public space, the intense urban sprawl and the existing rule of initially constructing and then planning in an arbitrary built environment. All the above combined with increasing social segregation and social exclusion have led to the degradation of urban districts.

The legal framework is limited as decisions are mainly taken by the government, and the municipalities or the local stakeholders cannot easily participate in the planning process. Nevertheless, The progress towards a more decentralized and less complicated planning system which would harmonize the interests of all parties could help create an effective tool for the current urban environment.

Table 6.1 Administrative levels and responsibilities for spatial planning

Administrative level	Responsibility
National level	
Environment and Climate Change Ministry	Formulates the policies on environment, housing and urban planning Elaborates on regional plans, urban plans, statutory town plans and programmes of environmental protection Approves the Town Plans Provides the guidelines for the implementation of plans Manages funds Supervises the implementation of programmes
Other Ministries	Different duties regarding spatial planning
Regional level	
Regional Government 13 regions	Specializes in planning guidelines on spatial structures and networks, and on the implementation of town plans
Local level	
900 Municipalities	Responsible for urban public transport, technical infrastructure, construction and maintenance of public buildings Advisory activity during the production of urban plans

Source Giannakourrou G

Table 6.2 Spatial plans—types and approving authorities

Types of plan	Area	Approving authority
Strategic		
National Framework for spatial planning and sustainable development	Whole country	Greek Parliament
Sectoral regional frameworks for spatial planning and sustainable development	Sectoral activities of national importance, social and administrative services and networks of national interests	Committee of governmental policy for spatial planning and sustainable development
Regional plan for spatial planning and sustainable development	Region	Environment and Climate Change Ministry
Framework		
General Urban Plans	Municipality	Region's General Secretary
Regulatory		
Different types of urban plans	Neighborhood level of one municipality or commune	Presidential Degree
Implementation and land contribution plans		Prefect or Mayor
Zoning instruments	Functional planning of urban and rural areas	Ministry of Environment and Climate Change

Source Giannakourrou G

6.4 The Role of Citizen Activism in Greek Spatial Planning Procedures

Every democratic state should create the necessary structures which facilitate the involvement of stakeholders in planning decisions, since such participation commits citizens to implement decisions taken and creates a relationship of trust between the citizens and the state. The urban space is the field where is the 'space of appearance' (Springer 2011) and the 'space of encounters' (Merrifield 2013) co-exist. Participatory processes make citizens realize that their participation can influence planning, which will be achieved by a relationship ruled by trust. The forms of advocacy planning are realized in the urban space, through processes of neo-liberalism and emancipatory practices. Moreover, citizens feel discouraged when they are asked to participate, having witnessed other processes where they have had no impact on the final decision. Today, Greek authorities try to achieve more synergies with citizen-led initiatives. This approach is based on collaboration between different stakeholders. Actors from municipalities to private companies and citizens initiatives have created synergies for participation is these projects.

The main approach of Greek spatial planning was, until 20 years ago, comprehensive planning. All regional and urban plans were formulated and legislated

by the Greek authorities at all administrative levels and the final recipients of spatial policies had to follow the applied policies. Over the past two decades, new forms of urban governance have emerged, replacing the traditional state-centered policy-making processes. The 1337 law included for the first time the possibility for the development of advocacy procedures during spatial planning. It stated that in every neighbourhood, councils of residents could define the aims of their area's planning and the tools for its development. This first attempt at participatory planning was defined by the spatial planning legislative framework and introduced new negotiation mechanisms through the participation of state, private actors, and citizens.

The participatory governance practices followed in Greece were often presented as a chance to empower democracy and enhance effective governing forms, compared with the twentieth century's hierarchical and bureaucratic forms of governance (Swyngedouw 2004). Social groups involved in problems of social exclusion sometimes fail to recognize that they have become parts of the neo-liberal system (Dean 1995).

Today, advocacy spatial planning is promoted according to existing regional and urban planning legislation at almost all planning levels. The role of urban movements, neighborhood networks, and social groups is gradually becoming more important. In regional and urban planning, advocacy planning is the main way for citizens' participation and it happens in two steps. In the first step, during the analysis procedure, all social institutions can record their views and needs for every plan that is being revised or legislated for the first time. In the second step, every social institution can submit its comments and proposals during the formulation of initial proposals in the framework of participatory procedures. These comments can be adopted or rejected by planners but in any case the final decisions of acceptance or rejection must be justified. Although the use of information and communication technologies has made advocacy procedures easier, factors such as the lack of interest or the belief that the final decisions have already been taken, make the participants suspicious or indifferent with regard to these procedures.

It is essential that in most cases of regional and urban planning, only minor changes have been made according to the proposals of the participants, while most of the time political factors are determinant for the final decisions in each case. Representative examples are the large-scale urban projects taking place during the economic crisis in Greece and more particularly in Athens, the country's capital. Projects such as the construction of the new Opera and the conversion of Panepistimiou Avenue into a pedestrian area, are some of the projects that are have been developed under the principles of neo-liberalism. The procedures that were followed in each of the above cases were firmly based on advocacy planning as the main means of decision making with regard to the political parameters.

6.5   The Case of Elliniko Airport

In the period before the economic crisis, the Greek development model was based on three basic assets: the construction sector, limited public intervention in the urban tissue production that led to the development of the private sector and small-scale ownership. The role of planning in the spatial development procedure had been limited as it mainly focused on the legislation of plans that validated an arbitrary and existing built environment. The above facts led to the unplanned urban and peri-urban status which defined the social consensus regarding the lack of planning, although the legislative framework for spatial planning had always existed.

In the late 1990s, the need to address issues of conflicting land use and environmental problems led to the reinforcement of spatial planning towards urbanization policies and was promoted by the State. This fact was supplemented by a new spatial planning system based on the principles of sustainable development. During this period, large-scale urban development projects were constructed with the funds of the European Union and the participation of the private sector. Under this cooperation of the public and private sectors, most of the 2004 Olympic Games infrastructure was constructed. In order to facilitate this infrastructure, the Greek spatial planning system was reformed, a fact that led to a new phenomenon. Although certain legislative tools promoted the creation of large-scale urban projects, the Supreme Court of Greece agreed that these ad hoc infrastructures weren't predicted by existing regional and urban plans, and so could not be accomplished. Another issue that made the creation of large-scale urban projects extremely difficult was the lengthy licensing processes for strategic investments which complicated every effort being made.

In the contrast with other countries in South Europe, like Spain, urban entrepreneurship in Greece was mainly connected with the implementation of Olympic projects and the rhetoric for their legitimization. However, despite the attempts of the Greek State to liberalize spatial policy and the restructuring of the wider resources that are involved in urban processes, the period before the crisis was characterized by neo-liberal principles.

By 2010, Greece exhibited two different phenomena. On the one hand, the built environment was degraded, public infrastructures were deprecated, and the number of homeless people was constantly increasing, while at the same time many laws were legislated in order to serve private funds according to neo-liberal principles. These new spatial procedures promoted the role of the private sector through procedures that depended only on political decisions. Through these changes, the advocacy processes of planning were completely ignored in the name of a new type of development that sought to maximize private capital. All legislative efforts were directed towards the creation of large-scale urban projects that could be constructed even if the existing planning framework had completely different targets, while building could be intensified even if was against existing restrictions on land use.

Elliniko Airport is located in an area that includes the abandoned airport and Agios Kosmas beach. It is the most important subject of privatization in Greece in the current crisis. The decision to relocate the airport was taken in 1991, and by 2001 the development of the abandoned airport was a subject of discussion regarding the Olympic Games of 2004.

After the Olympic Games, the plans concerning the development of the area were focused on land markets which would construct new infrastructures in the area. In 2007, a new plan proposed the creation of a metropolitan park and the construction of new avenues which would connect the area with the city and the development of residential units. Some years later, new plans were proposed with almost the same principles, while the final plan by David Foster proposed many building units that would see the land used for luxury homes, luxury hotels, a casino, and shopping malls. All the above plans were never accomplished as the citizens and the local communities of the wider area were against the decisions. The conditions of the economic crisis led the Greek state to redefine its priorities regarding the area as the privatization of the area was a major target of the new Greek government.

In order to achieve the privatization of the area, new legislation was adopted for the facilitation of the project, and it was widely supported. The main marketing slogan that was used, was that this new investment would reduce poverty and lead to the creation of new jobs that would gradually promote the desired economic development. All the policies that were followed were aimed at the acceptance of the proposal by Greek citizens who supported the idea that the area should be a public park instead of a new business district with residence for high-income people.

The role of advocacy planning in this project was initially ignored as all decisions and procedures were taken by political, economic, and international funds interests that tried to adopt international policies. This fact led to the strengthening of communities as environmental and local organizations that were excluded from any participation process responded to the private sector's decisions by any means possible. They organized actions that informed all citizens about the motives and the results of the proposals and even used legal proceedings in order to cancel the government's plans and procedures.

As of today, the future of the area is still uncertain. The new government will proceed with the competition that will privatize the area, but the terms and the steps that will be followed have not yet been announced. The role of citizens' participation in this project reveals two basic elements. The first is that although the Geek spatial planning system defines advocacy planning as a necessary tool for the country's sustainable development, political and economic powers ignore this tool in order to serve the principles of neo-liberalism which seek to maximize the private sector's profits. The second element is that even if all means are used in order to

serve private interests, advocacy procedures can still define the way spatial policies are applied and manage to inhibit plans that are peremptorily imposed. The difficulties faced by the Greek state limited its ability to mitigate the effects of neo-liberalism on its urban planning process. Ultimately, its ability to control the reactions of its citizens was undermined.

6.6 Conclusions

Planning plays an important role in influencing urban change by the private and the public sectors which are responsible for that urban change. The policies that were diachronically applied to the urban regeneration and development of Greek cities, and which were guided by neo-liberal socioeconomic principles brought critical issues regarding the factors that shape the urban tissue. They influenced to a large degree institutional structures as well as actors and agents. Large-scale urban development projects are the result of a wider urban restructuring process which is directly connected to the changes of production and demand conditions at all spatial levels (Swyngedouw et al. 2002).

These projects shape a background for the future development of cities. A basic issue affecting urban policies is the relationship of these new projects with existing planning procedures and regulations as new plans and projects circumvent the existing regulations and procedures, and push the role of advocacy planning into second place.

Many national and local authorities support large-scale urban projects driven by the neo-liberal private sector and promote their role in the achievement of sustainable development. The procedures that are followed for the implementation of these projects lead in many cases to the exclusion of certain groups from participating in the planning process.

New governance structures focus on the redistribution of planning procedures to partnership agencies. In most cases, participation is often limited to selected professionals while the non-professional sector and many social groups are excluded. Sections of civil society are also often excluded from access to relevant processes. Technical, economic, and political experts are to a large degree the people that shape new urban environments (Swyngedouw et al. 2002).

In Greece, during the period of economic crisis, the implementation of large-scale urban projects under the principles of neo-liberalism is disconnected from its citizens. However, at all scales of planning, the participation of citizens is promoted by the existing legislative framework. Elliniko Airport is a representative example of a large-scale project where the procedures that were followed for its privatization ignored the advocacy planning role. The tools of traditional spatial

planning were not applied while all the decisions taken by the Greek authorities were based on political and economic parameter. The process that was followed attempted to cancel all existing regulations and promote a new framework that would facilitate the implementation of this project, but ultimately the role of citizens was decisive. It is important that the planning profession regain the trust of the public and politicians under the framework of advocacy planning, which will identify societal interests and advise the public.

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Chapter 7
Urban Shrinkage in a Neo-liberal Space

**Amir Reza Khavarian-Garmsir, Ahmad Pourahmad,
Hossein Hataminejad and Rahmatollah Farhoodi**

Abstract This study focuses on this fact that shrinking cities are the other side of changes in a liberal space. They occur as a result of the uneven performance of neo-liberalism in urban and regional developments. This uneven performance in development is due to the competitive spaces between the processes of production and accumulation. In addition, since neo-liberalism always needs to impose its own institutional array and market-oriented social and spatial norms on a city and a region, an explanation of the process of urban shrinkage in a liberal space is placed within a neo-liberalism creative destruction mechanism.

7.1 Introduction

The history of human life has indicated that societies have always sought to adopt strategies required to respond to new obstacles and problems. Sometimes, these strategies have led to the permanent removal of the problem, while at other times, they have acted as a temporary remedy only delaying the problems caused by the crisis. In fact, these strategies are associated with conflicts which arose from society or from the external environment, so their articulation will reproduce a new space. This new space itself is a creator of new problems and crises added to the previous crisis of the community (Leitner et al. 2007).

In recent decades, various spatial and temporal crises such as the crisis of the Fordism welfare state, the New York financial crisis in 1976, the crisis caused by the debt of countries in 1982, and the problems caused by the collapse of the USSR in

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the socialistic states of Eastern Europe in 1989, have all convinced policymakers and planners to found new strategies, so called neo-liberalism, regarding the role of the government and market (Leitner et al. 2007; Peck et al. 2009). Indeed, neo-liberalism is the offspring of a crisis that was able to produce new space as a temporary solution, removing the obstacles created in the way of the accumulation of capital (Harvey 1982).

Overall, neo-liberal policies in a geographical space exhibit a selective mechanism, i.e., they do not affect man-made environments in the domain of a space in a uniform way. This difference in manifested in terms of both position and scale. Regional and local, rural and urban, and metropolitan and town scales are each affected differently by the influence of neo-liberal spatial strategies (Brenner and Theodore 2005). Now, in regions controlled by neo-liberalism, cities follow various procedures. Some of these cities are growing and others are shrinking. In fact, the growth and shrinking of cities are two sides of the same coin representing the evolution of urbanism in a neo-liberalist space (Martinez-Fernandez and Wu 2009; UN-Habitat 2013). However, urban shrinkage is not just limited to neo-liberal societies. It is possible to find various such countries all over the world (Oswalt et al. 2006).

Urban shrinkage in today's world does not follow a single cause and effect pattern. In other words, in modern cities this phenomenon is a superstructure which varies due to different reasons in accordance with various geographical spaces. In this regard, one of the most common causes of urban contraction, which was introduced as the most crucial reason of this phenomenon in neo-liberal societies during the early years of the twenty-first century, is deindustrialization. This transfer process of industries from Western developed countries to developing countries in recent centuries, which originated from various causes, such as environmental crises and the emergence of new industrial competitors in East Asia, finally led to the loss of many jobs in the industrial cities of the countries involved (Dasgupta and Singh 2006; Martinez-Fernandez and Wu 2007).

Therefore, significant cities in Europe, like Manchester and Liverpool in England, Lorraine in France, and many industrial belts are today considered as shrinking and shrunken cities. One of the structural and political crises regarded as one of the main causes of urban shrinkage in Eastern Europe (such as in Lithuania, Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary) and the old European socialist bloc is the collapse of the socialist system in many regions and countries. For example, after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, many East German cities such as Leipzig experienced this crisis and eventually began shrinking (Bontje 2013; de Sousa 2010).

Also, in its report, the Housing Committee of the United Nations (2008) referred to the fact that although it is paradoxical to talk about the urban shrinkage of developing countries in an age of rampant urban growth, there is plenty of evidence indicating that this phenomenon is creeping gently into this group of countries. A great number of different reasons for the occurrence of urban shrinkage in developing countries are mentioned in the report, and these can be categorized as urban marginalization, economic crises, selective contraction, and the reclassification of divisions of cities.

As a result, and as previously mentioned, there are various factors affecting urban shrinkage. These factors and primers present a very wide range and to place

them along a spectrum as the key factors is an understatement. In this regard, Van Hear (1998) and then Van Hear et al. (2012) also believed it impossible to place all the significant factors of the stream and process, especially in studies on population mobility, in a single group.

They categorized these factors into four sub-groups: predisposing, approximating, precipitating, and mediating. These predisposing factors, which all contribute to the creation of a context for contraction, result from macro processes like globalization, environmental changes, evolution of economic and political ideologies, and population changes. The proximating factors are usually caused by their direct relationship with urban contraction and its occurrence. They mostly stem from the functions of the predisposing factors or their structural features. In shrinking cities and regions, they include deindustrialization, urban marginalization, and the aging of the population. The precipitating factors are those factors which accelerate this chaos. They may be in economic spheres, including financial degradation, rising unemployment, and declining health, education and welfare services; or they may be political and security in nature, or factors such as torture and frustration of the citizens and occurrence of war, along with other natural and environmental events. Intervening factors may lead to empowerment, mobilization, simplification, acceleration, deprivation or a strengthening of the shrinking of cities. In the meantime, the presence of factors such as high-tech transportation, information and resources that are necessary for a trip can facilitate the process of population transportation. The absence of infrastructure and the lack of information and resources needed for displacement are among the repressing factors (Van Hear et al. 2012).

So far, studies on the causes of urban shrinkage have mainly focused upon the proximating and ultimate factors such as deindustrialization and suburbanization. They have not considered the precipitating factors such as the neo-liberalization of space and the political and economic ideologies of the states. The present study attempts to analyze the urban shrinkage process in a neo-liberal space.

7.1.1 Neo-liberalism: From Doctrine to Its Effect on the Field of Urban Developments

Over the past four decades, a great evolution occurred in neo-liberalism. From the doctrine of pure economics (since its advent in the 1970s), it changed into a spatial and growing strategy to address the barriers of capital accumulation around the world. Although at first this ideology was a reaction to the regime of Fordism and a device for removing the vast fundamental welfare state in North America and western Europe, it is now a prescription dictated from international organizations like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) as a policy of economic reformation used to promote competition, modernization, and flexibility. Meanwhile, it has made some developing countries in South America and South East Asia.

More dependent and vulnerable in the World Market (Gwynne and Kay 2000; Peck et al. 2009; Portes and Roberts 2005).

As a result, the geography of neo-liberalism goes beyond market-oriented schemes. This is a global project accepted by the elite and by major political parties all over the world, so it is transitional in different scales of international as well as urban governance. In general, previous attempts were limited to restricted countries or forces in their dependent nations and governments (Leitner et al. 2007).

Many studies (Lee and Zhu 2006; Moody 1997) point to the significant difference between the ideology of neo-liberalism and its daily function in capitalist societies. Also, the inefficiency effects of neo-liberal views on reforming capitalism in different structural fields and at various spatial levels during the past two decades has been significant (Brenner and Theodore 2012).

The effects of the dysfunctional neo-liberal vision on the restoration of capitalism at all spatial scales, including market failure, the development of economic recession and non-uniformity, intensifying inequality, destructive domestic competition, insecurity, social inequality, and public opposition are obvious (He and Wu 2009; Peck et al. 2009). However, in comparison with other political and economic ideologies, these countries' experiences show that neo-liberalism is one of the most flexible versions of economic and political reforms that humans has ever mapped out. This flexibility of neo-liberalism can be observed in the form of retreat from his doctrine and compatibility with his environment (He and Wu 2009). The fact is that neo-liberalism advances under any condition and periodic failure cannot lead to the cancellation of its projects. In other words, it experiences a series of setbacks, and then, with the aid of the government, revives itself and continues its growing process (Brenner and Theodore 2005, 2012).

Unlike previous doctrines, neo-liberalism promotes maximum and borderless economic development instead of optimal growth. Consequently, any kind of governmental intervention in main industries and market performance is rejected and attempts are made to increase their advantages through changing workforce organization and reducing the taxes of large companies. In the meantime, reducing public and social services and personalizing them, are among the means used to make urban societies more competitive and commoditized (Brenner and Theodore 2012). One of the important characteristics of neo-liberalism that has attracted geographers and urban planners is the ability to distinguish the performance of this ideology at different geographic scales. In general, it is possible to determine the scope of neo-liberalism's performance at both domestic and transnational levels (Keil 2002). In this regard, Pack et al. (2009) stated:

> Neoliberalism is very much a multi-scalar phenomenon: it reconstitutes scaled relationships between institutions and economic actors, such as municipal governments, national states and financialized capital; and it leads to the substitution of competitive for redistributive regulatory logics while downloading risks and responsibilities to localities. (pp. 50–52).

At the micro scale, cities are at the forefront of neo-liberalism, because they are the centers of capital accumulation and the habituate of the majority of the community (Carmody and Owusu 2016). Although in the past, the main fields of

political conflicts were based on the shape and direction of economic reform during the prolonged periods of crisis in the Fordism welfare growth regime (Leitner et al. 2007; Peck et al. 2009), among the changes created by neo-liberalism, urban redevelopment is the most important aspect of specialized capital accumulation. After the penetration of neo-liberalism into a space, cities are restructured and their spatial arrangements, whether local or in an urban system, change greatly (Van Hear 1998). These developments may lead to the emergence of a new model of urbanism which some—due to emergence of a renaissance in urban planning and the rapid process of capital accumulation in urban centers—have called 'neoliberal urbanization' (He and Wu 2009).

One of the peculiarities of neo-liberal urbanism is its attempt to redefine a city as an investment city. In other words, this is a city where all its effort is centered on economic success in competition with other cities and investment, innovation and the creative class are a core for spatial competition, welfare reform, and the formation of neo-liberal goals (Leitner et al. 2007). Lee and Zhu (2006) believe that in each stage of the development of capitalism, special sites and certain territories act as forces of production, and as a result, some sites, territories, and scales are systematically placed at a higher position than others as places for capital accumulation (Harvey 1982; Massey 1995). This can result in uneven urban development.

In addition, neo-liberal urbanism in the scope of spatial changes relies more on the active power of the state than its exclusion (Brenner and Theodore 2005), because the social relations of capitalism are based on tensions and conflicts. This factor has destabilized and undermined the accumulation process and as a result the government can play a key role in order to survive and redress the imbalance created due to the uncertainty within a system in which continuous spatial planning strategies are ignored (Lee and Zhu 2006). These government strategies have evolved to manage uncertainty within the system and to develop the uneven city regularly, in line with the economic-political and sociopolitical conflicts (Brenner and Theodore 2012).

Commodification and privatization are often the key factors in the new model of neo-liberal order in neo-liberal urban planning. When neo-liberalism penetrates into the space governing local states (which have a special status in neo-liberal systems), it tries to remove social housing and other forms of accommodation. Also, it reduces control over housing rents. This may also happen to the land sector through the destruction of traditional neighborhoods in order to make way for large real estate projects aimed at redevelopment.

As a result, new opportunities are created, from speculating in the property market to boost leasing, to the private ownership of land and housing. In fact, land and housing change into a tradable commodity. Other local measures of neo-liberal governments are reducing public service costs and ignoring the implementation of welfare programs and transferring them to the private sector. This leads to the privatization and commodification of public services, which in turn increases inequality and social polarization (Brenner and Theodore 2012; Lee and Zhu 2006).

7.2 Urban Shrinkage

Throughout history, one of the unique features of humans has been creation followed by destruction. History has always witnessed the glory of cities and their destruction over time (UN-Habitat 2008). In fact, from late antiquity to the present era, it is possible to trace the signs of prosperity and subsequent decline of cities at all levels. In this regard, during the Middle Ages, many cities experienced wars, natural events, fire, agricultural crises, and the spread of deadly diseases, so they faced population declines and even depopulation (Hollander and Németh 2011; Hollander et al. 2009). However, during the first half of the twenty-first century, mainly due to the increasing of the number, scale, and geographical distribution of cities are losing population, urban planners and researchers have paid special attention to them (Olsen 2013), so the concept has become a fixed foundation in their studies.

Providing statistics on the shrinking cities in the world today is of great importance. As Europe and America pioneered urbanization in the last few centuries, the earlier contraction of their cities is also inevitable. According to Haase et al. (2013), 42% of cities with a population of more than 200,000 households in Europe are classed as among the shrinking cities of the world. Moreover, in the long-term and macro-statistics of the past 50 years, in cities with a population of more than 100,000 inhabitants, there are 370 cities which have lost more than 10% of their population (Hollander 2013; Pallagst 2008).

Quoting the Shrinking Cities International Research Network (SCIRN), the most severe case is the city of Abadan in Iran which lost about 90% of its population in its war with Iraq. Moreover, habitat analyses performed in 1408 cities showed that 10% of them are shrinking (Un-Habitat 2008). Habitat research (2008) reports that of developing countries, Asian countries have the largest share of urban shrinkage; hence, 60% of shrinking cities are the developing cities in Asia, especially in China and India.

A great number of urban and regional planners who deal with shrinking cities (Hollander 2013; Hollander and Németh 2011; Olsen 2013), define shrinking cities as those with population of more than 10,000 people, which have experienced a population decline and negative growth for more than two years. In this regard and along with economic, social, environmental, and political changes, or some traces of structural crises, such cities are called shrinking cities. Of course, some (Reckien and Martinez-Fernandez 2011; Schilling and Logan 2008) have required a broader time period, such as 40–50 years, before qualifying as a shrinking city.

In Borguard's opinion (2003), urban planners analyzing shrinking cities should pay attention to what is lost. Accordingly, he believes that one of the ways to identify shrinking cities is to identify what is being lost, such as loss of population, culture, social investments, valuable buildings, and eventually economic activity. Laurssen believes that although the term contraction reminds us of physical concepts such as empty streets and haunted and ruined houses, there are four key dimension for such a city: demographic, economic, cultural, and social. In cases, just one or a few of these aspects may occur (Laursen 2008).

However, two concepts can be interpreted: migration and depopulation of cities, and single or multidimensional structural developments. These can occur in a specific temporal and spatial arena. Obviously, urban depopulation, whether because of migration or internal causes such as the aging of the population, is caused by multidimensional crises. Therefore, it can be concluded that while doing research on a shrinking city, the first problem is its negative population growth. As a result it is the duty of researchers to determine and recognize the main reasons for the depopulation and uncover the past and present crises underlying urban shrinkage.

7.3 Urban Shrinkage or Urban Decline?

In terms of researching urban shrinkage, there are closely similar concepts such as urban decline and urban decay. Hence, in most cases, it can be difficult to distinguish between the two concepts, since both imply the loss of population and economic decline in a city. Consequently, these two concepts overlap to a large degree. It should be noted that the concept of urban decline has a long history in urban and regional planning texts. Here, different opinions about the distinction between these two concepts will be outlined.

Some, such as Laurssen (2008) and Hoekveld (2014) believe that while differentiating urban shrinkage and urban decline, it is necessary to distinguish between two points: (1) the causative history of these concepts and (2) their oriental geography. In fact, the first distinction derives from the second one. In other words, since these two concepts emerge in two different locations, different factors support their formation.

In this regard, urban decline, borrowed from both the Anglo-Saxon discourse and the post-Second World War period, is used commonly in English speaking countries, especially the United States. Among the chief thinkers and leaders of this discourse is Beauregard In contrast, urban shrinkage, emanated from the thoughts and notions of the German researchers, Siebel and Häußermann and has been common since 1987. Moreover, urban decline which is often due to the decline of cities is deindustrialization and sub-urbanism, especially in the United States. However, urban shrinkage involves multiple interrelated causes among which are deindustrialization and suburbanism. Others, such as Stohr (2004) and Hollander et al. (2009), who have tried to distinguish the two cases, believe that in recent years researchers have sought to replace shrinkage with decline in order to redefine the concept and to present a more creative way of managing shrinking cities.

Finally, in one of their most recent comments, Martinez Fernandez et al. (2015) on the distinction between shrinking and declining cities have referred to long-term urban and historical decline in the United States in order to explain the processes of suburbanization and deindustrialization (Beauregard 2003). Due to the reconstruction of this post-Fordism, many cities in the United States have experienced a sharp decline in their manufacturing sector (Dewar and Epstein 2007). Along with this economic decline, the decline in the number of jobs which has led to migration

to the suburban district, especially in Rustbelt areas, along with empty buildings and weak housing market.

At the same time, job decentralization and the middle and the upper classes' tendency to suburbanism has accelerated the rate of decline of the center of cities so that these cities have transformed into places with affordable housing and weak job markets, which focus on hiring African-American people with low skills and low-incomes, as well as members of the immigrant population (Glaeser and Gyourko 2001). On the other hand, in Europe, the process of contraction in combination with deindustrialization and suburbanization is less similar to that which has occurred in the United States.

However, the phenomenon of urban shrinkage is mostly used in Europe and is mostly affected by the industrialized regions, for example, the Ruhr area in Germany. Demographic factors play an important role in such areas. The dramatic decline of fertility in these areas is sometimes considered as a demographic shock leading to rapid shrinkage of cities and significant changes in fertility and mortality rates. In other words, Martinez-Fernandez et al., believe that urban decline is oriented from Fordism urban planning and development, and modernist notions, whereas urban shrinkage is the result of post-Fordism developments and is seen as a challenge to global planning challenge and twenty-first century capitalism (Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2015).

7.3.1 Urban Shrinkage in a Neo-liberal Space

As pointed out earlier, since its inception, neo-liberalism has undergone many spatial and temporal developments. This ideology is advancing through the targeting of maximum capital growth and the removal of barriers to the accumulation of capital worldwide. The experiences of those spaces affected by neo-liberalism have indicated that neo-liberalism in particular has changed into a flexible and space-based ideology, because the paradigm changes in political economics vary greatly across countries (Gwynne and Kay 2000). Indeed, this spatial feature helps neo-liberalism to employ different solutions to impose institutional arrangements and market-oriented spatial and social norms in a region or city.

However, one of the common characteristics of all neo-liberal strategies is their selective nature. That is, when the influence of neo-liberalism in a geographical space is felt, its strategies have an uneven look to all cities, regions, and countries, because some places are more capable in the processes of production and capital accumulation, while others contribute less to the process of maximization of capital accumulation. As a response to this neo-liberal approach, cities and regions attempt, over time, to improve their competitive advantage in accordance with the logic of neo-liberalism in order to compete with other places. Loss of competitive advantage in a city or a region implies it is lagging behind in production and the accumulation of maximum capital. Finally, what remains is a neo-liberal space that is often seen in the prosperity and growth of some cities and regions, as well as the decline of

others (Brenner and Theodore 2005; Candan and Kolluoglu 2008; He and Wu 2009; Keil 2002).

As a result, these shrinking cities are placed on the other side of transformations in a neo-liberal space resulting from the uneven performance of neo-liberalism in urban and regional development. This uneven performance in development is the result of the action of the competitive nature of spaces on the processes of production and accumulation. Of course, as mentioned earlier, it is impossible to find the traces of neo-liberalism in the shrinkage of cities directly, rather it acts as a predisposing factor, contributing to the provision of a context for the formation of some proximate drivers like deindustrialization. During recent decades, there have been many shrinking cities in liberal countries which have experienced economic recession and reduced job opportunities mainly due to the loss of their competitive advantage.

However, to explain the shrinkage and growth of cities as part of the process of the geographic expansion of capitalism, the concept of creative destruction can be used. This factor reflects periodic fluctuations and changes in the devaluation of wealth and capitalism's efforts to create the basis for sustained accumulation (Marx and Engels 1888; Marx and Ryazanskaya 1963) in an economy of space, where capitalism has inherently and continuously obsoleted some geographical landscape that it had created based on its production and needs. In other words, this concept implies the destruction of the territory developed in the previous stages of capitalism and the creation of a new spatial network for capital accumulation (Brenner and Theodore 2012).

In their relationship with cities, all neo-liberal strategies and projects at their local, regional and national scales possess a creative-destructor nature of the current institutional arrays and creation of infrastructures for market-oriented economic growth, commodification and capital law (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Lee and Zhu 2006). The association of the concept of creative destruction with shrinking cities can be distinguished in numerous neo-liberal urbanism mechanisms: in resetting and reviving the mechanisms of the relations between national and local governments, and in the moment of destruction, neo-liberalism seeks to destroy the initial systems of the central state supporting the activities of the municipalities and put an end to financial provision and national public welfare services. In the moment of creation, it attempts to transfer the responsibilities of the central government to the municipalities, to create opportunities for new income revenues for them, and to increase their reliance on local revenues (Peck et al. 2009). This rolling back of central government and rolling forward of local government has led some cities which were previously dependent on the financial support of their central government for the provision of public welfare, fail to survive independently. Over time, due to the discontinuation of the support of central government, they have lost their attractiveness and have shrunk, leaving the scene to other cities.

Another neo-liberal urban planning mechanism is the privatization of public sectors and infrastructures. During this process, neo-liberalism seeks to destroy different forms of official hierarchy systems at the moment of destruction and criticizes the dependence on the traditional system of responsive local democracy. In addition, it has attempted to remove public monopolies of the provision of

municipal services (e.g., water and electricity, health, and public transportation). Disposing of public housing and other forms of low-rent accommodation and removing rent controls and the real estate market, mostly based on subsidies, are among other activities of neo-liberalism occurring at the moment of destruction of this mechanism. On the other hand, at the moment of creation, an attempt is made to lead the cities toward privatization and outsourcing of municipal services, joining with elite business interests in local policy and development, creating new opportunities for speculative investment in cities and introducing market rent and moving tenants into the housing sector (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Lee and Zhu 2006; Peck et al. 2009). This neo-liberal urbanism mechanism can have far-reaching effects on the progressive crisis of shrinking cities since the private sector is responsible for providing and maintaining the infrastructure and municipal services. Thus, with a declining population, the maintenance costs of infrastructure and utilities will increase so that continuing such activities in this space is no longer economically advantageous. Therefore, the decline of the economy and infrastructure will be felt in the coming stages of development (Rhodes and Russo 2013; Rybczynski and Linneman 1999).

In the decentralized redevelopment mechanism of the regions, the nationally centralized model of capitalist development will be dismantled and moderating regional policies will be set up that split the national economy into regional systems. On the other hand, in the moment of creation of new cities and regions, secondary developments such as regional free trade zones, techno poles, and other industrial areas will be created (Peck et al. 2009). The formation of secondary cities which result from this process can lead to an initial reduction of cities and shrinkage of metropolitan areas which were previously regarded as the centers of capital accumulation (Portes and Roberts 2005). Considering this argument, it is possible to explain urban shrinkage in parts of large cities with a population of more than 200,000 people in neo-liberal regions (e.g., according to Haase et al. (2013), about 42% of the cities with more than 200,000 residents in Europe are among those classed as contracting cities).

Intercapitalism is a kind of neo-liberal mechanism that affects the spatial arrangement of industries as well as the spatial distribution of capital in a country and a region. In this mechanism, at the moment of destruction, the government retreats to eliminate national support policies and to support national leading industries. Moreover, it acts to increase the competition in capitalism, and it takes steps to eliminate national barriers in the way of foreign direct investment. On the other hand, with their advent, new forms of government support are offered for the establishing of new industries and the promotion of their competition with previous industries.

Other measures present are the adoption of policies of trade liberalization and global capital market development, developed by supranational institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), Europe Union (EU) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (Brenner and Theodore 2012). As a result of this mechanism, many old industries become bankrupt and shut down, mainly due to failure in competition with other emerging

and growing industries in the global market. Announcing the bankruptcy of major industries of the city is regarded as one of the shared memories of many old residents in shrinking cities worldwide. All the residents stated that after the main industries in the city were closed, due to a significant reduction in the number of jobs and widespread unemployment their cities lost most of their population (Haase et al. 2014; Martinez-Fernandez and Wu 2007; Shetty 2009). However, neo-liberalism mechanisms have been a key factor in the bankruptcy and closure of many industries in capitalist countries over the past few decades. Following these changes in the spatial distribution of industries, many cities have faced urban shrinkage or growth.

7.4   Conclusion

Neo-liberalism is a strategy for responding to crisis encountered in the mid-twentieth century that has been successful in delaying the problems caused by the occurred crises. However, after several decades of neo-liberalism, a different mechanism of this phenomenon can be observed in the spatial development and arrangement of cities and regions. One of the most distinctive characteristics of a neo-liberal space is spatial inequality, because the uniformity and balance in spatial development contrasts with the doctrine of neo-liberalism which seeks to maximize capital growth. Maximum growth of capital has entered cities through local, regional, national and global competition. Currently, many cities and regions, mainly due to having a lower competitive advantage, are the victims of such neo-liberalistic competition. The losers are losing a lot of things, including economic, social, and environmental attractions, and even a part of their population, while the winners of the competition are increasing their developmental potential and population. This study attempted to focus on the key factor that shrinking cities are located on the other side of changes in a liberal space and the uneven performance of neo-liberalism in urban and regional development. This uneven performance in development is due to the competitive spaces between the processes of production and accumulation. Also, explaining the process of urban shrinkage in a liberal space is placed in a neo-liberal creative destruction mechanism since neo-liberalism always needs to impose its own institutional array and market-oriented social and spatial norms on a city and a region. It is also necessary to destroy the territory expanded previously, and to create a new spatial network leading to capital accumulation. Analysis of some mechanisms of neo-liberal urbanism in terms of the moments of destruction and creation showed that neo-liberalism can affect both the formation and the continuity of urban shrinkage. Nowadays, this political ideology is contributed to shrinkage of many cities such as those were supported by the central states in the early stages, created big cities as a result of past centralization policies, and cities was relying on single product economy and old industries.

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Chapter 8
Influence of Socialism and Neo-Liberalism and Their Policies on Growth of Indian Cities

Rupali D. Kavilkar

Abstract Dramatic growth is witnessed by Indian cities after Independence and is similar to worldwide urbanization phenomenon. While many factors have influenced this rapid urban growth in India, scholars have proposed that neo-liberalist ideology; post-economic reforms in 1990s have evolved as major influencing factor. Studies have put forth that neo-liberalism has influenced economic growth of India, which opened different employment patterns, in several globally linked sectors located in and around the major cities. The current study investigates influence of this on urban transformation of Indian metropolitan cities. It purposes that neo-Liberalism has accelerated the growth of cities, impacting urban land cover, urban densities, functional performance of new buildings, urban economic structure and social interactions, opening new avenues like neighbourhood townships, IT cities and communication centres and other new development typologies are springing up. Thus, slowly and steadily moderating the cityscape, leading to expansion of urban areas into polycentric decentralized form and blurring of urban and rural borders. The study put forth that Indian cities are in a flux between effects of socialist ideology and neo-liberalist ideology.

Keywords Socialism · Neo-liberalism · Urban transformation

8.1 Background

Urbanization in India, after Independence, is similar to urbanization processes in different parts of the world. Dramatic growth has been recorded of the major Indian cities, showing an increase in level of urbanization by 3.4% during 2001–2011. The urban population in 2011 as per census 2011 was 377 million with 2.76% growth rate per year during the decade (Bhagat 2011). As the current 31% of urban

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population contributes to more than 60% of National GDP, cities are referred to as the engines of economic growth and envisaged to contribute over 75% of India's GDP in future (Bhagat 2011).

Change in urban land cover, densities, urban sprawl, decentralized growth; urban eco-structure and social structure are observed in Indian cities. Current studies have put forth that many factors have influenced this rapid urban growth, including the neo-liberalist ideology, evolved post-economic reforms adopted in 1990s. Studies propose that neo-liberalism has the potential to be one of the basic factors affecting India's economy and urbanization, opening new employment patterns in several globally linked sectors located in and around the cities, increasing migration from rural to urban areas (Kundu 2011). While many studies have put forth the influence of socialist ideology or neo-liberal policies on urban growth of Indian metropolitan cities like Delhi (Ahmed 2011), Pune (Lakshmi et al. 2011), Hyderabad (Chadchan and Shankar 2012), Ahmedabad (Damayanti, Asri and Wijayanto 2009), Jaipur (Kavilkar and Deshmukh 2014) and Bengaluru city (Kavilkar and Deshmukh 2015), the current study focuses on identifying the ideological shift from socialism to neo-liberalism and puts forth the influence of this shift on urban transformation of Indian cities.

8.2 Urbanization in Post-independence India

In post-colonial India, colonial centres were Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai and continued to be centres of development inviting large population through rural–urban migration. Simultaneously, urban centric development model gave rise to many emerging cities (Kavilkar and Deshmukh 2015). Ten largest cities in India, (IIHS—Indian Institute for Human Settlements 2011), as shown in Fig. 8.3, as per urban population are Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata, Chennai, Bengaluru, Hyderabad,

Fig. 8.1 Urban population in India (1971–2011). *Source* Census of India
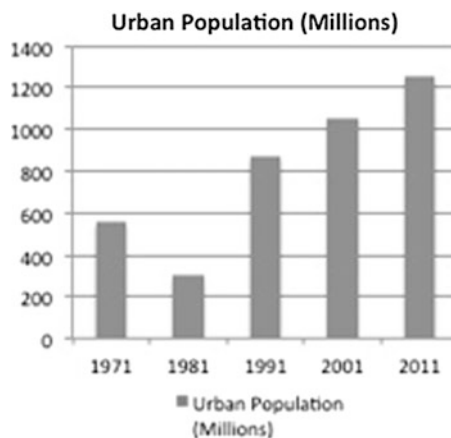
Urban Population Growth Rate(%)

■ Growth Rate(%)

Ahmedabad, Pune, Surat and Jaipur. Figs. 8.1 and 8.2 show the growth of urban population in the country as a whole, indicating large growth in population and greater growth rate in 1971–81 (Bhagat 2011).

A pattern of urban growth of Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and Chennai is observed. In 1960s, the population in these cities was moving away from centre. While a fall in population was recorded in the core areas of Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and Chennai, a large growth rate (about 10%) was in the outskirts of these cities. This centrifugal growth was planning policy to develop satellite towns on the periphery of these cities and later as these grew faster, urban sprawl followed (Metropolitan Cities of India 2011). The urban sprawl has followed either the main commuting or transportation lines between old city and its peripheries like in Delhi, Chennai or developed around urban development projects like in Mumbai and Kolkata. This changed the urban pattern from core-centred to a poly-centred city (Bhagat 2005).

8.3   Political Ideologies in India

At the end of colonial rule and the beginning of democratic government, many colonial ideologies percolated into the new government policies. The Indian Government had a vision to have a constitution suitable for the Indian context guiding through a system of ideas, and to present to the world India as a secular country open to progress.

In India, urban infrastructure, developed along economic planning identified under four political eras of

- Nehru (1950–67), Fabian Socialist Ideas with policy focus on industrialization, pro-public sector and Central Government bias,
- Indira Gandhi (1967–84), Rhetorical Socialist with anti-urban bias, anti-privatization focus, which included policies for Industrial development
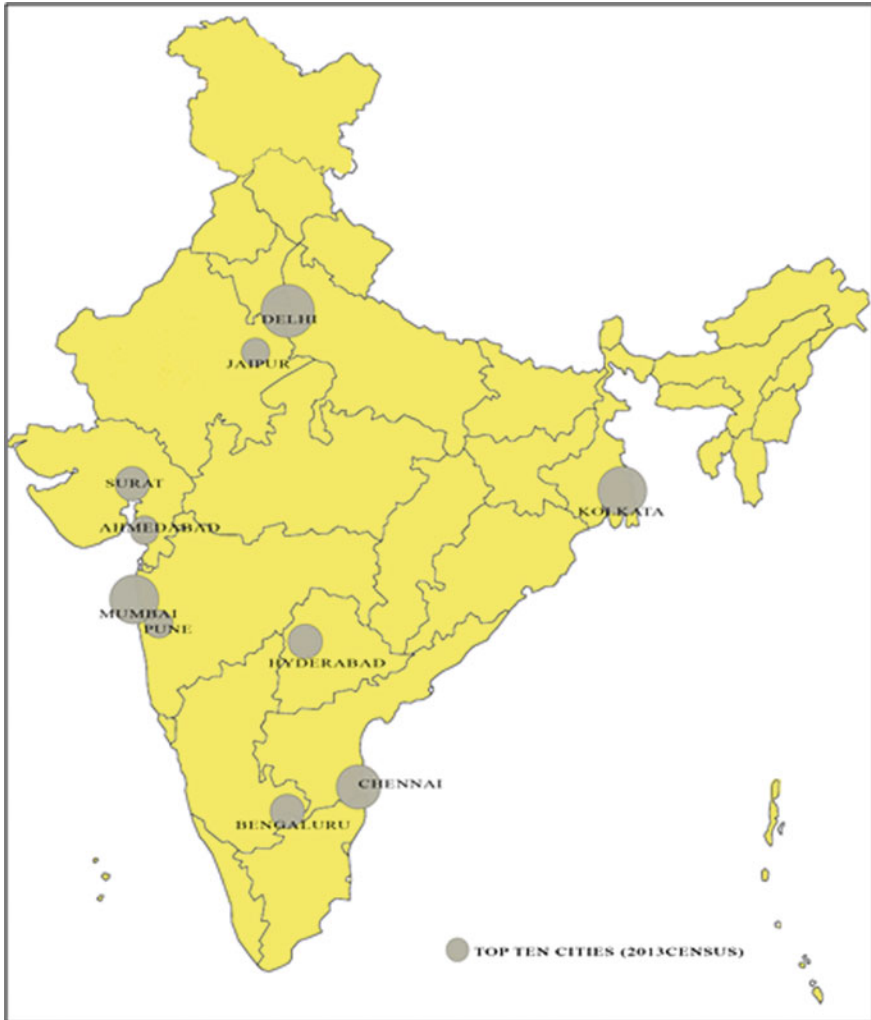
Fig. 8.3 Map of India showing the ten largest cities. *Source* The author

- Rajiv Gandhi (1984–91), Populist ideas with deregulation policies and focusing on technological advances.
- Decentralized Politics (1991–2004), Neo-populist (Coalition based) ideas with economic reforms and globalization.

Differences in the political focus, ideas, policies and approach to economic management over the four political economy eras post-independence are identified (Dhar 1987). Each phase represents distinct political ideas, laying emphasis on different ideas in the corresponding Five-Year Plans (Planning Commission GoI 2011). In the early Five-Year Plans, priority was on rural development and given

Fig. 8.4 **a**, **b** Housing schemes for EWS and residential apartments. *Source* By author

Fig. 8.5 **a**, **b** Shopping malls and satellite towns. *Source* By author

especially to the homeless, their needs and providing shelter to these. Therefore, budget allotment was mainly for agriculture development, providing the needs and for creating houses for the homeless in the cities. These major approaches of meeting these demands followed a socialist ideology (Table 8.1).

The Eighth Five-Year Plan included urban development as one of the major necessities as it was realized that cities were contributing highly to the National GDP. To improve quality of living in cities infrastructure, communication, industries, health, education facilities, etc., were planned. To achieve this development public–private partnership in all aspects of urban development were introduced, following global ideologies like neo-liberalism, capitalism and globalization (Bhodiakhera 2015) (Fig. 8.6).

8.4 Socialism in India (1970–1980)

In an independent India, a shift in political ideology from socialism, secularism to new global ideologies like neo-liberalism is witnessed.

Socialism is an ideology based on humanitarian principles, recommending collective ownership, collective welfare, by means of production and distribution. Socialism is based on concept of equality, distribution, use of social funds, public

Table 8.1 Five-Year plans and their focus

Five-Year plan	Objectives, vision, mission	Focus
First plan (1951–1956), Planning Commission Harrod–Domar model: to explain economic growth (Planning Commission GoI 2011)	To improve standard of living	– Industrial sector – Development of energy, irrigation, transport, communications, etc. – Rehabilitation of land – Social services – Development of agriculture and community
Second plan (1956–61) Nehru–Mahalanobis economic development model: is a Neo-Marxist mode, developed by Indian statistician Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis (Bhodiakhera 2015)	Focus on rapid industrialization and development of heavy industry Introduction of industrial policy in 1956 Establishment of socialistic approach of equality in society as the aim	Shift in focus from agricultural development to industrial development
Third plan (1961–66)	Establishing an independent economy	Agriculture was major focus to improve the exports and related industry
Fourth plan (1969–74)	Growth with stability and progressive achievement of self-reliance	Growth of agriculture was emphasized so as to strengthen other sectors like fertilizer manufacturing, transportation, irrigation
Fifth Plan (1974–78) launched by D. D. Dhar	To achieve "removal of poverty" and "attainment of self-reliance"	Poverty eradication and justice Development of agricultural products, its by-products and on defence.
Sixth plan (1980–85) Janata party	Ideas for economic liberalization, bringing a start of shift from socialism Major emphasis on the eradication of poverty by strengthening the economy	Increase in national income, use of technology, reduction in poverty, increased literacy levels and increased employment opportunities
Seventh plan (1985–90) The Indian Congress Party	To establish self-reliant economic, production of food grains, energy production and generating employment, striving towards socialism	Emphasis on, agricultural development, food-grains production, poverty eradication programs, provision of food, clothing, and shelter Programs to increase agricultural productivity of small- and large-scale farmers

Table 8.1 (continued)

Five-Year plan	Objectives, vision, mission	Focus
Eighth Five-year plan (1992–1997)	Reforming the socialist economy. Improvement in trade and current account deficit	Major economic transformation, modernization of industries, provision of employment opportunities, developing the infrastructure, education, tourism and its management, human resources, rural management through Panchayat Raj, involvement of Nagar Palikas, NGOs and public participation
Ninth Five-year plan (1997–2002)	To nurture existing but hidden economic potentials of the country, to strengthen the economic and social growth The context of four important dimensions: quality of life, generation of productive employment, regional balance and self-reliance	Joint efforts from the public and the private sectors in ensuring economic development of the country
Tenth Five-year plan (2002–2007)	Targeting eight per cent national GDP growth rate, reduction of poverty and increase literacy To follow a regional approach rather than sectoral approach	Providing employment that gives opportunities for personal and quality development Reduction in gender gaps in literacy and wage rates 20-point program

Fig. 8.6 Graph showing increase in private investment. *Source* By author
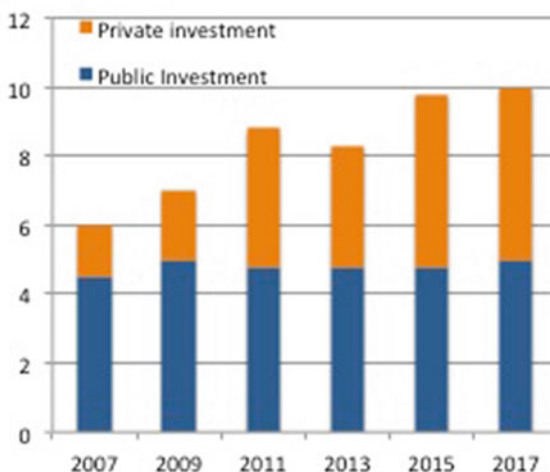
participation, inclusion concepts, etc. (Kumar 2011). Democratic socialism in India aims at creating an ideal "welfare state", secularist society, without class, regional and religious disputes. It aims to follow an in between course of one of individualism, capitalism and the other extreme of communism cum totalitarianism.

8.5   Economic Reforms

An explicit change in policy occurred after 1991. The economic reforms were introduced, which consisted of significant industrial and trade liberalization, relaxation of laws and regulations to encourage Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). The private sector was freed of controls (Sekhon 2011). These initiatives brought in emergence of modern information communication and entertainment technologies, mushrooming of software and services outsourcing industry, development of large-scale private townships on the peripherals of large cities like Hyderabad, Ahmedabad, Delhi, Pune and Chennai.

8.6   Neo-Liberalism (1992 Onwards)

Liberalism is an economic ideology that controls the market. Political liberalism is just a way of using the economic ideas to political arena (Amable 2011). The economic reforms of 1990 included liberalization of industrial, financial rules, regulations and development of policies to foster privatization and foreign direct investments. This has brought about globalization triggering software development services, outsourcing industry, modern information communication and entertainment technologies.

8.7   Policies and Strategies

While socialist policies focused on equality and distribution concepts, and so used social funds, credit facilities to employ and empower the citizens, the neo-liberal policies emphasized accumulation and therefore used tax breaks, regulatory relaxation and control of labour to retain direct foreign investment (Goldfrank and Schrank 2009).

Policies initiated to make Indian cities more competitive in global circuit triggered dynamism in urban context, bringing large-scale public–private investments in construction industry and infrastructure development sector. These included construction of public amenities like roads, flyovers, bridges, public spaces, metros. New policies that influenced urbanization are:

- Privatization of public services in transportation, infrastructure, entertainment and industrial sectors.
- PPP model opened new concepts of partnership between and private and the state like BOT (build–operate–transfer), BOOT (build–own–operate–transfer), BOO (build–own–operate), BLT (build–lease–transfer).
- Share of Foreign investment in land and housing market shift in priorities: bringing in global economy and development forces.
- Modification of byelaws, FSI, planning norms: to suite the new trends of development. Special economic zones, neighbourhood townships, IT parks, etc., mushroomed in most Indian metropolitan cities.
- Housing market privatization: private companies providing housing has reduced the pressure on the government of providing for the acute housing demand. This has created huge demand in land, transforming the real estate market.

Socialism versus neo-Liberalism

In the neo-liberal view of society, the market is positioned opposing the state: the market is the domain of freedom, and the state is positioned as the domain of power (principled on Socialist Ideology). The market could not have existed without the state (Gosme 2002). Table 8.2 compares the policies and influence of the shift in ideology (Kavilkar and Deshmukh 2013).

Table 8.2 Neo-liberalism versus socialism

Socialism		Neo-liberalism	
Characteristics	Policies	Characteristics	Policies
Constraints	State ownership production	Freedom	Allowed free enterprises and individual liberty
Closed	Controlled through state decisions	Open	To new development, privatization
Rigid		Flexible	
Past, old fashioned		Future, novelty	Open to new and global trends
Group, collectivism	Cooperative and state ownership	Individual, individualism	Capitalist ideology allowing private growth and individualism
Developed housing schemes by public sector (state or central government) for economically weaker sections (Fig. 8.4a), slums, similar matchbox like apartment buildings (Fig. 8.4b) into uniform cityscape		Developed new market and entertainment buildings (Fig. 8.5a), infrastructure, and facilities of communication Changed the urban form and cityscape by extension of urban areas, decentralization (Fig. 8.5b) blurring boundaries between the urban and the rural	

(continued)

Table 8.2 (continued)

Socialism	Neo-liberalism
Provision for housing for all, compensation for slum dwellers, basic services and facilities Broaden tax base, subsidies for agriculture sector Employment programs——pro-labour, labour unions, provision for loans, grants to encourage small-scale industries, business, cooperatives Central/state government managed and provided infrastructure, like transportation, health, education, communication, facilities. Thus, limiting the private sector involvement to minimum	Uses tax relaxations, rules and regulations, relaxation to attract FDI (Goldfrank and Schrank 2009) Policies that influenced urbanization are: relaxation of byelaws, FSI, planning rules, changes in land use, privatization, public–private partnership (Planning Commission GoI 2011)

8.8   Conclusion

It is summarized that political ideological shift from socialism to neo-liberalism, policies and strategies implemented have generated economic and urban transition of Indian cities.

Gradual shift from socialist ideology to liberalist ideology has played an important role in the transition that Indian cities are witnessing. It has opened Indian cities to the global economic and development forces, launching urban India into the global arena. It has accelerated growth and affected the living standards of city dwellers.

The urban fabric of Indian cities is characterized by a state of flux between effects of:

1. Socialist Ideology with concepts of equality, distribution, etc. Policies included provision of grants, subsidies and loans. Agriculture development in rural areas, slum redevelopment projects, slum redevelopment, mass housing has made an impact on land use pattern and expansion of the city.
2. Neo-liberalist ideology based on economic strategies, controlling the market based on concepts of freedom individualism, etc. Policies included PPP model, foreign investments and market trends. Decentralization trends, changing urban scape, migration of rural population to cities, expansion of city areas have made an impact on the city structure.

Neo-liberalism has changed employment patterns, residential typologies, market and therefore life style patterns and identity of cities from economic engines of India to global cities.

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Part III
Size, Image and Architecture of Neo-liberal Era

Foreword

Mehrdad Hadighi

The four essays that follow define neo-liberalism in contrast to and in the context of political liberalism and apply that definition to economic theory, urban marketing, religious architecture, and urban landscape. As the foreword to these essays, I will contextualize neo-liberal and post-professional within the discipline of architecture. How did we get here? How did architecture, a discipline grounded in the material world, built with human labor, became one at the service of the image?

First, we know that Le Corbusier, perhaps the best-known twentieth-century architect, was not only a master architect, but also a master image-maker. His long-standing collaboration with Hungarian photographer Lucien Hervé documents a careful and meticulous attention to the selection and dissemination of photographs of his buildings. He recognized that not only did the buildings matter, but perhaps even more so, their images mattered. Not artistically motivated, yet as powerful, was the collaboration between Adolf Hitler and his chief architect, Albert Speer. These two examples should leave no doubt about the potential of architecture to serve marketing and political aims, if centuries of service to religion and monarchy had not already proven it. Architecture as image is certainly not a neo-liberal phenomenon. However, the developments in architecture and philosophy in parallel with the recent economic liberalism, experienced in the post-Reagan era, have led to an elevated, perhaps even extreme, context for architecture to serve a purely political or economic end.

For better or worse, architecture has had to "work out" ideas through materialization. It was, and still is today, in this dialogue between ideas and materials that architects find and define meaning in the world. This engagement of the material world was imagined by philosophers to be a betrayal of the purity of ideas, as the material world was considered to be subservient to the realm of pure ideas. The sources of this hierarchic divide between materials and ideas may be traced back to Plato, the philosopher of ancient Greece from fifth Century BC. Plato, in his

dialogue Phaedrus, designates ground, groundedness, and the material world as inferior to the heavens, elevation, and the im-material. He goes further to state that within the im-material, there is even a purer state, that of reason, pure reason, totally im-material and in-tangible, without color or shape.

The subservience of architecture to pure thought remained the context for architects until the Renaissance, when architects of the time tried to distinguish and elevate design from its product, the building. The surge of the arts and the elevation of the role of the artist resulted in a division within the work of the master builders, a split into two differentiated, hierarchized activities. More precisely, the design and the construction of architecture were separated from one another. The master builder as the designer/artisan/builder was split into the Renaissance architect and the stonemason, or builder. The architect was and is, even today, responsible for the creative aspects of the design, the communication of that design; and the builder is responsible for the execution of the design. As a result, the architect is no longer physically engaged in the construction of buildings and hence not involved in the materialization of ideas. The simultaneity of the intellectual labor and the physical labor of the master builders was split, so that today, the architect is responsible for the more "noble" intellectual labor, and the builder is responsible for the more "ordinary" physical labor. Architects bought into Plato's critique, and in fact, redirected the discipline away from materialization, and seemingly concentrated more heavily on ideation. This shift, however, could only happen through the mediation of representation, through drawings of buildings. Here, the mediation of material and labor were replaced by the mediation of representation. Architecture is replaced by the image of architecture.

This deliberate division and hierarchy within design still exist today, where the product of the work of the architect is not a building, it is a representation of the building, its image. The architect produces drawings, the blueprints from which the builder manufactures the building, or renderings, which "sell" the project. The architect works in reference to the building, and not on the building. The architect works on paper and off-site. As a result, the architect is primarily concerned with the appearance of the building, that which could most readily be reproduced and represented. Add to this the legal constructs around architecture which prohibit the architect from involvement in means and methods of construction, and you have a total divorce of materialization from ideation within architecture.

Although there have been many changes and transformations within the discipline of architecture since the Renaissance, much has remained constant. In particular, the role of the architect as a designer who is divorced from construction and whose primary concern is the appearance of the building. The first major shift away from this bifurcation of ideation and materialization happened during the modern period. As early as the industrial revolution and the buildings of the era produced in iron and glass, materials played a central role in the development of ideas. During the early twentieth century, the German Bauhaus movement was the first to couple ideation and materialization once again and produce educational pedagogies around materials, processes, forms, and construction. Their project laid the foundations of built work through the 1970s and also became the educational norm in schools of architecture.

Due to modernism's inability to address urban concerns, a resurgence of pre-modern tendencies in the 1970s led to what became known as "postmodernism." This era in architecture, once again, reinforced the divorce between ideation and materialization in ways never before experienced or imagined. In the pre-modern world, structural concerns enforced an alignment of the building structure, envelope, openings (windows), partitions, and so on. With the advent of modern materials and construction technology, this necessary alignment became unnecessary, hence making building form independent from all of the technical and spatial systems that hold the building together and make it perform.

In essence, this opened the way for the representations of buildings that were drawn and modeled in the atelier, to be recreated in a different scale, at the building site. This not only reinforced the divide between ideation and materialization, but also pushed architecture into the realm of pure appearance, size, and image. One could argue that this is exactly the final and expected the result of the paradigm into which architecture was launched during the Renaissance. The so-called neo-liberal, we could argue, was already imagined during the Renaissance. Cut from all its material, labor, constructive and structural ties to its foundations, and with its established historic ties to power and money, architecture was ripe to serve as the instrument of the economic neo-liberalism that began in the 1980s.

For architecture to truly evolve, it must address this divide between materialization and ideation. It must conduct all of its explorations in the space between ideas and materials. The distance of mediation between ideas and materials must become the space of exploration. Works of architecture must study production of ideas and materials as simultaneous and intertwined activities, using ideas as tools for the understanding, analyzing, dissecting, and inventing materials and methods of constructing, and construction as a method of testing the limits of ideas. Works of architecture must therefore be bound to the reciprocations and circulations between the intellectual realm of idea and the physical realm of materials.

Architecture, if it is to make any evolutionary change, must critically engage the absolute of ideas and the reality of materials and labor as a woven and simultaneous act. It is only there that we may be able to resist becoming an instrument of power, economic, political, or otherwise.

Chapter 9
About Image, Figure and Form in Architecture in the Age of Neo-liberalism

Pierpaolo Gallucci

Abstract Today, everything is becoming confusing due to the rapid acceleration of technical possibilities that is allowing the communication and circulation of huge quantities of data. The way we think about architecture is on the sacrificial altar of these changes. A change of scale and speed is apparent to everyone's eyes, but the basic duties of architects are very resistant to change, unless we declare the profession dead. The problem we discuss here is referred to the persistence of stability in architecture.

Keywords Image · Figure · Form · City · Crisis · Neo-liberalism

9.1 From the Origins of Neo-liberalism in Seventies to the Actual Crisis: What Happened

It can be questioned whether the fundamental relationship between wage-earning workers and business owners has changed in the last decades, along with its implications for the city and its development. We can assume the studies by Henry Lefebvre as a starting point in order to discuss the validity of such a statement. Perhaps it can be demonstrated, as we can see in studies that of Luciano Gallino, which has returned to some nineteenth-century aspects. In this can be found the key for the justification or not of the common definition of neo-liberal' in the current historical phase and the dramatic outcomes it has reached.

In the words of Shoshana Zuboff, quoted by Luciano Gallino,

> The economic crisis has demonstrated that the banality of evil concealed within a widely accepted business model can put the entire world and its peoples at risk. Shouldn't those businesses be held accountable to agreed international standards of rights, obligations, and conduct? Shouldn't the individuals whose actions unleashed such devastating consequences be held accountable to these moral standards?

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I believe the answer is yes. That in the crisis of 2009 the mounting evidence of fraud, conflicts of interest, indifference to suffering, repudiation of responsibility, and systemic absence of individual moral judgment produced an administrative economic massacre of such proportion that it constitutes an economic crime against humanity.[1]

We have to ask ourselves if the actual image that contemporary cities exhibit is determined by fraudulent processes of extra evaluation. The processes are analogous to those which were brought to the actual economic crisis, since they can determine which strategic moves to make in order to improve the level of liveability and habitability in a city.

What Luciano Gallino said about the current crisis, is that 'It is also conceivable that the GCG in place is not a crisis like the others, it represents a turning point, not least for ecological reasons just now not present, beyond which capitalism itself may disappear, or exit radically transformed.'[2] It can be seen as analogous to the total reversal of reality operated by neo-liberal theories and what happened in the field of city architecture. In Luciano Gallino's words again,

The victory of the Chicago economic school gave wings to the spread of neoliberal economic theories in the US, Europe and other countries. And with it he was transmitted contagiously the belief that when reality contradicts the theory is the first to be wrong, not the second.[3]

Looking at what happens in the relationships between economics and culture, Gallino again writes that

'The economy appears to be closely intertwined with politics; Culture is at the same time as a reflection but also as a promotion of that intertwining tool; in the community or in the socio-demographic system—the physical and symbolic place where they reproduce people and their basic forms of living together—they were entered forms of culture and acting of their own economic system.'[4]

Often in economics, reality is denied and abstract models in which everything is perfect are imposed on it. The same happens to the city. We believe that it could, for the most part, be an appearance that everything is becoming confusing due to the rapid acceleration of technical possibilities that is allowing the communication and circulation of great quantities of data. The way we think about architecture is on the sacrificial altar of these changes. A change of scale and speed is apparent to everyone's eyes, but the basic duties of architects are very resistant to change, unless we declare the profession, which is as old as Mankind itself, dead. It is our opinion that things will stay in a quite different way, and we insist on the material role of this discipline as far as recent changes can be considered immaterial and relationship-founded.

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[1]http://www.businessweek.com/managing/content/mar2009/ca20090319_591214.htm, quoted in Luciano Gallino, *Il colpo di Stato di banche e governi*, Einaudi, Torino 2013, p. 116.

[2]Gallino, *Il colpo di Stato cit.*, p. 115.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 231.

[4]Luciano Gallino, *Finanzcapitalismo*, Einaudi, Torino (2011), p. 17.

9.2   Neo-liberalism Has Overimposed a False Image to the City

The history of mankind and of its artefacts tells us in many ways of the persistence of something stable in each of them, and even in the most ambitious of all things, the city and its architecture, even if the storytelling which nowadays appears to be dominating—as a part of the current ideology, and instrumental to the economic and political powers inspiring it—asserts the opposite.

Let's see what happened at the time of the first industrial revolution. The close relationship between the form of the house and the form of the city broke down due to the explosion of the phenomena bind to the soil's rent. So, the overall shape of the city resulted was clearly modified, altered and changed, compared to in most cases the very slow and constant changes undergone through centuries and millennia.

We can see a reflex of a perfectly analogous process nowadays, as following the rules of contemporary capital accumulation and urban incomes, new cities, with their images so altered as to become false, are appearing all over the world repeating similar building conditions, which aim to bring ecological sustainability in the future, in order to preserve some kind of energetic balance between what they consume and what they can save, as their only chance to be still used.

What we find interesting that in the thesis discussed by Henry Lefebvre[5] and in recent times resumed by David Harvey[6] there still exists a need expressed by several urban communities—not necessarily urban in the strict sense of belonging to a city—to live in the city as a civic place, even if it is not possible to reproduce some spaces which can be seen as examples of something idealized, situated in a different time, and with different historical conditions. What these people's movements and what these masses ask for, is something we can call 'civilization,' as Karl Marx intended the term. According to Henry Lefebvre,

> We note, for it we will meet later, the concept of "civilization," which Marx distinguishes from that of "society" (this one can in fact achieve a more or less high level of civilization), as well as from the fundamental socio-economic relations. The civilization can not be separated from society, which, simultaneously, determines and limits the civilization. The fundamental concepts of society, relations of production, mode of production, do not prevent that there be a broader concept, which includes them. It is clear that the urban context (the city and its relationship with the campaign) is not indifferent to the "degree of civilization."[7]

In the conclusions of the same study, Henri Lefebvre himself adds another element he terms 'general urbanization,' which can be seen together with 'civilization' as follows,

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[5]Henri Lefebvre, *Le droit à la ville*, Paris, Éditions Anthropos, 1968.

[6]David Harvey, *Rebel Cities*, Verso Books, London-New York 2012.

[7]Henri Lefebvre, *La pensée marxiste et la ville*, Éditions Casterman, Paris et Tournai 1972, ed. it. *Il marxismo e la città*, Mazzotta, Milano (1973), p. 153.

The productive forces, in their growth, in spite of the "bottlenecks" of the capitalist rela-
tions of production, stimulated by two world wars have reached such a power to *produce
the space*. Worldwide, the space is not only discovered and occupied, but also turned to the
point that his "raw material", the "nature", is threatened by this *domination*, which is not an
appropriation. The general *urbanization* is an aspect of this colossal extension.[8]

To be clear, we are proposing that the break in urban form and in the relationship
between the house's form and the city's form is determined by the Industrial
revolution, the process brought on by the economic powers of the capitalistic mode
of production which gave shape to a 'general urbanization' without 'civilization.'
We assert that architecture can provide a decisive contribution to making 'civi-
lization' a part of image, but overall of form for contemporary cities. This is a
necessary but insufficient condition, since civilization is mainly something which
the growth of cultural awareness of popular masses can reach, but the architecture
of the city is an acceptable form to this forward movement of society.

9.3   Figure, Form, Image: An Etymological Examination of the Terms in Brief

In the former paragraph we have mentioned two terms together, image and form,
but with few specifications. In order to develop our terms, we do not intend to use
image as something material, even if it can determine concrete consequences. We
think architecture is something very solid and consistent. We think that cities too,
are something very solid and consistent, and the more time passes and they con-
solidate their form, the more this process becomes irreversible. However, concrete
and shared answers are needed as soon as possible, starting with a precise point of
view: the image of a city can't be intended to be a sort of illusion realized by using
the means of the visual arts. A city is not a staging; it is the place where human life
develops itself, and can be interpreted as the scene for the theater of life, but a
theater has its own architecture, and a city has an architecture of its own too.

Changes in modes of production reflect themselves, even if not in a direct,
mechanistic way, on urban form and architecture, primarily in the way in which the
urban soil is divided and exploited. Neo-liberalism, as mentioned before, has
imposed over the soil a false form, or false image. However, the problem now is
that all those skyscrapers in cities like Dubai, Hong Kong and Beijing, or Garuja,
Sao Paulo and so on are real, and it will be very difficult replace them with any
other kind of building, for it will involve considerable economic effort and at the
same time it will be very difficult to sustain from an ecologic point of view, all their
weight.

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[8]*Ibid.*

In order to face the problems implied from the image, we will now analyze the term 'image' and other terms which appear close to it, for their meaning. We will see them from the points of view of their literal meaning and of their etymon. In the following paragraph we will try instead to deepen the discussion, opening it up to the contribution of scholars and philosophers, but often with architecture and the city as our target.

According to Niccolò Tommaseo, author of one of the most important historical dictionaries of the Italian language, figure is the 'Complex of the lines that determines and distinguishes the object and the parts of that.'[9] However, almost at the same time, he needs to specify the differences between the two terms 'figure' and 'form':

> And although this item is very close to *Form*, it is not one. Lucr. [Lucretius] *Order formarum certain certisque figuris*. And: *Keep the shape of the form.—The figure* results by the contours; *the shape*, from the arrangement of the parts.

Going further into this examination again using Niccolò Tommaseo's dictionary, investigating the meaning of 'form' we find that it is: 'The impression that to the eye and the touch, or only one of them, give, or may give, the contours and the reliefs of a body and its parts.'[10] Even more interesting is what Tommaseo writes at the end of this very long and detailed voice of his dictionary: 'It has been seen that Form has the sense of Ideal Species, and so had in gr. [greek] also Μόρφασμα, Figure, Model.'[11]

Before going deeper in this research into meanings, let's stop for a while at the reference to the Greek Μόρφασμα, intended as 'Figure, Model,' in other terms something very concrete. Having done that, we can again see what Tommaseo writes about Image:

> Representation or of the exterior form, or of the virtual form as it is the germ and the whole of the qualities of an entity or of its relations. The figure of a body represented or by reflected light or by the art or by the idea in the thought, is image: but from another respect the idea itself is the image; every likeness and image similarity is image.[12]

In this passage we can see some other aspects of basic importance to our discourse: first of all, a close relationship between the meaning of 'image' and the meaning of 'form,' since image can be seen as a representation of the exterior form, and there is another interesting relationship, that between the term 'image' and the terms 'figure' and 'image,' the latter both as a reflection of the idea in the thought, as Tommaseo writes, and in the image as the idea itself.

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[9]Niccolò Tommaseo, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, Giuseppe Pomba, Turin 1861-Florence 1879, voice 'Figura'.

[10]Tommaseo, *Dizionario cit.*, voice 'Forma'.

[11]*Ibid.*

[12]Tommaseo, *Dizionario cit.*, voice 'Immagine'.

From a strictly etymological point of view, based on the Etymological Dictionary of the Italian language by Ottorino Pianigiani, the word 'figure' comes from the Latin 'figura,' such as the word 'form,' which comes from the Latin 'forma,' and the same applies to 'image,' it too coming from the Latin 'imago.' More deeply, according to some scholars, 'form' has its ascendancy in the ancient Greek verb 'phòrein.' meaning 'to bring'; according to others, it instead has its origin in the Sanskrit root 'dhar,' converted in the Latin to 'far' and 'for,' meaning 'to bring, to sustain, to contain.' In 'idea' both Greek and Latin roots are involved. In Greek we have 'eidèo,' with the meaning of 'to see,' but also 'to know,' and 'eidos,' with the meaning of 'view,' 'intuition,' and 'image.' In Latin we have the root for 'vid-eo,' or 'I see.'[13]

9.4 Figure, Form, Image: What Philosophers and Scholars Tell About

'We need to bring ourselves on the elusive ground of the images,' wrote one of the most relevant Italian scholars of aesthetics of the twentieth century, Dino Formaggio.[14] But in which sense did he use the word image? Formaggio, following the teachings of the School of Milan philosophic stream, led by Antonio Banfi, who was his master and followed him for his degree, intended to reverse the idealistic point of view of Benedetto Croce, and referred his whole research to a very physical conception founded on what he calls the 'body'. Inspiring to Lyotard, he identifies three kinds of figure: the figure-image, the figure-form, and the figure-matrix. The figure-form, in this distinction, is the form no longer seen statically as in Plato, but as in Goethe—Formaggio underlines—for whom everything changes, just as in contemporary physics, which talks about the universe as a system of images.[15] What we need to put in evidence is that Formaggio notes, asking himself 'But which image?', that the 'total prevalence of image' he talks about as showing the habitude we have to a population of videos, separates the 'body which sees' from the world, since this body 'is no longer in front of the world that touches,'[16] and this, according to us, is the real problem.

The work by Formaggio which we quoted is very challenging, especially with respect to the implications with physics that it involves, and in this chapter we can't follow him to the extreme consequences of his reasoning. We prefer instead to

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[13]Ottorino Pianigiani, *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana*, F.lli Melita, La Spezia 1990, voices 'figura', 'forma', 'immagine'.

[14]Dino Formaggio, *Estetica tempo progetto*, clup, Milano 1990, p. 38.

[15]Formaggio, *Estetica cit.*, p. 71.

[16]Formaggio, *Estetica cit.*, p. 112.

come back to the static conception of the triad made up of figure, form and image, in order to verify if in Plato's exposition of that theme in which things are really so static as they seem, or instead if it is not possible, just from a point of view apparently so distant to finding a relationship with reality, the same thing Dino Formaggio searches for when he fears that the body is no longer in front of the world, despite continuing to touch it. What we found, if the results of our research don't trivialize much more sophisticated problems, is that there are some points of contact between what appears as an irredeemably static philosophical thought, and what, in opposition, can be seen as continuously moving itself, as if it was devoid of a form. Ernst Cassirer, in his lesson about the problem of beauty and art in Plato's dialogues,[17] notes that 'the last Plato does not disdain more the medium of the image because it is the specifically human expression that we can give to what is spiritually supreme.'[18] More than this, Italian philosopher Mauro Carbone, in his comment to Cassirer's lesson, observes that exercises like those on deformation by Paul Klee have to be very carefully evaluated, since they entertain a relationship with the platonic notion of 'form,' and another exponent of the School of Milan very close to Antonio Banfi and not too far from him in authoritativeness and prestige, Enzo Paci, noted that the Goethian inspiration by Klee of inventing plants ad infinitum coincides with Husserl's method of eidetic variations.[19] All the exercises of deformation pursued in the art of twentieth century, in other words, are on the one hand very close to the extremely dynamic conception linked to physics exposed by Dino Formaggio, but on the other they still are referable to a Platonic conception, but a Platonic conception more linked to reality than we could suppose at the beginning. As a matter of fact, Carbone himself observes that

> the Twentieth Century and Plato, then, end up converging—although with opposite motivations and evaluations—both when in fact say that art is essentially deformation. Not surprisingly, in *Eidos and eidolon* Ernst Cassirer summarizes the reasons for the Platonic condemnation of art in these terms: 'Instead of the reality of the form [*Gestalt*] he [sc: the artist] puts […] in front of us only his apparent image [*Scheinbild*], suffering from all sorts of deferral, abbreviation and distortion [*Verzerrung*].[20]

In conclusion it seems useful to note that Erwin Panofsky, in *Idea*, an essay so strictly connected to *Eidos und Eidolon* that Cassirer considers it as a prosecution of his, asserts that the contraposition between Idealism and Naturalism, Abstraction and Einfülung, and so on, must appear ultimately as a dialectic antinomy.[21]

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[17]Ernst Cassirer, *Eidos und eidolon. Das Problem des Schönen und der Kunst in Platons Dialogen,* in « Vorträge der Bibliotek Warburg», II, 1922–1923, part I, Teubner, Leipzig-Berlin 1924, pp. 1–27, it. ed. *Eidos ed Eidolon. Il problema del bello e dell'arte nei dialoghi di Platone*, edited by Mauro Carbone, with writings by Mauro Carbone, Renato Pettoello, Franco Trabattoni, Raffaello Cortina Editore, Milano (1990).

[18]Cassirer, *Eidos cit.,* p. 37.

[19]*Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

[20]Mauro Carbone in Cassirer, *Eidos cit.,* p. 48, Cassirer quotation at p. 22.

[21]Erwin Panofsky, *Idea. Ein Beitrag zur Begriffsgeschichte der älteren Kunsttheorie*, in «Studien der Bibliothek Warburg», V, Teubner, Leipzig-Berlin 1924, it. ed. *Idea. Contributo alla storia*

9.5 Image of the City: The Shield of Achilles

As we showed at the beginning, nowadays we have a sufficiently precise idea of the society where we live and in which direction it is evolving. We also know its crucial distortions, emphasized by the results of the current crisis, which has reflected itself in terms of building results and in the hyper-consumistic constructions realized across the world. What human society needs, instead, is that her development direction, in any case, needs to be represented through adequate architectural forms, since the city itself possesses the building rules and the building tradition to give shape to what society asks, without distortions and without false images to be revealed in the same way as a theatrical backdrop.

But how can we define the shape of a contemporary city, not the one we would like, but the one historically determined? Can it be seen as something without conclusion, as infinite, like Kant's 'starry heavens above me'?

What has happened especially in the last two decades is as some architects—confusing their job with literature and visual art in general—were telling us they are not able to give an answer, when instead architecture alone can tell and measure what the form of a city and its architecture could be, seen as mentioned before as human handiworks.

To what degree must a city escape to our means of control and enumeration, using Umberto Eco's words?[22] Can the contemporary city be compared to the shield of Achilles as described by Homer in *The Iliad*, still following Eco's thought? According to him, are we in front of a sort of city-list with the appearance and the substance of an open labyrinth? Maybe things are so, but maybe we also need to separate what in our discourses is the charm that rhetoric may exercise over an audience, and that which we are required to know quite exactly, namely architecture and its rules. Of course, there is something in architecture out of our control and enumeration, and it is exactly what distinguishes architecture from engineering, but it is something that one cannot measure while attending to his design, since it depends only on his skill and respect for the rules of architecture and the city, and overall by the sense of the architectural theme.

What we have tried to show is that the modern city resembles an endless list of objects, and to this ever-changing order we must learn what is fixed, stable, and constant through the deformations, as the only guarantee to make sense of it in the future, in the same way as the infinite deformations which bring to a point of contact an apparent static conception like that of Plato and an apparent permanently unstable one like that of contemporary physics.

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dell'estetica, La Nuova Italia, Firenze 1952, reviewed edition 1996, now Bollati Boringhieri, Torino (2006, p. 79).

[22]Cfr. Umberto Eco, *Vertigine della lista*, Bompiani, Milano 2009.

In architectural terms, Mies van der Rohe fixed the object when he said: 'The great form isn't invented from me or from You: each one of us has been working without knowing it. And when this great form has been completely intended, then the age ends, then there will be something new.'[23]

We don't know if we are in the first phases of a new era or in the last phases of an old era, or in the middle. Maybe this is not even our job. What we can do is say and show, with some significant examples of building and planning experiences, that the effort to work on the 'great form' is present in several schools of architecture, sometimes distinguished by different linguistic or individual approaches, but unified by a common approach to style. And, from this point of view, Ludwig Hilberseimer's and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's works are probably the main and guiding examples of research clearly oriented towards a solution to the question, as shown in important examples such as Mies' project for Alexanderplatz in Berlin, Hilberseimer and Mies' Lafayette Park in Detroit, or the entire series of experiments on residential sectors brought up by Hilberseimer using different building types from patio houses to tall ones.

The forms found by these two masters speak to the contemporary city and to the consuetudes of its dwellers, in the sense of that 'civilization' we spoke about. In this way we have to look at the extroverted voids of their projects and buildings, and the lesson they left to architectural culture for the following generations: the distinguished parts of the city simply juxtaposed in the redesign of Alexanderplatz, or the green void open through houses in Lafayette Park trace the direction where look at, the form—a form extracted from reality, not an abstract form, as Valeria Pezza often repeats—which, deformed, can be replicated and varied almost indefinitely, is in a way not too different from Paul Klee's experiments on deformations, with the substantial difference being that, here, we have an urban form resulting in a synthetic image firmly rooted in the city and architecture as they are, with their rules.

9.6   Fungible City

In order to end our reflection, we will quote a passage by Giorgio Agamben, where he discusses the concept of rhythm in Aristotle, noting that nature according to sophist philosopher Antiphone is

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[23]Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, typescript, *Architectural League*, (undated but probably 1959); now in Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (2010), *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Verlag Bild-Kunst, Bonn für Ludwig Mies van der Rohe 2010, ed. it. (2010) *Gli scritti e le parole*, a cura di Vittorio Pizzigoni, Einaudi, Torino.

what in itself lacks of structure, the unarticulated matter which underlies all forms and mutations, […] what comes to add to this changeless substratum, and, adding itself, composes and forms it, gives it structure. In this sense, the rhythm is structure, pattern, as opposed to the elementary and inarticulate matter.[24]

Here too, we won't follow the entire and very stimulating reasoning by Agamben. We will limit ourselves to the necessity of conferring, using Agamben words, rhythm, structure, and pattern to something that in itself looks unarticulated. The city, we think, is something provided with a structure, an inner rhythm that only architectural culture can recognize and owns the more adequate instruments with which to intervene in its living body. We think, too, that this rhythm, this inner pattern entirely to bring on the surface, requiring eyes able to see it (and not "eyes that don't see"), and it is closer to the triad of terms comprised of figure, form and image, despite the semantic shifts between them, in the way we have tried to define.

Giorgio Agamben, in the last chapter of *The Use of Bodies,*[25] on his decades-long study of *Homo Sacer*, comes to some decisive conclusions, for the reasons we give here. In the last part of his work he discusses the concept of use, linking it to the concept of usual, and in this referring to Heidegger and specifying the priority of the use in respect to the function. In particular, in a rapid, almost spontaneous passage, he writes 'never to make the world a piece of property, but only for use.'[26] We think this is the decisive point of our argument. Neo-liberalism, as the general capitalistic mode of production, doesn't pursue anything other than to submit the entire world to the domain of private property by denying the shape that it owns and distorting it, cancelling its true identity instead of working in the excavation of its authentic shape. The movements of people towards a new sense of civilization go in the opposite direction, and aim to make the city free, to find in its authentic spaces for dwelling and collective life.

Architects can choose which side they are, but very often they have no chance to choose at all. But what at least is important to fix is that the architectural and urban culture, for its history and its roots, belongs to the part of society that tries to evolve towards new and freer relationships between men.

Part of this process is the piece of architectural culture that has always tried to think in terms of use rather than function and property. In the last five decades, in Italy but not only there, if we think, for instance, about the directions followed by more than a few Spanish, Portuguese, French and German architects, Aldo Rossi and his disciples have worked on a method which involves the recognition of the

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[24]Giorgio Agamben, *L'uomo senza contenuto [The man without content]*, Quodlibet, (1994, p. 144).

[25]Giorgio Agamben, *L'uso dei corpi [The use of bodies]*, Neri Pozza, Venezia (2014).

[26]Agamben, *L'uso cit.*, p. 87.

major role played by symbolic forms. We are not talking here about something esoteric, even if connected to as this lemma, 'symbolic forms,' was intended by Ernst Cassirer in another of his capital works,[27] but we are talking about forms which are the most stable and persistent elements in the growth of the city.

These primary elements are monuments as houses. They can be ancient Greek, Roman or Mesopotamic monuments (if only a small part of the last ones survive what is happening these days) or else which leave their original use in favor of new ones. The buildings mentioned by Rossi had by then become classics: amphitheaters, thermae or buildings like the Palace of Emperor Diocletian, for instance. Rossi does not exclude mere residential buildings from his discourse, but we are interested in what can be synthesized in his own words: 'we maintain that the city and the territory are built for defined acts: a house, a bridge, a road, a woodland. The set of these facts constitutes the city and the territory and there is the design of these facts, the integrated design of a series of these facts.'

In order to show some examples of what these words imply for current architectural research, the chapter ends with a comparison of some projects, such as that by Hilberseimer and Mies van der Rohe for the Lafayette Park in Detroit (Fig. 9.1) or Hyde Park in Chicago (Fig. 9.2), and the contemporary experience which tries to deeply investigate their lesson, represented by Salvatore Bisogni's projects for Halls and Clods of territory near Naples (Italy)[28] (Fig. 9.3).

All of these examples are the start of a list, potentially endless, through which cities and their appearance and image may be reshaped. They contain an array of possibilities for architecture and the city in the direction of fungibility, a conception of form emancipated by function and property, and entirely concentrated on use, just like Mies van der Rohe, who in his effort to let nature and openness come into his buildings realized and left to those who will follow, a great idea of form in which the void is extroverted.

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[27]Ernst Cassirer, *Philosophie der Symbolische Formen*, 3 Bde. 1. Auflage: Bruno Cassirer, Berlin, 1923–1929, it. ed. *Filosofia delle forme simboliche*, La Nuova Italia editrice, Firenze (1964).

[28]Cfr. Salvatore Bisogni, (ed.), *Ricerche in architettura, La zolla nella dispersione delle aree metropolitane. Resoconti della ricerca Murst* (2011)*: Funzione e figura delle architetture pubbliche e servizi per lo sviluppo sostenibile delle aree metropolitane: Firenze, Milano, Napoli, Mestre [Research in architecture, Clod in the dispersion of metropolitan areas. Research reports Murst 2000: Function and shape of public architecture and services for the sustainable development of metropolitan areas: Florence, Milan, Naples, Mestre]*, with writings by Salvatore Bisogni, Guido Canella, Gian Luigi Maffei, Franco Purini et al., Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Napoli 2011.
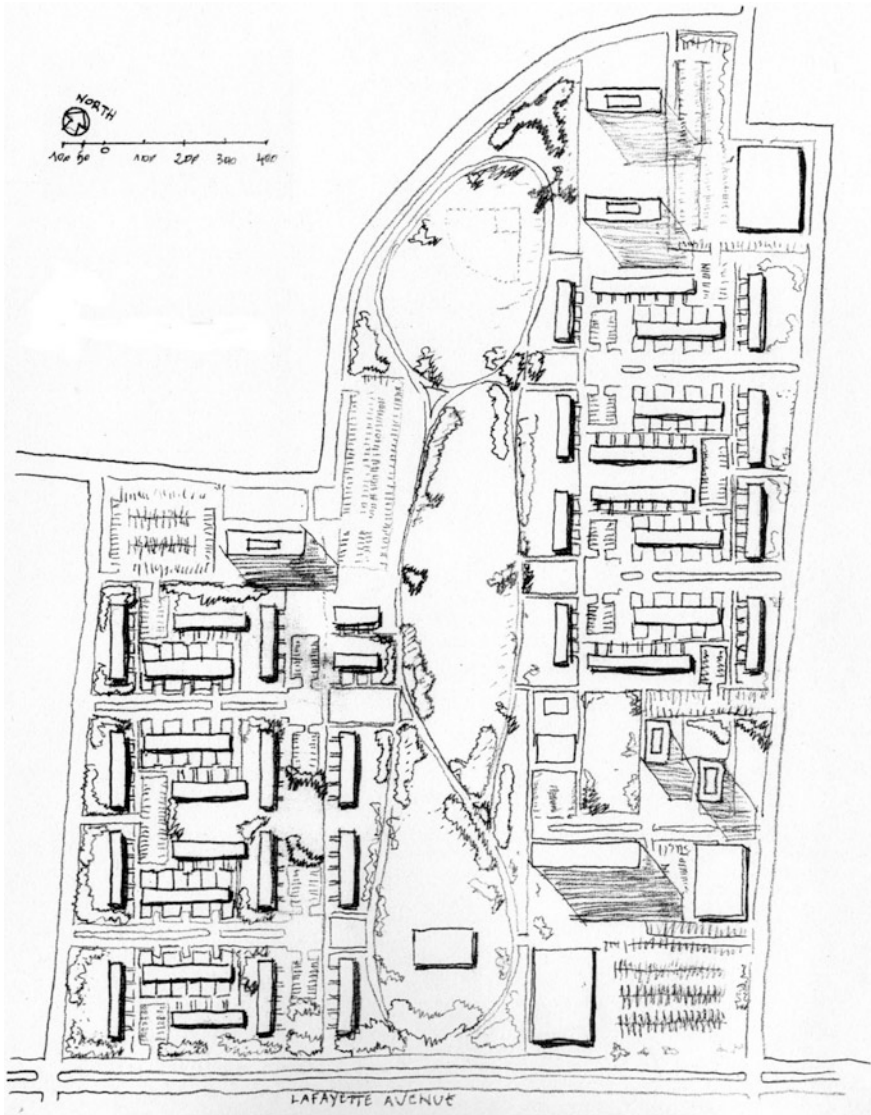
Fig. 9.1 Ludwig Hilberseimer, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Lafayette Park in Detroit. *Source* Francesca Scotti, edited by, Lafayette Park, Detroit (2010), (drawing: Pierpaolo Gallucci)
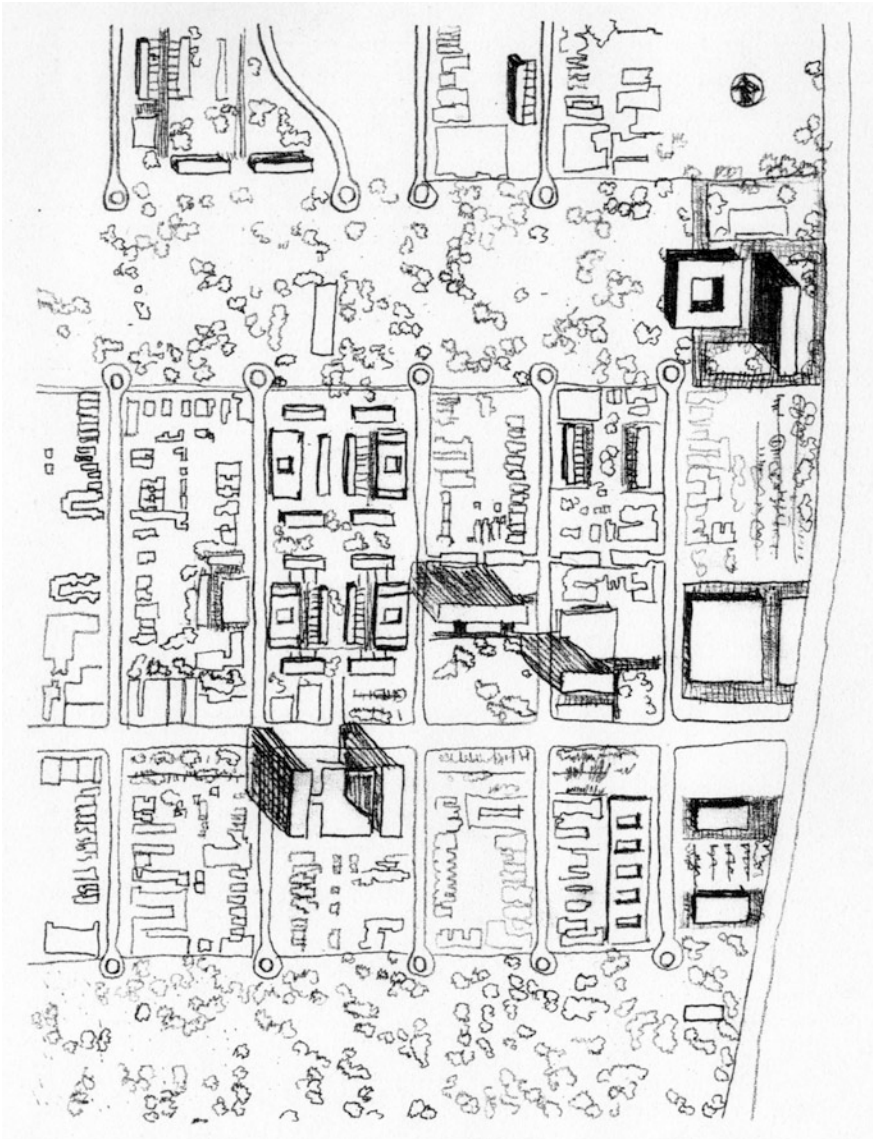
Fig. 9.2 Ludwig Hilberseimer, Hypothesis for Hyde Park in Chicago. *Source* Francesca Scotti, Ludwig Hilberseimer. Lo sviluppo di un'idea di città (2008), (drawing: Pierpaolo Gallucci)
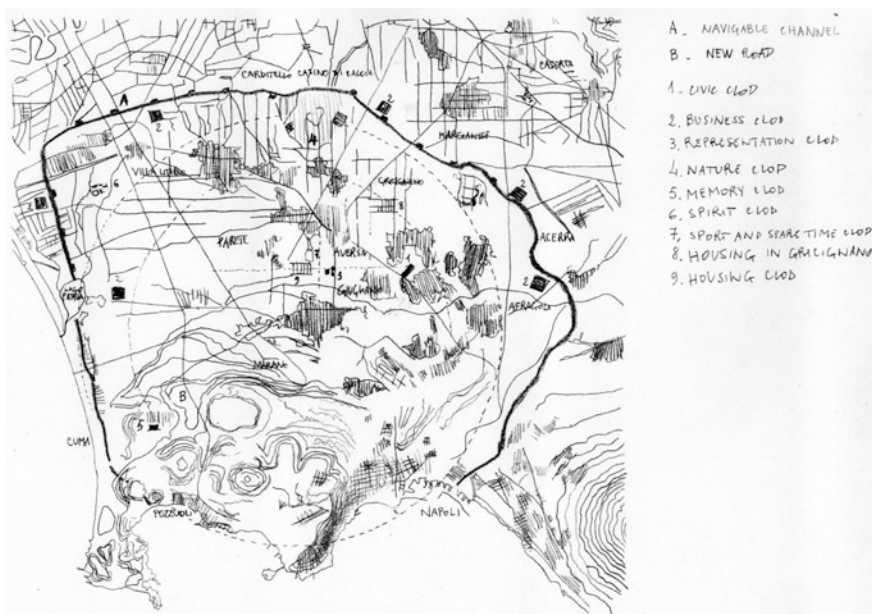
Fig. 9.3 Salvatore Bisogni, Ideas for the area north of Naples. *Source* Salvatore Bisogni, edited by, Ricerche in architettura (2011), (drawing: Pierpaolo Gallucci)

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Author Biography

Pierpaolo Gallucci graduates in Naples with a general plan in which he draws up together the rational architectures conceived for that city and sometimes built, since those by Ferdinando Fuga in XVIII century to the masterplan by Luigi Cosenza after WWII until the studies and the buildings by Salvatore Bisogni based on an idea of open city. Ph.D. in Architectural composition at Politecnico di Milano-Bovisa with an essay where he analyzes the work by Agostino Renna, projecting his research on architecture on the background of Italian culture between the Sixties and the Eighties. In the courses of Architectural compositions at Diarc in Naples where he collaborates and he is Adjunct professor of "Typomorphological analysis of the city", he interests in architectural treatises and in the theme of residence.

Chapter 10
Architectural Images and City Marketing

Mukaddes Polay

Abstract The chapter discusses how architectural images can act as a tool for tourist attraction and city marketing. It presents a literature review of the impacts on environments of image, architectural image, and tourism as well as the relationship between the concepts of promotion and branding. Throughout history, different cities of the world have applied various marketing techniques to help in the selling of both products and cities. Marketing strategies is significant for attractiveness of cities and marketing. With regard to the discipline of architecture, designers and the people who are providing services to tourists should be educated in order to increase the satisfaction of tourists with the destinations they are visiting, since the image of a place/city is crucial to tourists' satisfaction, marketing and new investments.

Keywords Architectural images · City marketing · Tourists' satisfaction Identity

Nowadays, cities are trying to find new aspects through which to promote themselves in order to attract tourists and new investments. Due to improvements in technology and the rise of globalisation, cities are compelled to compete with each other as attractive locations to tourists, and as workplaces etc., (Riza et al. 2011; Kotler 2002). Accordingly, creating new images and the promotion of locations become fundamental for marketing. Both monumental and contemporary architecture are significant determinants of a city's image and this is one of the key factors in the attraction of tourists. In this chapter, the aim is to discuss how architectural images can act as a tool for attracting tourists as well as new investments. At this point, four main questions arise: What are image and architectural image? What is the significance of tourism for a place and what are its impacts on the environment? What is the relationship between the two concepts of promotion and branding? And how can architectural images be used for promotion and marketing? These questions will all be addressed in this chapter.

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As defined by Luque-Martínez et al. (2007) the term image expresses a wide variety of things and facts (Gunther 1959; Levy 1959; Dolich 1969; Sirgy 1985; Dowling 1986; Biel 1992; Van Riel 1997). It is described as the 'point of contact between people and their environment,' by Rapoport (1977). As a result of interactions between humans and the environment, information is stored in people's mind. This is called environmental image. Visual communication is a much more effective way than the other senses for the formation of environmental images. Furthermore, as mentioned by Lynch (1960), an environmental image is a visual image of the world in people's mind. It is formed by the combination of perception and previous experiences and memories. Nowadays, city image refers to the ideology of urban entrepreneurism that arranges cities to be an attraction pole of tourism and capital footloose within global context (Zhu et al. 2011, pp. 221–229; Hall 1992; Harvey 1989; Hall and Hubbard 1998; Lofgren 2000). It strongly influences the satisfaction of citizens as well as visitors.

Tourism is a significant industry in a large number of cities and its importance looks set to increase in the future (Fasli 2010b; Jutla 2000). Many countries made vast investments in their tourism industry in order to help boost their local culture and economy (Javadi 2015; Benckendorff and Zehrer 2013). Nowadays, numerous cities are becoming tourist destinations due to their rich and unique architectural images. As discussed by Kotler et al. (1999) the identities and assets of places have to be designed and marketed in a similar way to other products. The marketing of a city has various purposes such as improving the competitive situation of the city, attracting inward investment, developing the image of the city and creating the city's identity (Inn 2004, p. 233). However, in order to have a sustainable and successful long-term tourism industry, it is vital to understand the impacts of tourism on the community and environment (Diedrich and Garciá-Buades 2009).

From the point of view of architecture and cities, tourism has various positive and negative impacts. The enhancement of public places, protection of valued buildings and places together with the improvements in infrastructure are included in the positive impacts. These positive impacts act not only to improve the quality of the physical environment of the city, but also to increase the economic gains of the city. On the other hand, the increase in the number of tourists might cause several negative impacts on architecture, environment and society. In terms of the city, these negative impact may result in the deterioration of natural resources, increased pollution and shortages of drinking water etc. In terms of architecture, a large number of tourists increase temperature, moisture and carbon dioxide changes inside historical buildings which may result in deterioration of the internal features. Monuments may also be damaged by visitors climbing on them for the purpose of taking photographs. Furthermore, a great number of visitors caused more dust to be deposited on surfaces and more cleaning then causes further damage (Fasli 2010b; Drdácky et al. 2007; Lloyd et al. 2004). Sometimes, overcrowding may cause local people to leave their settlements.

Throughout history, cities around the world have applied various marketing techniques and strategies to help them sell their products. In the globalized world, cities have to find new strategies to advertise and market themselves in order to enhance their competitiveness. It is widely accepted that places could be marketed

and branded in a similar way to products (Büyüksoy 2008; Aaker 1996; Keller 2003; Kotler et al. 1993; Matson in Parkerson and Saunders 2004). Branding is used in the promotion and marketing of a city and is mainly developed from marketing strategies (Riza et al. 2011). 'City branding is an approach that centres around the conceptualization of the city as a brand; and a brand is a multidimensional construct, consisting of functional, emotional, relational and strategic elements that collectively generate a unique set of associations in the public mind.' (Kavaratzis and Ashworth 2007, p. 23; Aaker 1996, p. 68). According to Ashworth (2009) one of the purposes of city/place branding is to find out or create a 'uniqueness,' something that makes a city/place different from other locations. Places which are rich in terms of historical heritage are much more suited to branding. City Branding is mainly grounded on three factors: image, uniqueness and authenticity. Many cities use these factors to redevelop their images (Riza et al. 2011; Kavaratzis and Ashworth 2007). Nowadays, it can be seen that a large number of cities are attempting to promote and market themselves with the help of architectural images, and monumental or iconic buildings/elements.

A set of activities are included in the process of marketing a city. It begins with the analysing of a place's assets and opportunities. Then, the vision should be developed and the target group should be decided upon. In terms of the implementation of marketing, city marketing projects should be developed with due consideration given to its potential. For effective promotion and marketing, new architectural images should be created and used for cultural mega events and international branding campaigns as slogans and/or visual symbols. A slogan is a short phrase that expresses the overall vision of a place (Büyüksoy 2008; Kotler et al. 1993). Slogans are necessary to attraction attention and fix an idea in people's minds. Furthermore, architectural images could be used in brochures, billboards and videos for international communication.

Without any doubt, education is a significant issue which needs to be considered by marketing. Both customers and service providers should be educated. Fulfilling the customer's requirements and interests is important for the developing of trust with the brand (Pulizzi 2013). In the field of architecture, the existing built environment in cities should satisfy tourists' expectations regardless of the other services provided to them. Unfortunately, many cities/places in the world today face an identity crisis. Day by day, cities are becoming anonymous due to the rapid growth of mass housing, with similar house designs, construction techniques and building materials. No significance is given to the three-dimensional qualities, cultural values and way of life of citizens. Isolated concrete blocks are located in their individual lots without due consideration to the qualities of their exterior spaces or relation to their environments (Fasli 2010a). Therefore, cities have been gradually becoming 'anyplace.'

Cities are reflections of a society in time, and the sociocultural and economic life of its citizens. Creating a city image is significant to both citizens and the tourists. Citizens should feel that some elements of the environment belong to them in order to feel attachment and comfort to the place in question. On the other hand, tourists should gain satisfaction and enjoyment from the destinations they are visiting.

Having understood the significance of a city/place image to the discipline of architecture, both the designer and the local people should be educated. Designers should respect environmental and social values while designing and constructing mass housing in particular. In parallel, local people should be educated to recognise things which they have not noticed before and they should expect architectural quality and respect for local values from designers. This is significant for a city's image, the satisfaction of tourists and the marketing of a city.

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Chapter 11
Neo-liberal Policies in Islam: A Critical View on the Grand Mosque

Ali A. Alraouf and Abbas M. Hassan

Abstract Architecture was and still keeps sometimes cultural and social immunity over ages; especially when building interrelates with sacred and orthodox dimensions. The spiritual and ideological powers embodying in an architectural form make it a banned area which cannot be compromised. The architectural sacredness was a salient fact embedded in ancient temples, cathedrals, and mosques. Although of sanctity of religious buildings and its urban contexts, the economic, ideological, and political conditions have changed the solemn architectural status. Neoliberalism is deemed one of the most important trends that impact on the world's economy and policy during the last two decades. Some debaters see that neoliberalism has been justified due to the economic crisis sweeping the world among the regional alliances and capital movements in the globalization era. Governments have become disabled to control on markets and economic competitions. The poor and developing countries are seriously affected by neoliberal policies. It is strange that an oil-rich country fell into the neoliberal trap at the expense of saintliness of place. Saudi Arabia took the great number of pilgrims visiting the Grand Mosque every year as a pretext to develop the area around it without consideration to its spiritual values given to visitors. Tall buildings surrounding Kaaba have been establishing without attention to architectural and urban proportions of the major form (the Kaaba). The Kaaba has been dwarfed because of the towers surrounding it. Regrettably, the crane falling down at the Kaaba atrium revealed another type of aggression of neoliberalism against holy places. Undoubtedly, it was a shock for numerous architects, urbanists, and theorists especially those who are interested in the issue of post-professionalism. This chapter debates a new challenge of neoliberalism and post-professionalism against the status of sacred places. After brief review on the architecture of religious places in general, the Grand Holy Mosque is taken as a case study to show the impact

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of neoliberalism on it. A critical reading through this chapter may advocate to stop the tyranny against spiritual and valuable urban contexts.

11.1   Introduction

The authors of the chapter were so moved by the horrific incident that took place in September 2015 during the pilgrim's sacred days. As reported in media around the world, "at least 107 people died and 238 others injured after a crane collapse in Mecca's Grand Mosque" it has been the accident transferred by media in Hajj season this year. In fact, crane collapse inside the sanctuary over pilgrims' heads was not an ordinary accident because of a windy storm or a contractor's mistake, and it should not be read superficially. This accident is a primary corollary of neoliberalism overriding on the urban planning of Muslims' most sanctity areas.

The crane is an example of different construction tools used in establishing tall buildings around the Kaaba. The crane is also a symbol for the domination of architectural and urban solutions which are still questionable and should be subjected to scrutiny. While observing the urban scene around the Grand Mosque and the Kaaba, we were obliged to pause questions regarding the validity of such vertical development in such a sacred context. However, it is declared that the tall buildings is an offset of the area used in expansion of Mecca's Grand Mosque, and these buildings will be built high to fulfill the pilgrims' needs of accommodation. In fact, these are pretexts of neoliberalism that reached the peak of greed when it propels authorities to sacrifice the spatial holiness in sake of fiscal profits. The enlargement of Mecca's Grand Mosque should not be a justification for putting down of the spiritual effect of the Kaaba especially in Saudi Arabia which is one of oil-rich countries.

Along the Islamic history, the holy religious buildings such as mosques were perceived by rulers, people, architects, and planners as a manifestation of guiding principles of Islam. The visual perspective and the dimensional volumetric have been considering more important than the interior design as the mosque is a landmark in the city not just a building. Unfortunately, the neoliberalism has changed this orthodox in the most significant Muslims' place throughout the world.

The chapter aims to highlight the impact of neoliberalism on the Kaaba which is the most sacred building for each Muslim in the world in addition to its pilgrims. This influence would be analyzed spatially, socially, and psychologically alongside the fallacies adopted by the neoliberalism to achieve an economic profits regardless the spiritual value of such place. This chapter is important in terms of raising a topic related to the holy places which Muslims believe that they are out of any trade barter. The sanctities should not be like commercial or residential places. Regrettably, the misuse of neoliberal policies which equaled between the economy based on sacred places and other economies is considered a downside related to the

Fig. 11.1 Construction cranes working on the new developments at the Grand Mosque (the authors)

Fig. 11.2 A collapse of construction crane over Mecca's Grand Mosque causing dozens of victims (the authors)

concept of neoliberalism. Therefore, this issue should be highlighted especially with the scarce of researches which are debating the link between the religious tourism and neoliberal policies.

The downfall of crane in the Grand Mosque hall is more than an accident. It unveils the power of fiscal tendency in the most sacred place for more than one billion Muslims. In next section, we therefore debate the impact of the neoliberal policies on the Islam, particularly on the architecture of the Grand Mosque in Mecca. We beforehand would follow the relevance of religious buildings generally and for Islam in particular (Figs. 11.1 and 11.2).

11.2 Perspectives on Religious Places

In his classic book entitled "House form and culture," Amos Rapaport proclaimed that the architecture of houses is designed according to dogmatic determinants in several regions throughout the world (Rapaport 1969). Rapaport argued that the house is much more than a shelter due to its correlation with ideological issues. The House of God (the Ka'ba) would have non-physical determinants governing the relation between it and the constructions surrounding so long as the houses are governed by these restrictions.

The religious buildings since the dawn of history enjoy a special attention regarding their architecture and planning. The pharaonic temples for example were built using stones despite the worldly houses of ancient Egyptian were constructed using mud. So, temple dimensions, landscape, and sculptures included in each temple are still narrating Pharaohs' fondness for these temples. The temple loci and its height compared to the surrounding buildings were important criteria in order to keep the sacredness of temples. Figure 11.3 shows an aerial view of Luxor temple in Egypt and the role of the Egyptian government with the UNESCO to keep the historical appearance of the temple.

The Ziggurats which were built in the West of Asia during the fourth millennium before Christ are considered a religious building. Though these buildings have eroded by the environmental and time factors, the archaeologists revealed that the Ziggurats are architected as platforms put on each other gradually to the sky. From Western Asia to Eastern Asia, Hindu and Buddhist temples embody the respect of sacredness of the place over the time by authorities and Asian citizens as well.

The Christian buildings also has been protected till now especially the historical cathedrals in Europe. For example, plazas which may be existed in the front of cathedrals, the cathedrals' towers, the prototype of flying buttresses, and the heights regulations for the surrounding buildings refer that the religious buildings enjoy great amount of interest.

The mosque as a building and entity has a significant relevance over the Islamic history. The mosque has been planned to occupy a distinguishable loci in the Islamic city. The access to the mosque was available to all the residents comfortably. The Muslims can walk to the mosque; moreover, the mosque can be observed from a

Fig. 11.3 An aerial view on Luxor Temple where cruise boats and the corniche are at the bottom while the compatibility with the surrounding buildings is shown at the top of the image (the authors)

distance because of the planning regulations and urban pattern surrounding the mosque. The mosque architectural style always is a remarkable and externally enticing to pedestrians; furthermore, it is internally attractive for worshipers. For example, Aschrafiyya Mosque in Taiz in Yemen is a distinguishable mass in organic urban pattern. The mosque standing is kept throughout the Islamic world as well as the churches, cathedrals, and temples are conserved in the non-Islamic states.

Local rulers and Muslim urbanists have been allocating the mosque in distinguishable loci within the town or village. The mosque always is near to a conventional market or the public plaza where Muslims can debate their daily affairs as well as they may strengthen their social relations after each prayer. The market or plaza allows the mosque to be seen from a distance; moreover, the spaces separating between mosques and surrounding houses can boost the mosque mass against dwarfism resulting from the rising of surrounding buildings above of the mosque. The tall minarets have performed as a landmark after diminishing of using the human voice for calling Muslims to prayers. These minarets contribute to enhancing the visual and spiritual image for the House of God. Some of Islamic countries have regulated construction requirements to limit the buildings' heights surrounding the historic mosques in order to conserve cultural, spiritual, and heritage gains.

The religious building has acquired weightiness from the communal ideological and moral systems. The neoliberal policies in most liberal states could not

merchandize with the religious buildings notably the historical religious architecture. For example, widespread cathedrals throughout Europe have been considered architecturally and spatially. The same attention was paid to the Buddhists' temples in some of Asian countries which have trended to neoliberalism such as Republic of Korea, Japan, and China. However, Islamic states implementing of the neoliberal policies have not determined limits in order to curb the neoliberal forces affecting the Islamic religious assets.

The Grand Mosque in Mecca has been hit by the commercial liberal policy under pretext of serving the Hajjis and increasing the capacity of the mosque. Therefore, we would review the meaning of neoliberalism and its relation to Islam through the last decades.

11.3   Neoliberalism

This term has disseminated two decades ago. Numerous authors proclaimed neoliberalism is the predominant trend molding the world currently (Thorsen 2010). For example, Saad-Filho and Johnston (2005), in their book *Neoliberalism—A critical reader,* announced that we live in the era of neoliberalism.

The neoliberalism partakes its origins historically and ideologically with liberalism; so that we would review briefly the definition of liberalism because this concept encompasses paradoxical synonyms. Stopovers in liberalism for a little while would provide the reader with an indispensable perception for continuum in neoliberalism which is a gist for this chapter.

The Oxford Dictionary defines the liberalism as administrative reforms tending in the direction of freedom and democracy. This meaning is consistent with the use of the word "liberal" in Swedish and Spanish liberal parliaments, hence through all European countries in the early nineteenth century (Gray 1995). Thus, conventional definition of liberalism entails that state plays an active role through several legislations for guarantee all spheres of human endeavor, and governmental pledge of individual rights and civil liberties. However, this conception triggered a controversial situation when the liberalism had been defined economically. The economic liberalism on the other hand implies that the state should stop manipulating in the economy; concurrently, it would liberate individuals to contribute to creating free markets. The liberalism therefore is defined contradictorily according to the field of study.

It is worth mentioning that liberalism was divided into two ideologies: the classic liberalism and the modern liberalism (Ryan 1993). The classic Liberians ideologically are harmonious with the economic liberalism exigencies inhibiting the governmental interventions in the local markets, while the modern liberalism advocates the state to share in the market and businesses in order to organize the commercial affairs and supply people with the necessary goods demanded by residents. Due to the difference between the classical and economic liberalism, there is a prevailing opinion that economics are the supporters' neoliberalism.

Oxford Dictionary also defined the neoliberalism as "a type of liberalism that believes in a global free market, without government regulation, with businesses and industry controlled and run for profit by private owners" (Oxford English Dictionary 1989). Academically and historically, neoliberalism returns to the eminent French economist, Charles Gide, who wrote a paper entitled "Has co-operation introduced a new principle into economics?" in 1898 (Gide 1898), while the early book used this term of "neoliberalism" is authored by Jaques Cros in 1950. Cros (1950) declared that neoliberalism is a political ideology that is consistent with the classical liberalism during the Second World War (Cros 1950). Cros was one of few debaters who approved the classical liberalism against the totalitarianism which was the dominant political ideology at this time.

Neoliberalism is seen as the fittest mechanism for the economic development as it boosts the value of competition through denationalization and free-market system; concurrently, it diminishes the state restriction on the commercial deals (Gunay and Gulersoy 2010). Undoubtedly, the triumph of capitalism against the socialism has supported the neoliberalists' allegation that what is public is no longer efficient for keeping the sustainable development.

The neoliberalists summoned the exigencies of evolutionary theory "the survival of the fittest" as a mechanism of natural selection to be a crux in the neoliberalism. Proponents of neoliberalism consider that the competition is really required for the natural equilibrium and livelihood (Peck and Tickell 1994). The phrase of the English philosopher Herbert Spencer who first talked about survival of the fittest in his Principles of Sociology; then it was quoted by Darwin (Gonzalez 2013), should make us cautious toward the generalization of the principal of competition in all life aspects; especially the aspects that do not accept the tradeoffs such as religious affairs and the national heritage notably the architectural and urban design.

The competition may be a passable basis of neoliberalism if the addressed schemes are physical-based projects such as those related to the pure economic and political issues; however, the mechanism of neoliberalism may not work with the mixed issues relevant to religions or national heritages. The development of cultural and dogmatic schemes is not governed by Darwin's concept (the survival of the fittest) because there is a vigorous determinant for the creedal schemes such as spiritual, psychological, or cultural factor.

Religion is deemed the pot which the spiritual, psychological, and ritualistic feelings melt within it. The religious architecture and the urban design of holy places are considered a conflict area embodying the consequences of neoliberal policies. This chapter therefore would debate this question: What is the impact of neoliberal policies on the sacred places?

Islam is one of the major religions in the world. The area of Middle East has witnessed a dramatic economic shift since the 1970s when the oil price has raised significantly after the energy crisis. The majority of inhabitants of Middle East area are Muslims. Politically, this region is suffering from lack of liberal policies which guarantee the democratic and activating the laws causing control weaknesses on the public policies, especially the economic decisions. The architecture and urban

planning is one of the top affected aspects by economy and marketing strategy. For example, the cities have become telltale on the urban development and the economical gauge of states (Gunay and Gulersoy 2010). The historical places also have been recruiting for promoting the economic competition regardless its cultural or spiritual values.

This chapter focuses on neoliberal policies in the Islamic countries, especially in the Gulf where the tyranny of wealth emerging of new economic paradigms such as Dubai in United Arab Emirates. Therefore, we would discuss the movement of neoliberal policies which is underway in the Gulf States in next section.

11.4 Neoliberalism and Urban Planning: The Status of Contemporary Gulf Cities

The neoliberalism has impacted on different projects in the Middle East and North Africa where the Islam is rooted. Neoliberalism has changed the Arab city significantly since the late of nineteenth century such what happen in Khedival Cairo and in the late of twentieth century after energy crisis in the 1970s; the neoliberalism has been totally clear after the September 11 attacks when Arab businessmen found themselves compelled to invest in the Arab important cities such as Cairo, Riyadh, Qatar, Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Kuwait, and Amman (Hassan et al. 2015). In this section, I would present a comprehensive review on some of these projects which are almost residential and commercial schemes. This section aims to show that the neoliberalism has been recruited in residential, industrial, and commercial schemes unlike the holy places. However, the neoliberalism has exceeded these limits and challenged the religious and spiritual orthodoxy.

The case of urban development in Saudi Arabia and particularly in Mecca and Medina should be contextualized within the comprehensive Gulf urban scene. Obviously, the development of Gulf cities in the last decade has proved to be unprecedented in the history of urban development occurred in their different territories. One of the main features of the last decade was emergence of Dubai as a model of development. The impact of Dubai's urban model and the tendency toward using petrodollars in realizing urban and architectural fantasies crystallized an urban brand that was cloned not only in the Gulf but in other Middle Eastern Cities too. Due to adopting such an urban model, Gulf cities resorted to the iconic developments as catalyst for winning the regional competitions and struggle to secure a place on the global stage. In such heated competition, it was not a surprise to see one of the top real estate companies in Saudi Arabia declaring the beginning its new project titled a one kilometer high tower days after the opening of Burj Khalifa, the highest tower on the planet. What really worth deep investigation and analysis is how such an urban brand with all its related real estate vertical fantasies was seen as an answer for development around one of the most sacred locations around the world, Mecca.

The Saudi authorities have been attempting to convert Mecca from just a religious capital where pilgrims visit it every year in specific times to a sustainable city where people would come to it for different reasons. The religious aim would not be the only source of investment. Mecca's ruler—Khalid ibn Faisal Al Saud—declared that Mecca would be developed to be one of the most beautiful cities worldwide.

As Bsheer (2015) argues:

> while development projects in Mecca turned the regime's enormous amounts of surplus petro-capital into a regular source of rent and bolstered the importance of real estate development to economic life, they also tied the economic elites to the regime's political and economic longevity, consolidating the power of the ruling family and its economic allies. The lucrative construction projects therefore further entrenched the economic elites and capitalist classes within the fledgling property regime's fold, bolstering its longevity in the face of increasing popular dissent. In Mecca, site of the yearly Muslim pilgrimage, urban redevelopment plans centered on the complete overhaul of the city's physical, cultural, social, and economic landscape. The multi-billion dollar mega projects have been replacing historical sites, cultural landmarks, and private properties in the neighborhoods circling Mecca's Grand Mosque [al-masjid al-haram]. Petro-resources, circulated through Saudi Arabian banks in the form of loans to contractors and Mecca's real estate market, will turn Central Mecca into a collection of mixed-use developments comprising upscale international hotels and short-term and permanent residences, as well as state-of-the-art commercial facilities and markets. The future of this area will thereby be completely detached from its intellectually, socially, and economically rich past.

To be able to interpret the aggressive move toward real estate development in Major cities in Saudi Arabia including Riyadh the capital and Mecca the holy city, the impact of three events needs to be perceived. First, the 1990 Gulf War was a turning point in the history of the modern Middle East as it forced the rulers to adopt different development strategies. Bsheer (2015) argues that:

> they relied on land speculation, and the development of real estate schemes in particular, as new modes of political legitimation and capital generation. Specifically, the post-war property regime targeted Mecca and Riyadh as objects of urban redevelopment through which new visions of the Saudi modern manifested and circulated, thereby assuming a central role in both economic and political life.

The second crucial economic transformation resulted from the 1997 Asian economic crisis. The event pressured Saudi rulers to realize that investing Saudi capital abroad was no longer as profitable as it had been in earlier decades. In order for the Saudi regime to keep capital locally, what it did is invest its own capital in land and property, first starting in Mecca—more specifically starting with the development of King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz's endowment project, which is basically the complex that today houses Mecca's clock tower.

Starting from the late 1990s, massive urban redevelopment has characterized the city's physical scene. Such redevelopment was coupled with an extensive destruction of the neighborhoods directly surrounding the Grand Mosque. The visual and spatial perception of places is a crucial component of the sacred journey of Hajj. Specifically when you are inside the Grand Mosque, the pilgrims used to feel overwhelmed with the dominance of the centralized black cube mass of Al

Ka'ba. Since the construction of Abraj Al Bait and the clock tower, Al Kaaba's visual importance and symbolic dominance diminished substantially.

The next section would discuss the relation between the neoliberalism and Islam generally. The question posed in the following part is: Does the neoliberalism support Islamic aims or diminish them according to the political view? Some examples are collected from some Islamic countries and will be presented to whether the neoliberal mechanisms and policies advocated the Islam or not.

11.5   Islam and Neoliberalism

The relation between neoliberalism and Islam has become one of the hottest research points in last decades. The political and economic transitions emerging in the Islamic world, especially in the Gulf area, created an appropriate atmosphere for the neoliberalism. Authors have disputed the impact of the neoliberal policies on Islam.

In her book "Islam's marriage with neoliberalism: state transformation in Turkey," Atasoy declared that the neoliberal policies have contributed to changing the current governing party in Turkey from a devout Sunni Islamic party to a conservative party and hence to a liberal party as a third end (Atasoy 2009). The transformation of that party is a consequence of Islam's marriage with neoliberalism. Yildiz Atasoy interpreted how the neoliberalism is compatible with Islam. Regardless the common definition of secularism which entails the dissociation between the religion and affairs of state, the secularists have called the state for controlling on national projects through an individual vision; however, the neoliberalists advocate the pluralism and governance allowing the citizens to share the government in making decisions (Wuthrich 2010). The neoliberalism therefore is consisting with the Islamic regulations supporting the freedom, governance, and justice. Hence, the link between neoliberal policies and Islam is a corollary due to proximity between them.

Frequently, the orientalists have professed that Islam and capitalism cannot be associated together (ESI 2005; Hassan et al. 2015); however, the Justice and Development Party (JDP) has reversed this allegation when the moderate Islamist party achieved a considerable economic development in Turkey which is considered a counterpart of the European conservative parties. During the period from 2002 to 2005, the Turkish JDP implemented several liberal reforms such as enhancing the civic rights, eliminating the Turkish armed forces and conferring a cultural rights for Kurdish residents (Karadag 2010). The Justice and Development Party could alter the dominance of western capitalism ideologically and practically and created a homogeneous growth with the heritage and local culture (Moudouros 2014).

From Erdogan who was the Prime Minister of Turkey to Mahathir Mohamad who was the Malaysian Prime minister, the neoliberal policies have been adopted without compromising the Islamic principles. In the mid-1980s, the Malaysian

Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad and his Minister of Finance adopted the privatization as an approach through decreasing of the governmental expenditures in the public field in order to minimize the state dominance on the public social facilities (Teik 2010). Frequently, the urban facilities such as telecommunications, water supply, electrical power, waste management, education, and medical have been shifted from the public to private. These facilities therefore have been improved through activating the competitions. Although of the state deregulation imposed by Mahathir, the Malaysian development has increased keeping the economic nationalism and the cultural identity of Malaysia apart from the western ascendancy (Hadiz 2006).

Now, it is well known that the neoliberalism entails separation between the national restrictions and the economy; moreover, the neoliberalism has contributed to enhancing of the governance especially regarding the Islamists or what is called "Political Islamists." In Mali, for example, where there are Muslims with different ideological backgrounds and varied Ethnicities who enjoy with habits blending between the Islamic and African customs, the neoliberal policies enabled the Islamists to gain radio stations, television channels, and private magazines. Thus, the neoliberalism assisted Islamists to deliver their voice to the public (Soares 2005). The Islamists have debated social and political issues such as family code and women's rights. These prerogatives opened to Malians Islamists raised the seculars' fears against the potential of liberalism in the Islamic world.

Another case from Pakistan referring at the homogeneity between Islam and neoliberalism, Masood Raja argued that the link between the fundamentalism such as Islamic fundamentalism and neoliberalism is strong. The Islamists' activity grows steady whenever the state reduces its sponsoring to citizens. Raja (2011) suggested that when the state refrains providing the fund and services to the people, the private religious charities attempt to fulfill citizens' needs. The services provided by the Islamist who are establishing the charities are affordable and they sometimes are for free especially in the poor countries (Rapley 2004); therefore, the Islamists become closer to people rather than their governments. According to Raja's study, the Islamic fundamentalists enabled to reshape the public awareness because of the neoliberal policies through chauvinistic and exclusivist strategies. He added that the Islamic intervention to the state affairs has begun during the rule of Zia-ul-Haq. At this time, everything in Pakistan has started considerably to be Islamized.

Islam may inextricably be linked to Neoliberal policies according to the previous review. Some of the neoliberal policies have boosted the Islamic tendency as previously reviewed. There is no wonder that Islam works well with some of neoliberal mechanisms because Islam as a religion encourages freedom, working hard and competitive market apart from monopoly. Concurrently, Islam calls for the social solidarity that guarantees the sustainability of neoliberal policies without compromising the ability of low-income classes for a good livelihood. However, the neoliberal policies sometimes work against the Islamic trend especially when the neoliberalism is implemented superficially due to the corruption of state and absence the popular and legislative control.

In this context therefore, it is not mandatory that the neoliberal policies would be consistent completely with Islam because Islam is a reliable criterion encompassing a firm standards governing the Muslims' behaviors unlike the neoliberalism which may change its mechanism according to the political or economic circumstances of state or any other emerging reasons. Thus, the state may liberate pejoratively one of the economic sectors such as the neoliberal policy dealing with the pilgrimage ceremony recently. The Saudi governments allowed unwillingly the private institutions to intervene in the organization of the pilgrimage to the Holy Grand Mosque in Mecca. Unfortunately, some of the private enterprises have profiteered from the Hajj rituals through their relation with the royal family as a political umbrella.

Unlike the seculars' allegation that the neoliberal policies have facilitated many utilities to the Islamic powers giving them opportunities to share the state in making the national decision, the neoliberalism would impact negatively on the Islam if it is used badly. Nowadays, Islamic precepts are not applied appropriately in most of the Islamic world due to Islamophobia, effects of post-colonialism, or the present rulers' desires to keep their powers and dominance on people regardless that Islam supporting devolution of power. Thus, as long as the Islamic regulations have been broken down, the neoliberal policies definitely would be misused.

Regardless the political benefits obtained by adopting the neoliberal policies, this chapter focuses on the harmful influence of the neoliberalism on one of the pillars of Islam (Hajj). The Hajj is considered one of the sustainable source of economy in Saudi Arabia since ancient times. The next part will shed light on the role of Hajj in the social position of Meccans; moreover, it also shows the impact of Hajj on Saudi economy through the modern State of Saudi Arabia.

11.6   Hajj and the Saudi Economy

The Meccan leaders of tribes over the history were finding honor and pride to serve honestly pilgrims "Allah's visitors." The fiscal benefits were not a priority for heads of Quraish who were more interested in bringing out their social standing. This situation has changed during the establishment of modern state.

The end of imperialism and stopping of the global and regional wars have triggered more flow of the overseas pilgrims to the Saudi Arabia; this phenomenon has emerged since the 1950s. In the 1970s, the rising of oil price, ending the war between Egypt and the Zionist entity, and affordable air flights have contributed to doubling the number of pilgrims seeking for inner quietness (Bianchi 2004). The annual number of pilgrims have mushroomed remarkably from 100,000 Hajjis in the 1950s to about 3 million Allah's guests nowadays. According to the Guardian report, Butt (2010) argued that the number of Muslims tourists to Mecca and Medina is anticipated to go up from 12 million in 2010 to 17 million by 2025. A massive influx of Hajjis and visitors to Mecca and Medina has propelled the Saudi ruling family to enhance the urban infrastructure, notably the area of Grand Mosque.

The Hajj pilgrimage is ranked the third source of economy in Saudi Kingdom (Burns 2007). Pilgrimage to the Ka'ba in Mecca and visiting of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina have provided seasonal and constant job opportunities. After the price boom of oil in the 1970s alongside the annual ongoing raising of Hajjis who visit the Kingdom over the year, the government of Saudi Arabia has become able to improve the urban infrastructure and public facilities such as transportation means, streets and roads, hotels, restaurants, hospitals.

The Saudi government has not concerned of the tourism industry in general and the religious tourism in particular unless after the oil prices gradually dropped. The fears of Saudis' decision-makers of oil depletion or its decline made them invest more and more in the religious tourism. Saudi Arabia has encouraged the private sectors to contribute to the schemes related to the holy places and cities. The investors know that religious tourism is considered a sustainable business and guaranteed one hundred percent.

The Saudi government has been establishing a railway to connect between Mecca and Medina with cost 6 billion American dollar. The dependence on railway between the two holy cities is resulting from care to eliminating the traffic accidents and minimizing the trip time. Therefore, the Hajjis can move conveniently between the most sacred two cities in the holy lands. With an estimated cost 2.4 billion U.S. dollar, the Medina airport would be extended from 3 million to 12 million passengers to facilitate the access to the prophet's city and vice versa, the same to the King Abdulaziz International airport in Jeddah.

The most effective development is what is established around the Kaaba. The Grand Mosque has been enlarged several times to accommodate the steady rise of Hajj pilgrimages; however, the latest development is considered the biggest and most influential on the Kaaba (the House of God) visually and spiritually. A compound of residential and commercial buildings named "Abraj Al Bait" including apartments, hotels, malls, and retail shops has approached to the Kaaba for profiteering from Hajjis under slogan "the more you close to the Kaaba, the more you pay." The clock tower is considered a landmark of this complex embodying the misuse of neoliberalism with a big capital (3 billion U.S. dollars) in the reconstruction of the most sacred places as shown in Fig. 11.4 which records the developments around the Ka'ba from 1889 to 2012.

11.7   The Journey and the Philosophy of Hajj

The expansion of Mecca has come at the cost of safe and sustainable planning. Last year, Hajj was characterized by dramatic losses of lives resulted from the unprecedented pace of development and construction around the Grand Mosque and Al Ka'ba. First, 107 people were killed in Mecca when a crane collapsed
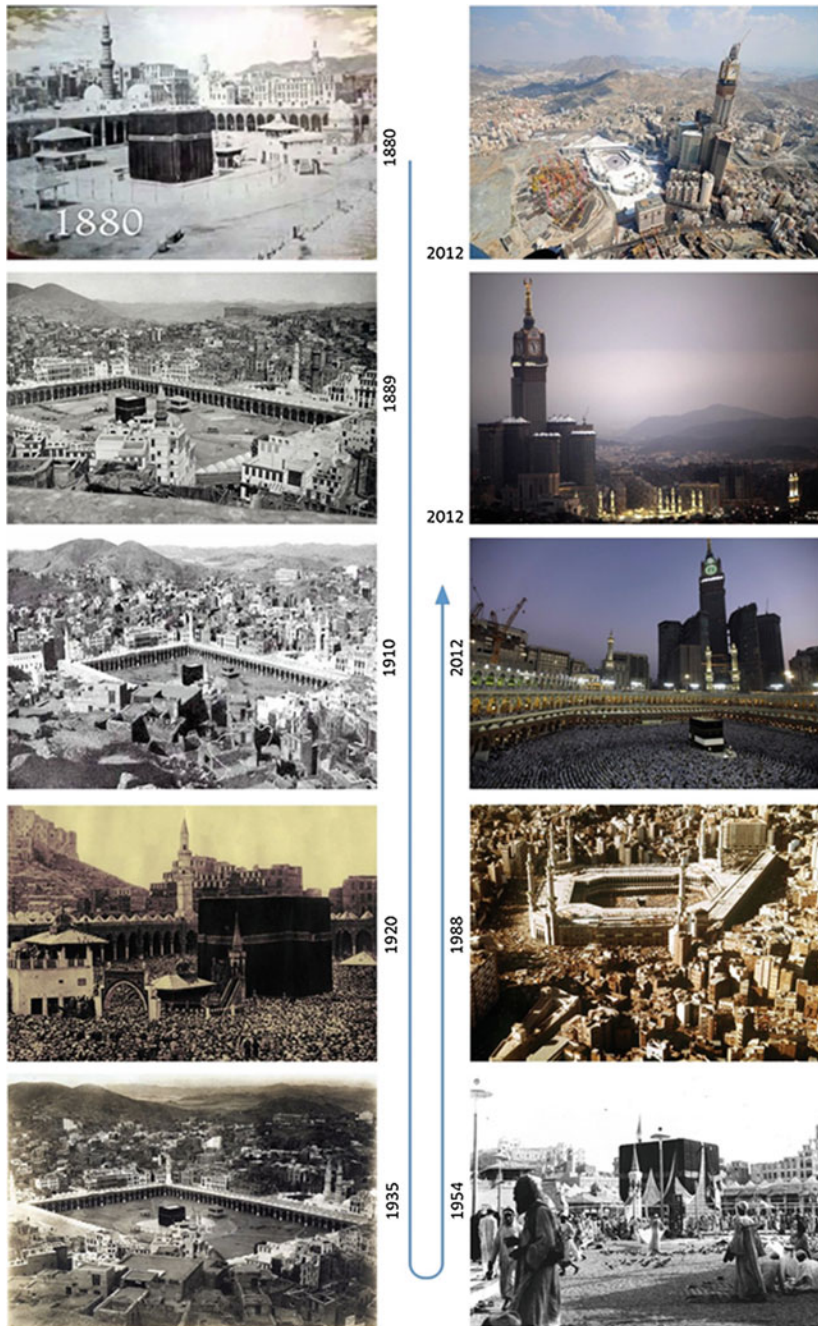
Fig. 11.4 Development of the Grand Mosque in Mecca from 1880 to 2012 (the authors)

outside the Grand Mosque.[1] Second, two weeks later, at least 700 people lost their lives as two waves of pilgrims collided in Mecca's deadliest disaster in 25 years. The two consecutive incidents, despite the local authorities' promises to investigate those accidents, engorged some voices to question the need to expand the Grand Mosque. The mosque was already the largest in the world, covering more than 88 acres and can accommodate more than two million people in its different indoor and outdoor spaces.

With repeated claims by Saudi authorities that their main job is to serve the pilgrims, it worth some effort to trace the meaning, philosophy, and spiritual significance of Hajj. According to Muslim scholars, Hajj is about number of rituals which would start with the journey toward the sacred placed and therefore, the journey itself is a crucial component of the religious and spiritual process of the Hajj. The concept of journey toward the holy sites is perceived as a spiritual preparation for performing the rituals. Hence, the philosophy of Hajj has a huge impact on urban and architectural scene around the holy places as the urban context and its humble architecture as shown in Fig. 11.5 was always seen even by Prophet Mohamed as a significant tool toward emphasizing the spiritual nature and power of the place. Neoliberalism and Islamic doctrine are related to urban planning. Islam is a religion of mercy and unity which reflected on the worship, everyday activities and also on the architectural and city planning. This section aims at clarification to what extent that Islam cannot associate with the misuse of neoliberal policies and manipulating their legal outcomes.

11.8 The Meaning of Sacred Architecture and Urbanism

The dilemma of developing within the boundaries of sacred places paused fundamental questions for urban designers, planners, and also architects. How to develop in and around sacred sites? How to set the priorities for development of spiritually significant sites? Interpretation of sacred architecture and urbanism suggests that places and spaces have a sense of power and energy. The mosque is the greatest worship building in Islam. It was kept over centuries away of the commercial seize that exploits the Islamic holy place to achieve a fiscal profit on the expense of visitors' spiritual and theistic promotion given by that place; however, the neoliberalism has declined the immunity of mosque. Due to the tyranny of capitalism, the mosque has been a source of wealth.

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[1]The Saudi Binladen Group in charge of redevelopment in Mecca has been more than willing to comply, again given the profits that they are generating. This has come at the expense of safe and smart planning, and the Binladen Group has time and again compromised on implementing safety standards in order to cut on costs and time.

Fig. 11.5 Humble nature of the urban context of the Grand Mosque and the dominance of Al Kaaba as depicted in the early documentary photography (Image taken by the author from Al Hajj exhibition in Doha, Qatar) (http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-saudi-overhaul-reshapes-islams-holiest-city-mecca-2014oct01-story.html)

This part aims to review the planning relevance of mosque in the city before the neoliberalism when it was a focal urban point, and after neoliberalism when it has been recruited as a source of wealth after the authorities allowed famous mosques related to Allah allies to encompass shrines with vows boxes where ordinary people pay when visiting the tomb of Allah allies. Another kind of neoliberalism is the festivals of Allah allies for about two weeks in the city of famous mosques; these festivals are almost contrary to Islamic regulations; but it is considered a source of income for the local governments and a mean for people distracting politically. This part will provide some examples of these mosques.

The new types of real estate development paved the way to a radical change in the core of the religious experience of the modern pilgrimage. Contrary to the main essence of Al Hajj as an Islamic ritual, a newly created "vertical gated communities" where rich worshippers can separate themselves from the crowds, may be counted as anti-ritual developments at most sacred place in the Muslim world. According to real estate shows and websites examined for the sake of the study, some apartments overlooking Ka'ba reached four-to-five million dollars, while accommodation in hotels exceeds the limit of three thousand dollars per night with a huge French window securing the view but totally separating the pilgrim from the rest of the Muslim community performs Hajj. To legitimize the whole process and accelerate the sales, Saudi Mufti declared that all these fancy apartments and hotel rooms and suites

are considered as part of Al-Masjid Al-Haram territory. Hence, privileged pilgrims can pray individually or in group [jama'a] without leaving their luxurious territories.[2]

The simple, equal, and humble nature of Al Hajj best represented in the white robe that all pilgrims' wear was no longer a dominating value. Performing Hajj is not only intensifying inequality but also threatened the social cohesion of Mecca's residents. The new wave of real estate around Al-Masjid Al-Haram and Al Ka'ba deliberately forced a hundred thousand residents of Central Mecca from different socioeconomic classes out of their homes.[3] Only some of the actual residents have received insufficient compensation in return. Another considerable number was left without any form of compensation as providing legal documents of their ownership proved almost impossible in a traditional culture of oral and tribal agreements. Some have ended up in slums less than a mile away from the Grand Mosque, hidden from visitors' eyes by the Abraj Al Bait Towers and other large-scale developments (Bsheer 2015). The new Mecca affects the longtime residents of the city, many of whom have been forced to leave their homes, homes that in most cases have been passed down from one generation to another. Those who have been evicted from their homes have received meager compensation in return. Many have ended up in slums and are still homeless. Now the new Mecca is designed with maximizing profits in mind, so it is meant for the rich and affluent, which has in turn driven prices up which affects both residents and pilgrims.

11.9 Urbanity in Mecca: The Triumph of Real Estate Fantasy

For a more credible understanding of Mecca's urbanity, a brief analysis of the history of development in the most significant religious city in the world is needed. Historical studies, photographic documentation, and travelers' accounts all show clearly that up to the early twentieth century, the main principle for developing Mecca was based on giving the priority for the pilgrims and all their physical, social, and spiritual needs. Lessons learned and missing opportunities. Yet and after the first oil boom in mid-70th, a radically different approach to the development of Mecca started to emerge. Mecca's Grand Mosque and neoliberalism.

The Ka'ba is the ultimate sacred place where Muslims leave their homes and visit it to do pilgrimage from every distant pass; however, the neoliberalism penetrated the sainthood and spirituality of this campus. The Ka'ba cannot be seen from a distance because of the high-rise buildings, tall buildings have been building

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[2]The practice was sanctioned by former Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia Abdulaziz ibn Abdullah ibn Baz in 1998.

[3]Trying to disseminate a positive message about considering the unprivileged sector of Mecca community, the Saudi regime has recently promotes the idea of affordable housing for non-wealthy pilgrims. Yet, this remains only propaganda and theoretical slogan as there is no incentive for developers to do so given the remarkable profit margins on upscale accommodations.

surrounding the Ka'ba, the Ka'ba lost its dimensional volumetric compared to the high-rise buildings, the ornamented modern buildings attract the observers' eyes more than the Ka'ba; the hotels surrounding the Grand Mosque will be assigned for riches who would like to enjoy with an iconic bird's eye view of the Ka'ba. This zone will be almost for a specific income stratum of international Muslims alongside the VIP persons; therefore, the pilgrimage major aim which is unity and harmony would be elusive because of the neoliberalism.

Undoubtedly, the professionalism in architecture and urban planning has been missed in the expansion of Mecca's Grand Mosque. Tall buildings have replaced the low buildings to create extra free area around the Ka'ba; this is a superficial solution and does not match with the value of Mecca's Grand Mosque. This part aims to offer solutions that are able to add further free spaces and allow pilgrims to find facilities and essential services without compromising the spiritual dimension of the place. The crane is also a symbol for the domination of architectural and urban solutions which are questionable and should be subjected to scrutiny. While observing the urban scene around the Grand Mosque and Al Ka'ba, we were obliged to pose questions regarding the validity of such vertical development in such a sacred context. Remember that we are talking about the practice of the trend in the holy places. So we cannot claim the whole religion reject the trend but it is not acceptable in the holy sites due to the importance of demonstrating the values of Islam in such places where concepts like humbleness, equality and concentration on the spiritual experience must be supported.

Using the argument of pilgrimages' needs was extensively used to justify the unprecedented real estate development adjacent to the Holy Mosque and Al Kaaba. Alraouf (2014) exposed the process of urban development around the sacred sites in Mecca and Medina by comparing its model of development with the aggressive pace of development in Las Vegas, the world capital of gambling and entertainment. Criticizing the triumph of real estate development, Alraouf argues that the governing principles of development in the two cities are almost identical. According to an increasing number of researchers (Bsheer 2015; Alraouf 2014), no justification can be accepted for transforming Mecca's adjacent urban context into a jungle of skyscrapers which severely diminish the visual and the spiritual value of Al Ka'ba.[4]

Many Saudi scholars and urban planning experts have voiced their rejection to the whole route Saudi authorities selected for the future of Mecca. The most outspoken scholar is Prof. Samy Al Angawi who described what was happening around Ka'ba a human and spiritual crime. Many other Saudis, basically scholars and intellectual in Mecca, have expressed their views about the poorly planned schemes for the holy sites and the diversion from the main role of the city as a unique spiritual center. Such scholars and activists primarily (Angawi 1988) were

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[4]Since the late 1990s, the Saudi regime has stressed the speed of construction at the expense of everything else. And the Saudi Binladen Group in charge of redevelopment in Mecca has been more than willing to comply, again given the profits that they are generating.

calling for a more sustainable development of the city. Some voices go back to the 1970s with the first oil boom and the attempt to inject the oil revenues in the development scene of the city and its Grand Mosque. Unfortunately, Saudi Arabia's royal regime either totally ignored their critical views or rarely heeded their advice.

11.10   Rituals of Hajj Between Spirituality and Hedonism

Disregarding the tongue language, skin color, race, economic standard and socio-ideological level of people, the call for gathering of Muslims from all over the world to meet and perform a specific rituals and worship Allah in a particular annually time is considered the major purpose of pilgrimage. Allah states in the Holy Quran (*And proclaim to the people the Hajj [pilgrimage]; they will come to you on foot and on every lean camel; they will come from every distant pass—That they may witness benefits for themselves and mention the name of Allah on known days over what He has provided for them of [sacrificial] animals. So eat of them and feed the miserable and poor*) Sura of Al Hajj—Verses 27 and 28. Though the variety among Muslims, the Hajj makes them feel of brotherhood and they are agreeing with worshiping the one God. However, the speed pace of life and neoliberal systems has affected the Nobel aim of that pillar. There are some manifestations reflecting the consequences of such influences; we would indicate them briefly.

- The time of Hajj has been shortened severely; so businessmen of Muslims nowadays can perform a pilgrimage only one day. Hajjis who would like to decrease the Hajj time can authorize other people whom living in Saudi Arabia to throw pebbles on the devil or sacrifice animals. Pilgrim needs spending several days to restore his spiritual tranquility. Time is necessary for enhancing the spirituality of worship of Hajj. The Hajj of one day cannot fulfill the core of pilgrimage. Undoubtedly, the Hajj of short-term derived from the religious business stemming from arranging the rituals swiftly by private agencies including logistic services, accommodation facilities, and deputation for some rituals.
- The season of Hajj has shifted to be a source of profiteering from pilgrims. The expenses needed for residential, commercial, and transportation facilities multiply during Hajj time. Pilgrims are financially blackmailed from employees in Saudi tourism. The neoliberal policies based on abandonment of the formal or public control on services offered to Hajjis allowed the merchants to drain the Pilgrim. So that, Hajj rites have been affected negatively due to the declining of pilgrims' impression regarding service quality compared to the paid fees.
- Dwindling the spiritual perception of Hajj propelled some of pilgrims to focus on the documentation of rites' moments rather than enjoying with the worship per se; therefore, we observe many of Muslims are interested in taking self-shots or videos via their smart phones and detecting these materials via social media

such as the Facebook or Twitter. These behaviors have limited the spiritual
environment of Hajj. Thus, the neoliberal strategies which are already adopted
in the religious sacred places have made Muslims could not recognize the
difference between the holy places allocated for great worship such as pil-
grimage and other places assigned for conventional tourism.

- Due to the steady increase of the number of Muslims who desire to perform
pilgrimage in the Saudi Arabia, the authorities have assigned a quota for each
country in order to manage the Hajj process efficiently. The quota of Hajj is
estimated 1000 people out of one million of the total population. However, this
quota has become a source of profiteering for some governments especially with
existence of administrative and formal corruption. Private institutions have
established a big business on this visa. So that, the visa required for the Hajj has
become so expensive; furthermore the required expenses must be afford later
like transportation, accommodation, exigencies of ritual fees such as animal
sacrifices and the food. The liberal mechanisms related to Hajj visa would ban
many Muslims aspiring for Hajj; thus, the pilgrimage would be reserved for the
elite. This result contradicts the major purpose of Hajj which advocates the
mingling among all Muslims regardless any worldly considerations.

- Particularly in Saudi Arabia, the neoliberal policies adopted in organizing of the
Hajj have led to catastrophes. Hundreds of pilgrims died through overcrowding
and stampede in the season of 2015 as shown in Fig. 11.6. Although Saudi
officials use 100,000 police and large numbers of stewards to ensure safety and
help those who lose their way, the horror at the Hajj happens every season. The
reason is not linked with the security enhancements as much as it is related to
the neoliberal shifts in the Hajj. For example, there are contractors for facili-
tating of the Hajj through providing services to pilgrims. According to the
annual flow of Hajjis, the contractors have built their arbitrages on the expected
annual number of pilgrims. However, the number of Hajjis was decreased in the
last season (the Hajj year of 2015) due to unstable political situations occurring
in neighboring countries such as Syria, Egypt, Yemen, Iraq, and Libya; some of
contractors therefore excused management of pilgrims' affairs. Some of them
lowered the facilities offered to Hajjis, while some other merged some groups
together in order to tackle the declining of pilgrims' number. So that, lacking of
organizing with significant chaos caused many problems which among is
pushing of pilgrims during the rituals of Hajj in 2015.

- Depending on the previous point where the contractors apologized for facili-
tating some of Hajj pilgrims' matters, the rejection of contractors for Hajj
processing caused delaying the reservation of hotels and apartments; therefore,
the belated comers of pilgrims had to book their accommodation according to
highest price. An irresponsible neoliberal policy may drain pilgrims' pleasure
due to the greed of privatization or it may decrease their spiritual power which
the sacred place may confer it to Hajj pilgrims.

Fig. 11.6 Hundreds were killed in a stampede at the Mina near the holy city of Mecca (the authors)

11.11   Conclusion

The neoliberalism avails inevitably the economic development due to the deregulation of bureaucracy on the economic schemes. However, the implementation of neoliberal policies in some countries lacking the democracy, transparency, and the legal and public supervision would backfire on the economic sector. Monopoly, commercial greed, and manipulating the level of customers' services are the associated vulnerabilities with the neoliberal policies in those countries. Therefore, the potential results of neoliberal policies are linked with the political conditions of any state as well as the public awareness of citizens.

The system of governing in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is not qualified to control the neoliberal policies. The public supervision and legislative authorities have no power to resist some royal decisions. Some of individuals of the royal family are partners in the companies working in the Hajj-organizing companies. Thus, the deficiencies of privatization cannot be tackled easily in so far as the political system lacks transparency and legislative monitoring.

Manipulating the sacred and historic places via any policies and under any pretext is an ethical crime. The cultural and spiritual values which may be obtained by visiting the holy and historic places cannot be compensated nor be equal to fiscal profits. Moreover, if the historic and sacred place could not access to the hearts of

pilgrims, the spatial power for keeping visitors' influx to that place would decrease; hence, the religious tourism may witness an economic recession.

The neoliberal policies adopted in modern architecture around the Grand Mosque in Mecca have been marketed as a triumph of the religious tourism. In fact, the tall modern forms around the Ka'ba including hotels, apartments, markets, and retail shops aim at commercial profiteering rather than providing services to pilgrims. The luxury compound locating close to the Kaaba will be occupied by elite who can pay more to enjoy the panoramic view on the Ka'ba. There is no wonder that a number of Saudi princes have own apartments in the clock tower in spite of these apartments might not be inhabited except few days during the season of Hajj.

The big modern constructions which are underway in the Grand Mosque unveil the worst face of the neoliberalism on community and architecture. The holiest place for the one-third of population in the world has been shifted to be commercial scheme rather than a worship place. The development which disregarded the Ka'ba dimensions spatially has impacted negatively on the visual image of the Ka'ba as well as pilgrims' perception of it.

This section may summarize the conclusion around the relationship between the religious holy areas and the architectural paradigms of neoliberalism. A major emphasis on the spiritual experience in Al Hajj including how pilgrims travel to Mecca and how we live during Hajj is needed. These processes are part of the spirituality experience. Toward an alternative approach to development around the holy sites in Mecca. Introducing the concept of "Spiritual Protectorate".

This clock tower was the engine that basically propelled the massive redevelopment of central Mecca and encouraged global capital to invest in the city despite the global economic stagnation. Redevelopment projects in central Mecca have been purely driven by capital interest and profits.

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Chapter 12
The Influence of Neo-liberalist Policies on Istanbul: The Theory of 'Bigness' and Monstrous Monumentalities in the New Skyline of the City

Emine Özen Eyüce

> *There is nothing more dreadful than imagination without taste.*
> — Goethe (1749–1832)

Abstract Turkey has recently been witnessing the restructuring of its urban space under the influence of neo-liberal policies. As a result of the acceptance of the construction industry's pivotal role in economic growth, construction and other related industries, such as transportation, manufacturing, and mining, were earmarked for development after 2002, in accordance with the policies of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP). The accumulation of capital and the financialization of the construction industry resulted in the restructuring and recommodification of urban land through large-scale urban projects. Increasing rapidly, these projects have transformed construction scale from building to urban scale. These exaggerated sizes, annihilating the existing building traditions and the urban pattern of the city, create abnormalities not only in physical structure but also in the social and cultural environments of İstanbul. The discussion of this article will focus on an evaluation of contemporary 'large-scale urban projects' regarding their size, form, and context. The structure of the discussion will be based on the theories of 'Bigness' by Rem Koolhaas as explained in his book *SMLXL*, 'The Sublime' by Burke, and 'Monstrosity' by Foucault as explained in his lecture series-The Abnormal.

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12.1 Neo-liberalist Policies and Architecture

One of the everlasting issues of architecture is its responsibility in creating built environments for the well-being of human beings. Architecture is defined as creating (designing and constructing) the built environment at various scales and complexities from a single space to complex urban spatial organizations to meet the needs of users and for the benefit of human beings. The built environment, on the other hand, is not only a physical domain as a product of a creative and distinctive discipline of architecture, but also is a place where all the physical and non-physical agencies of the economic, social and cultural dynamics of society are embodied. Any intervention to this embodiment creates, in return, new alliances and assemblages in the form of both physical and nonphysical organizations of the city.

In the domain of contemporary architecture, architects are not the masters of designing built environments as they were before. Rem Koolhaas claims that:

> Architecture is a hazardous mixture of omnipotence and impotence. Ostensibly involved in 'shaping' the world, for their thoughts to be mobilized architects depend on the provocations of others—clients, individual or institutional. (OMA et al. 1997, p. xix)

Therefore, the degree of power that architects have in the designing and decision-making processes of the built environment has been limited to their relationship with other power structures. As Mirkenberg stated, the relationship between power and architecture can be constructed in two principle ways:

> A traditional approach follows a functional logic: buildings urban design, and in particular official architecture for governmental use find a form which reflects both the underlying purposes and the underlying ideology of the regime … The other approach reverses this relationship. In this way, architecture can be seen not only as providing visual and spatial means of legitimation for a political regime or elite, but also as a genuine act of constituting political reality. (Mirkenberg 2014, p. 2)

The relationship between architecture and power mentioned by Mirkenberg has become the legitimation of the economic policies combined with the political realities parallel to the emerging changes after the 1990s, both in Turkey and globally. Developments like the end of the cold war, the dissolution of the Soviet Socialist Republic, and advances in digital technologies and communications, have resulted in changes and transformations in many nations. Economic booms and expansion have influenced almost all the metropolitan cities whether close or distant, under the new power relations network called 'Globalization.' Antony Giddens claims that globalization can be defined as: 'the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.' (Giddens 1991, p. 64). In literature, the word globalization has been used interchangeably with neo-liberalism, which is mainly economic in its implications. In other words, the economy is the prime determinant of all developments within the society in neo-liberal restructuring. George argues that:

Neo-liberals have focused on three primary points: free trade in goods and services, free circulation of capital, and freedom of investments. Thus, neo-liberal globalization means that there has been an emphasis placed on exchanges across national borders, financialization, and the development of international organizations. (George 1999, p. 6)

In other words, neo-liberalism fosters the free flow of capital beyond national borders and accumulation in selected metropolitan centers with the help of the instant exchange of data. The decision-making agencies of multinational corporations, instead of nation-state's policies and agencies, have organized the distribution of capital in the metropolitan centers of the world. Therefore, the embodiment of the accumulated capital in the urban space shows no diversification regarding context and culture. The architectural designs of glass towers, gated communities, hotels with many stars, and shopping centers are almost the same in all metropolitan cities from London to Dubai, from Singapore to İstanbul.

The word 'globalization' also became one of the key concepts in the architectural agenda towards the end of the twentieth Century. It took its place in architectural discourses and even in the architectural curricula, with many articles and books having been written on the subject. The debate was primarily about the influence of globalization on local/regional architectures, the loss of local characteristics and identities, both in architectural end-products and cities. The modern debate, on the other hand, fundamentally centers on the relationship between architecture and power structures as mentioned above, due, in particular, to neo-liberalist capitalist developments taking place in the world.

12.2   The Architecture of Neo-liberal Policies in Turkey

12.2.1   Neo-liberalist Policies and the Construction Industry in Turkey

Neo-liberal restructuring of the economy in Turkey started as early as the mid-1980s, which was 'one of the earliest cases of neo-liberal restructuring associated with the rise of the "Washington Consensus"' (Önis 2006, p. 239). After the Justice and Development Party (AKP) won parliamentary elections in 2002, a new process in the organization of urban space and the regeneration of real estate began. In many countries, 'governments tend to use construction investments as an instrument to stabilize the economy, and hence they give the sector a crucial role in developmental strategies.' (Giang and Pheng 2011). Similarly, since it has been thought as essential in the growth of the economy, AKP governments have directly involved in the construction industry in the new legislative arrangements that have vastly influenced architecture and urban design practices in Turkey. The Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKI), established in 1984 for the provision of social housing projects, has become one of the significant actors in the construction industry. The regulations related to the duties and authorities of TOKI

regarding housing production and decision-making mechanisms were increased after the year 2002. A great expansion was achieved via legal regulations and arrangements in 2004, gathering the duties and authorities under the single roof of TOKİ. Extremely empowered by these regulations, 'TOKİ's share in housing provision, which had been only 0.6% between 1984 and 2002, rapidly rose to 24.7% in the year 2004.' (Karatepe 2013, p. 3).

Turkey, with a young population, is a rapidly urbanizing country. While the rate of those residing in urban centers was 77.3% of the total population in 2012, today it is 91.3% of the total population, with the significant effect of the establishment of metropolitan municipalities (TOKI 2016a, b). The construction sector's importance comes from the increasing need and demand for housing.

Together with accommodating this growing population in decent homes in urban centers, five challenges have been defined for housing provision among the duties of TOKI. The conditions of the existing gecekondu areas created illegally at the periphery of urban centers by the rapid urbanization process in the 1950s, as a second challenge, have also increased the housing deficiency. The third challenge in housing provision is due to the housing need of the low-income groups and the poor citizens. Being a disaster-prone area, reconstruction of existing housing stock in structurally safe conditions has also been another necessity in housing provision. Lastly, the age and quality of the existing housing stock necessitated new housing. According to the data of the Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat), 'The total number of buildings throughout Turkey is 19 million 209 thousand 928 (approximately 20 million), and 40% of these buildings are shanty, and 67% lack settlement permit, and also it is estimated that within the prospective 20 years, approximately 6.7 million housing units shall be demolished and reconstructed throughout the country' (TOKI 2016a, b). Therefore, besides the empowerment of TOKI as an agent of the public sector, private developers in the construction sector have also been encouraged through several legal arrangements to initiate the large-scale urban transformation projects. The mega-projects, as they are called in Turkey, differ from contemporary global examples due to their aims and processes. Basically, to achieve the political policies, many legislative changes were made after 2002 elections. Basically, being a restructuring, deregulating and privatization process, these legal arrangements had political goals parallel to the neo-liberal agenda of AKP as explained in a detailed classification of the laws and regulations by Osman Balaban. According to Balaban's classification, these legal arrangements include: 'new land policies, production of profit-oriented urban mega-projects, legalization of illegally built squatter settlements with regeneration projects, reallocation of authority to private sector and also relaxing of legal regulations and restrictions in legislation on conservation of cultural heritage and natural environment.' (Balaban 2012, p. 31).

Balaban also asserts that 'these legal arrangements can be considered as a form of deregulation in a legal and institutional framework for urban planning, urban development, and environmental conservation.' (Balaban 2012, p. 29). Through these arrangements, the sites with potential for tourism and recreation, natural

environments, forests, mining, etc. are appropriated by private developers with no concern given to the sustainable development of the environment in Turkey.

The effects of large-scale urban development projects in Turkey have been discussed extensively in the literature regarding the interrelationship of the economy and the construction industry there. Although building in a high-rise fashion has its economic logic due to the distribution of the fixed cost per unit, it has been predominantly postulated that their impact on physical transformations, such as verticalization, densification and the privatization of public land in an urban environment will cause problems in the future. Together with the verticalization, the increase in social segregation, as in gated communities, started to loosen social relations. İstanbul has continued to be one of the cities most influenced by to the increasing large-scale urban projects developed in the process of neo-liberal policies.

12.2.2 A Short History of Architecture and Urban Transformation in İstanbul

Concurrently with other globalizing cities that integrating into worldwide transnational networks, İstanbul also lived through a construction boom during the 1990s. This period was characterized by short-term capital in-and-outflows, which led to 'boom-bust cycles of volatile economic activity' in Turkey (Macovei 2009). Over the last decade, however, with the aim of lessening the damage after a possible prospective earthquake in İstanbul, a new construction boom started around 2003 with the enhancements of legislative arrangements facilitated by the neo-liberal policies of the Government as explained above.

İstanbul, once the ruling city of Ottoman Empire, lost its place after the capital of newly established Republic of Turkey was moved to Ankara in 1923. The period maintaining 'national economic sovereignty' from 1923 to 1950, the government's economic policies resulted in étatism. In this period, the public sector dominated economic activity through the strategic establishments owned by the state. In the early phases of this period, the First National Style, inherited from the nineteenth-century nationalist approaches prevailing all over the world, continued in İstanbul. Although construction activity decreased parallel to the world economic crisis at the beginning of the 1930s, the 1950s were important for İstanbul regarding the changing characteristics of the period. Due to the increasing share of the private sector in the economy, and the withdrawal of state planning, the profiles of the construction sector, and the role of architects and their clients gradually changed. Although there was a significant public sector in Ankara, as a consequence of liberalist economic policies, projects organized and constructed formerly by the State started to be developed by private enterprise resulting in the development of architectural offices in İstanbul. In the process of peripheralization to the West, İstanbul regained the identity of being both a cultural and economic center.

In fact, the roots of its metropolitan development and the first examples of high-rise developments go back to 1930s.

Henry Prost, who, in 1937, during the early period of the Turkish Republic prepared Istanbul's masterplan, proposed an urban green connection between the Taksim area via Maçka to Dolmabahçe, in order to create an urban space for public use. He also underlined the role of such a cultural area and the construction of new hotels in promoting tourism (Altınışık 2016, p. 317). Despite these prospective ideas, the construction of new hotels would not be possible until the 1950s. The Hilton Hotel was the first sign of the realization of this change and was an indicator of changing economic policies in the 1950s due to accelerating investment in the tourism sector. The Hilton Hotel, designed by SOM/Gordon Bunshaft and Sedat Hakkı Eldem, reflects the architectural characteristics of the period with its horizontal prismatic geometry sited on the three-dimensional topography of the urban green of the Prost Plan. As a result, 'both physical and qualitative cleavage takes place in the urban public space that has a series of codes defined by the actors of Republican period for the representation of the State' (Altınışık 2016, p. 320) (Fig. 12.1).

The same era witnessed the realization of the first two high-rise buildings of a spectacular city, formerly famous for its mosques and minarets, namely, Taksim Vakıflar Oteli and the Harbiye Orduevi. The first, known today as Ceylan Intercontinental, started construction in 1959 as a result of a project by the group named AHE (Kemal Ahmet Aru, Tekin Aydın, Hande Çağlar, Yalçın Emiroğlu, Altay Erol, M. Ali Handan) winning a competition under the presidency of Rolf Gutbroad due to it being 'the best project evaluating the environmental conditions' (Altınışık 2016, p. 326). The 17-storey building was not completed until 1975. The second is the 18-storey Harbiye Orduevi, designed by Metin Hepgüler on a site to the north of the Hilton Hotel building. All three buildings were developed as state enterprise on the site named 'No.2 park,' and planned as a public space connecting Taksim to Dolmabahçe in Prost's Masterplan (Figs. 12.2 and 12.3).

Fig. 12.1 The Hilton Hotel (built in 1952) today (on the right). *Source* Özen Eyüce

Fig. 12.2 Taksim Intercontinental Hotel 1958–1975. *Source* Özen Eyüce

Fig. 12.3 Harbiye Ordu Evi. *Source* Özen Eyüce

During the 1950s, the urban structure continued to grow towards the north with the help of the Taksim-Harbiye connection proposed in the Prost Plan. This sprawl in return transformed the single-centered city into a multi-centered city with the addition of new districts of luxurious housing areas, both detached and medium-rise

multi-story apartments. Another characteristic development of the period between the 1950s and the 1960s was an illegal peripheral growth of all city centers in Turkey, due to the migration of the rural population. Parallel to the liberalist policies of the 1950s, the increasing investments industry created new job opportunities, increasing the number of immigrants in return. These migrants lived in squatter (gecekondu) settlements built on public lands around the city. Although they were illegal housing at the beginning and only legalized subsequently, they were 'settlements of hope' due to their potential to grow in time into a self-help development of urban vernacular housing. Keyder stated that living in these settlements and belonging to a neighborhood with relatives could also be seen as 'certificates of mutuality and cooperation.' (Keyder 2005, p. 129).

While the 1970s were a time of limited architectural development, the İstanbul of the 1980s regained its former importance as a cultural and financial center. Another development taking place in the 1980s was the construction of new business centers along the main arteries like Barbaros Boulevard and the Zincirlikuyu-Levent–Maslak Corridor (Buyukdere Street). Together with the establishment of a stock exchange and financial centers, İstanbul became the center for the control of production, consumption, and distribution in Turkey. Istanbul was one of the most preferred cities for investors being seen as 'the "rising star" of the entire Middle East for real-estate and property investors.' (Wolf 2005).

İstanbul entered the twenty-first century with one of the most debated architectural examples of high-rise buildings: the Taksim International Tourism and Business Center, also called Süzer Plaza, designed by Doruk Pamir. It is the first example of the restructuring of urban space by private enterprise investments as a result of legal arrangements for the tourism sector. In a historical setting, a 135-m high building, just in front of a historical Casern and the Hilton Hotel overlooks and defaces the silhouette of the Bosphorus. 'Architect asserts that the highness of the building, not obstructing the view of the buildings behind, fits into the context with its verticality in a city of towers like İstanbul' (Altınışık 2016, p. 333) (Fig. 12.4).
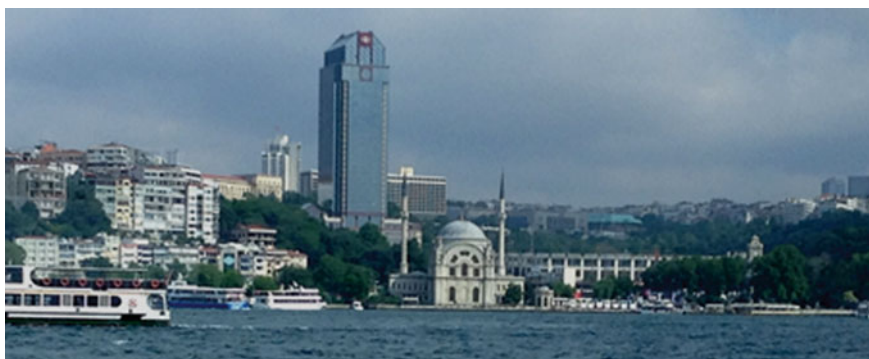

Fig. 12.4 Süzer Plaza 1987–2001. *Source* Özen Eyüce

Fig. 12.5 İstanbul's New Business Center, Büyükdere Street, 2015. *Source* Özen Eyüce

Eventually, after 2002, the increasing pace of construction investments due to the changes in political and economic policies as explained above, resulted in the extensive development of high-rise buildings beyond singular examples (Fig. 12.5). The Zincirlikuyu-Levent-Maslak Corridor (Buyukdere Street) became the stage for grotesque architectural edifices.

Subsequently, almost every day a new colossal or mega-project termed an urban transformation project was added to the urban environment eradicating its existing pattern, mostly in the form of large-scale high-rise building complexes on both sides of Bosphorus.

These mega-projects, 'creating an artificial strangeness as a strategy for architectural attention from the public,' (Duliere and Wong 2010, p. 15) and competing with each other, have affected not only the spatial structure of the city but also disturb the skyline and identity of the city (Fig. 12.6).

Fig. 12.6 The New Silhouette of the City of Towers: İstanbul 2015. *Source* Oktay Akdeniz

12.3 Architecture of Bigness

Increasing magnitudes in all sectors of life were the general characteristic of the world in the 1990s. A book written by Robert J. Shiller, *Irrational Exuberance*, named after a speech that was given in 1995 by Alan Greenspan, Chairman of Federal Reserve Board, summarized the characteristic of the 1990s stock markets. Almost at the same time, Rem Koolhaas published his book *SMLXL* in 1994, based on his previous mythic book *Delirious New York* first published in 1978. The book documents the architecture of Manhattan as 'an entrepreneurial blend of fantasy and pragmatism.' (Dunham-Jones 2013, p. 6). Koolhaas, excepting Manhattan as 'the Rosetta Stone of the twentieth century,' tried to show in his book how a city as: 'a product of an unformulated theory—Manhattanism—has come to embody the urbanistic ideology that has fed on the splendors and miseries of the metropolitan condition—hyperdensity—without losing its faith in modern culture.' (Koolhaas 1994, p. 10).

In fact, it was the embodiment of the 'culture of congestion'. Koolhaas argued that the metropolis needs/deserves its specialized architecture (Koolhaas 1994, p. 293). Influenced by the skyscrapers of Manhattan and growing globalization, and experiencing its impacts in Britain, he claimed that globalization, besides many opportunities, was redefining both the way architecture is produced and that which architecture produces. He also advocated investigating its potentialities.

Later on, theorizing 'the Bigness or the problem of large' in *SMLXL,* Koolhaas paved the way for significant object-buildings to be seen as mainstream in the 1990s. Ellen Dunham-Jones attaching the term 'irrational exuberance' to Koolhaas, emphasizes his success 'in navigating the intersection of the pragmatic corporate sector, on the one hand, and the "delirious" and volatile realm of desire and possibility, on the other.' (Dunham-Jones 2013, p. 3). For Koolhaas, 'Bigness' is an unavoidable situation in contemporary metropolitan cities and 'beyond a certain scale, architecture acquires the properties of Bigness.' (OMA et al. 1997, p. 495). This new architecture of Bigness needed its own theory and he claimed that this bigness 'instigates a regime of complexity,' and 'a promiscuous proliferation of events' generating a 'programmatic alchemy' between diverse elements and 'inspires the creation of new possibilities.' (OMA et al. 1997, p. 512). He further claims that 'the "art" of architecture is useless in Bigness and beyond signature, it means to surrender technologies, engineers, contractors, manufacturers; to politics; to others.' (OMA et al. 1997, p. 514). Bigness, 'incapable of establishing relationships with the classical city, no longer needs the city: it competes with the city; it represents the city; it preempts the city; or better still, it is the city.' (OMA et al. 1997, p. 515). Therefore, the theory of Bigness has been reducing not only the importance of the city physically, but also the nonphysical alliances inside it by pressing the city into a single building. In fact, this bigness, like Manhattanism, is where efficiency intersects with the sublime, as he explained in *Delirious New York* (Koolhaas 1994, p. 174). 'Bigness, in a sense, surpasses all the banal qualities of a site through a sublime staging of a great mass of people and new kinds of modern

programs, wrapped within a gigantic, iconic envelope.' (Cooreman 2006, p. 72). Here, the notion of the sublime reappears in architecture.

'Big building' is not a new issue, of course. The history of architecture is full of monumental buildings. In the 1960s in particular, 'Europe's highest,' and 'Europe's longest,' were the mostly used mottos for many buildings. Also in the nineteenth century, due to transformations taking place in sociocultural and technological areas of life, the proliferation of new construction materials and techniques have made it possible to construct high-rise and long-span buildings, such as the Eiffel Tower and the Firth of Forth Bridge. When the 1000 ft-high Eiffel Tower was built in 1889 as a monument representing the one hundredth anniversary of the French Revolution, it displayed the state of the art scientific and technological developments of nineteenth-century France. On the other hand, it was criticized by its opponents as published in the newspaper, *Le Temps* in 1887. The 'Protest against the Tower of Monsieur Eiffel':

> We writers, painters, sculptors, architects, fervent lovers of the beauties of Paris, hitherto unblemished, protest with all our might in the name of slighted French taste against the erection, in the heart of our capital, of the useless and monstrous Eiffel Tower, which public ill-feeling, often inspired by good sense and the spirit of justice, has already christened the Tower of Babel. …and for twenty years we shall see the hateful shadow of this hateful riveted iron column spread like an ink stain. (Benevelo 1977, p. 113)

Guy de Maupassant also criticized it as:

> this high and skinny pyramid of iron ladders, this giant ungainly skeleton upon a base that looks built to carry a colossal monument of Cyclops, but which just peters out into a ridiculous thin shape like a factory chimney. (LaTourEiffel 2010)

In a similar way, the poet and artist William Morris declared of the Firth of Forth Bridge in 1884: 'There will never be an architecture in iron, every improvement in machinery being uglier and uglier until they reach the supremest specimen of all ugliness.' (Trayona 2003, p. 25). Although accepted afterward as a source of pride in their respective countries, these edifices were criticized as being 'ugly' according to notions of 'the sublime' and the 'beauty' of aesthetic theory which was active in the visual arts in those days. On the other hand, these buildings were examples of a success story in the struggle against the laws of nature, which was a result of a long-standing philosophical problem of the relationship between man and nature.

It is evident that the notion of the sublime, through splendor and magnificence, is also inherent in the concept of Bigness, as Koolhaas mentions in *Delirious Manhattan*. The 'Big buildings' of the contemporary architecture constructed with new programmatic hybridizations/proximities/frictions/overlaps/superpositions and wrapped within a gigantic, iconic envelope create oscillations of sentiments between admirations and rebellion. Edmund Burke cited in his book, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757): 'Greatness of dimension is a powerful cause of the sublime. …..it is not common to consider in what ways greatness of dimension, the vastness of extent or quantity, has the most striking effect. … The extension is either in length, height, or depth.' (Burke 2005, p. 147). 'Whatever, therefore, is terrible with regard to sight, is

sublime too.' (Burke 2005, p. 131). Therefore, before analyzing these large-scale urban projects in İstanbul, it is better to understand the notion of the sublime.

12.4 The Sublime and Nature

The discussion of the sublime, an important notion in visual arts during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, has a trajectory of changing sentiment from a 'pejorative passion' to a 'fascination' towards infinity, vastness, magnificence, and obscurity. These were the necessary properties of the sources of the sublime as cited by Burke.

The origin of the notion of the sublime goes back to Longinus's treatise *On the Sublime* published in 1554, and originally entitled as Peri Hypsous (elevated, lofty), datable to the first centuries of the ancient Roman Empire (Cuddon 1998, p. 875). The Longinian notion of the sublime stems from rhetoric, and in composition and effect, it excites, elevates and persuades the audience. The use of the dialectic of the sublime and the beautiful in the visual arts started with Edmund Burke's book mentioned above. The sublime in that period was applied to nature in respect of wishing to bring back the harmony of man with it. Despite their presentation as opposites on some occasions, the sublime and beauty are potentially co-existent qualities. They were also considered to be the determining factors behind different approaches to style and composition in the arts. The sublime is always considered to be generating a higher order of emotional responses in humans by Romanticists. Romanticism, a political and cultural movement and 'a protest on behalf of the organic view of nature,' has had a profound effect on ideas about the relationship between the individual and society, and attitudes toward nature (Shaw 2008, p. 66).

The notions of the sublime and beauty of aesthetic theory in the eighteenth century have been repressed during the twentieth century due to the replacing concepts of rationality and functionality in modern architecture. Therefore, even if the 1960s witnessed the idea of the building the 'highest' and the 'longest' as a result of developing technologies and increasing housing demand, discussions on the sublime were repressed until the 1990s. The idea of nature, accepted as an antidote to culture, was also suppressed by technological developments that foster humanity's power over nature.

Western culture viewed nature as 'the other,' in terms of culture and also as being subordinate to people (Altman and Chemers 1984, p. 16), therefore, it acted so as 'to conquer the wilderness' due to the changes or transformations going on in Europe from the seventeenth century. Florence Kluckhohn (1953), as mentioned in the book Culture and Environment by Altman and Chemers, described three general orientations to nature held by people in different cultures, at different times in history:

> People as subjugated to nature; People as over nature; and People as an inherent part of nature. (Altman and Chemers 1984, p. 15)

In medieval attitudes, being afraid of the powers of nature, man subjugated to nature. Forests, mountains, and the wilderness were places of fear. The medieval forest was also the source of monsters or the bestiary man and created emotions of fear in people. Nash asserted that 'the most important imaginary denizen of the wilderness of Medieval Europe was the semi-human Wild Man…..this wild man lived deep in the forest.' (Altman and Chemers 1984, p. 17). In a similar way, Tuan stated that 'negative attitudes toward mountains lasted well into the eighteenth century and not until the nineteenth century did feelings toward mountains begin to be more positive.' (Altman and Chemers 1984). The subjugation to nature and being afraid of it, gradually evolved into the domination and even exploitation of nature, together with increases in knowledge as a result of scientific discoveries. Even today, one of the most critical struggles facing architects, both literally and symbolically, is to overcome or to control the forces of nature (gravity, the wind, etc.) to provide healthy spaces for the well-being of human beings. What has changed is the old fear of nature.

It is apparent that manipulation of scale, monumentality, and light are important issues of power used to evoke the sublime in architecture. Notably, in the eighteenth century, the sublime entered architectural discourse as 'universally efficacious language of form, therefore, a potential universal instrument of communication.' (Kirk 2008, p. 11). The abstracted forms of Claude Nicolas Ledoux and Étienne-Louis Boullée (1728–1799), the architects known as the 'First Moderns,' are examples of this approach. Within the philosophical climate of the period, Boullée confessed that, 'I have refused to confine myself to the exclusive study of our ancient masters and have instead tried, through the study of Nature to broaden my ideas on my profession.' (Boullee 2013, p. 82). Discussing the importance of nature, he continues, 'It is impossible to create architectural imagery without a profound knowledge of nature; the Poetry of Architecture lies in natural effects. That is what makes architecture an art and that art is sublime.' (Boullee 2013, p. 88). And as in nature, 'the art of giving grandeur in architecture lies in the disposition of the volumes … the arrangement should be such that we can absorb at a glance the multiplicity of the separate elements that constitute the whole … In a large ensemble, the secondary components must be skillfully combined to give greatest possible opulence that produces splendor and magnificence.' (Boullee 2013, p. 89). In other words, the organization of the parts seriously affects the perception of the sublime.

Being afraid of nature, individuals and societies created virtual creatures as personification of a certain cultural moment. Both notions, the sublime and the monstrous, have some common characteristics in their effects on spectators as being impressive due to their bigness, greatness or immensity. 'While "the sublime" awakes a great and awful sensation in mind" and "fills the mind with delightful horror,"' (Burke 2005, p. 110) monstrous frightens, terrifies and astonishes due to its distinctive, unattractive formal qualities. Monsters and monstrosity have not been considered much in architecture, even though some of the concepts used to designate monsters, such as prodigious, big, gigantic, colossal, enormous, etc., are also directly used to define the sublime in architectural history. When Prince

Charles criticized a towering extension to the National Gallery in 1984, as 'what is proposed is like a monstrous carbuncle on the face of a much-loved and elegant friend.' (Prince Charles 1984), the term re-entered the architectural discourse.

12.5 Monsters and Monstrosity

The existing literature on monsters confirms that the words 'monster,' 'monstrosity,' and 'monstrousness' all have the same etymological root. Monsters are, as explained by Cohen, 'cultural products, either entirely imaginative or a designation made in relation to living organisms.' (Cohen 1996, p. 4). It is evident that every culture and all historical periods breed monsters. The word *'monster'* comes from the old French monstre, monstre as 'malformed animal or human, a creature afflicted with a birth defect,' and directly from the Latin monstrum which means 'divine omen, portent, sign; also from the root mon+(ére) which means to remind or warn.' (Merriam Webster Dictionary 1993, p. 1465). Moreover, according to Augustinus, the word monster 'evidently comes from monstrare "to show forth or demonstrate," because they show by signifying something out of the ordinary.' (Kirk 2008, p. 7). The meaning of the word extended by late fourteenth century to imaginary beings composed of fragments of different animals. In Medieval and Renaissance times, monsters were thought of as 'the bestial man' which were 'signs of God's wrath against human sin,' and even more, 'they were announced as greater punishment to come, as the end of the world.' (Thanem 2006, p. 166). According to Aristotle, the monster is an error of nature which was mistaken about the matter. Monsters, although more attractive in the past, are still part of today's cultural environment.

Cultures never create monsters ex nihilo, but they extract 'from various forms' of existing beings and then reassemble those parts creating the monster. Preoccupation with monsters and monstrosity increased after Georges Canguilhem's seminal book *Le Normal et la the Pathologique* first published in 1943. Canguilhem, who was a philosopher and historian of life sciences, had a crucial influence on medicine and biology. Foucault also included the notion of monstrosity in his lecture 'The Abnormal' at the College des France in 1974, influenced by Canguihem's essay 'Monstrosity and the Monstrous' in 1962.

For Foucault, monsters are the 'mixtures' of two species such as a man with the feet of a bird. In other words, it is a phenomenon of 'hybridity' or 'otherness within sameness.' Foucault claims that:

> the monster is the transgression of natural limits, the transgression of classifications; … there is monstrosity only when the confusion comes up against, overturns, or disturbs civil, canon, or religious law. (Foucault 2003, p. 63)

Therefore, designation as monster indicates a violation of the law (natural or civil) or in other words, monsters of human/animal creatures (bestial man), conjoined twins (Siamese twins) are outside classification in the law. According to both

Canguilhem and Foucault, monstrosity was understood to be an irregularity in the body up until the end of eighteenth century. This abnormality of the body as 'aberrant corporeality' is different from the deformity or disability which upsets the natural order within the accepted limits of civil or canon laws (Sharpe 2007, p. 385).

Until the end of eighteenth century, the breach of natural law was enough for monstrosity and as the natural manifestation of the unnatural brought with it an indication of criminality. Therefore, for Canguilhem, monstrosity and monstrousness are a 'duality of concepts,' which is 'at the service of two forms of normative judgment, the medical and the legal.' (Wright 2013, s. 3). The relationship of monstrosity and criminality reversed by the nineteenth century and monstrosity was systematically suspected of being behind all criminality. Canguilhem argues that the corporeal monstrosity has been eradicated and controlled by modern science due, in particular, to the nineteenth-century science of teratology (the scientific study of congenital abnormalities and abnormal formations) which set out the boundaries of biological norms through experimental interventions in embryo development. In fact, with their irregular and transgressive bodies, human monsters, directly and clearly illustrate the main purpose, that is, to provide the limits of what constitutes acceptability for human identity (Wright 2013). Parallel to the studies in natural sciences French natural historian Georges-Louis Leclerc Buffon classified monsters in the eighteenth century according to:

their size—monstrum per excessum (something too large or with too many),
their malfunctioning—monstrum per defectum,
their place within the classification—per fabricam alienam (outside the species).
(Kirk 2008, p. 7)

Based on the above discussions, it is possible to state that the excessive size of the large-scale urban regeneration projects, the difficulty of classifying them within a certain typology and their hybridity of functional and formal designs are the basic characteristics with which to evaluate them as the new monsters of İstanbul.

12.6   Afterword: Contemporary Architecture in İstanbul: Sublimity and Monstrous Monumentalities

Writing an afterword to such a complicated topic, as a result of bringing entirely different theories and notions together without creating a monster, is also a monstrous act. But, to discuss the architecture of neo-liberal economic and political terms of 'Bigness,' 'Sublimity,' and 'Monstrosity' is a necessity in order to criticize contemporary architectural developments for the sake of architecture. Although it started with the wishes of creating a more utopian and humanized world—globalization of sources, information, etc.—the end product is a dystopia, as in Goethe's words 'There is nothing more dreadful than imagination without taste.' Humanity

has always tried to reach that which is unreachable. As in Peter Bruegel the Elder's painting *The Tower of Babel*, within the relationship of the individual, society and nature, humanity has always created new buildings getting higher and higher, like the mountains in architectural history. Sometimes being afraid of and at other times astonished at their vastness and immensity due to religious or spiritual emotions, mountains have attracted human beings. Koolhaas asserts 'Bigness is ultimate in architecture' today as explained above. He also asserts 'to broach Bigness is the one given by Climbers of Mount Everest: "Because it's there."' (OMA et al. 1997, p. 495) Therefore, these large-scale urban development projects can also be evaluated within the framework of the mountainous bigness creating fear. Indeed, not all big buildings create that fear, and conversely, due to their surpassing excellence, they are sources of the sublime as in all monstrous beings carrying both the positive and negative. On one side, bigness shows the abilities and the power of cultures, and on the other, sins behind the screens. The Eiffel Tower is accepted today as an achievement with its uniqueness symbolizing nineteenth century art and technology. Hence, the problem is not only the problem of bigness, but also of whether they are the creators of a dystopic environment or not. In fact, when Koolhaas discusses Manhattans skyscrapers, he also mentions their connectedness to the context at the pedestrian level.

Therefore, the first question is whether or not these colossal buildings of contemporary İstanbul are architectural triumphs or grotesque monstrosities? If we accept them as grotesque monstrosities, then the second question follows of what makes them monstrous? If the contemporary architectural edifices are evaluated regarding the common characteristics of monsters summarized above, most of the architectural developments taking place in İstanbul, especially those realized after 2004, must be accepted as monsters. The reasons are listed below.

Fig. 12.7 Change of scale in the existing housing environment. *Source* Orhan Kolukısa

A monstrous body is a cultural construct and projection. Large-scale urban transformation projects in Turkey and especially in İstanbul signify the construction boom created after 2004 by the neo-liberal policies of the AKP. Though the necessity of housing is a reality due to increasing population, the new constructions are not exactly at locations where they are really needed such as those at risk in a possible earthquake. The development of large-scale housing has mostly been in areas where the preference and affordability is higher due to the presence of higher-income groups. This creates a polarization and disintegration between the social groups within the city (Fig. 12.7).

Monsters are outside natural limits with their transgressive bodies. The large-scale urban transformation projects in İstanbul, although legalized by the laws changed for special cases, violate existing building traditions, which is a monstrous act in itself. Together with the increased construction area per square meter or the increase in the allowable number of storeys based on legal changes, the buildings are out of scale and disproportionate with the surrounding urban pattern, particularly in their relation to the human scale. Despite the oversizing of these towers and the increase in number of the housing units which are getting smaller in size, the number of households and the densities per area are increasing. Unfortunately, it's hard to think of these new mountains and densities as a 'congestion of culture.' These are the mountains of rent opportunities resulting from capitalist investment policies (Fig. 12.8).

Not all big buildings are monsters, but if they are just an accumulation of housing units stacked tightly to increase their number, they then become alien to their environment. They prevent the mobility of urban bodies (humans and cars, etc.) delimiting their social spaces, and their connections and communications with the existing urban pattern. These large-scale building complexes, mostly introverted, limit the life into the building, and therefore destroy the life between the spaces of the buildings. In a way, they assert a control over social life like a Panopticon that also fosters segregation in society.

They exist outside of classifications or are difficult to classify and categorize. A monstrous body is constructed of a mixture of two species (hybridity). Because of the continuous growth and free flow of global capital fostering consumption, all of these large-scale developments are complex projects, including shopping malls, sports facilities, offices, and housing, etc. It is, therefore, difficult to evaluate them within certain typologies. As Koolhaas proposed in *SMLXL*, 'beyond a certain
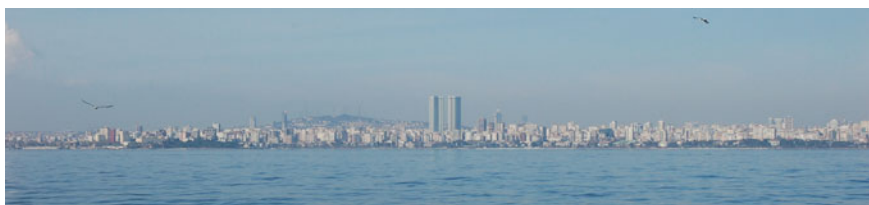

Fig. 12.8 Four Winds Residential Complex. *Source* Derin Özken

Fig. 12.9 Bigness and mountains of housing. *Source* Orhan Kolukısa

scale, architecture acquires the properties of bigness, otherwise … architects are in the position of Frankenstein's creators: instigators of a party successful experiment whose results are running amok and are therefore discredited.' (OMA et al. 1997, p. 509). The bigness creates a complexity which is more than the sum of its different parts, both socially, functionally, and formally (Fig. 12.9). This complexity needs specialized actors in the design process. Since architects have less power and have become less active in the realization process of these large-scale buildings, the designs are also questionable. Hence, most of these buildings are 'creating an artificial strangeness as a strategy for architectural attention from the public.' (Duliere and Wong 2010, p. 15). With their exaggerated features or hybridity, they become the Frankensteins of architecture. According to the notion borrowed from linguistics, these buildings resemble the situation of parataxis (beside + arrangement), that is the opposite of being a unified whole, the hypotaxis (subclauses subordinate the other) in architectural end-product.

The spectacular appearance of monsters and their frightening or burlesque demeanor convey lessons about how to live in a world even more fantastic than fiction (Picon 2010, p. 55). These large-scale buildings terrorize their environment by their size, even suppressing the scale of minarets. They also create emotions of fear with their hybridity, like Siamese twins or aberrant corporeality with their illiterate fragmented structures, like in a horror movie (Fig. 12.10).

Fig. 12.10 Siamese Twins. *Source* Oğuz Orkun Doma

The Monsters attract. Of course, to be afraid of the monster is also a desire to feel for some. Naturally, as monsters attract people, these large-scale buildings are also favored by some. Bigness in architecture creates feelings of the sublime and beauty if the taste of architects exists and if that reveals itself in the context and in relationship with the environment. This is only possible with the will to design humanized environments with a human scale in mind instead of a 'will to win.' That is why Koolhaas appreciates the connectivity of Manhattan towers.

If Bigness is indispensable, these big buildings do not have to be dispersed in the urban pattern of the city. In many metropolitan cities, these 'image-oriented,' 'luxurious,' 'high exchange value' monstrous buildings continue to be constructed. When a selection of other world cities are analyzed, it becomes clear that design approaches sensitive to the context result in better solutions, as in the examples of Paris La Defence, or the City District of London. Therefore, like monsters, they must be settled in the periphery instead of being dispersed within the urban pattern.

Lastly, these colossal buildings has terrorized the discipline of architecture. In the contemporary post-professional era in Turkey, statistical data show how these developments are influencing architects and architectural offices. Companies investing in urban regeneration projects offer job opportunities for architects newly graduated from architecture departments. The two tables below show that the architect's role has changed from that of decision maker to being a participant in the realization of these projects in between 2005 and 2015 (Figs. 12.11 and 12.12).
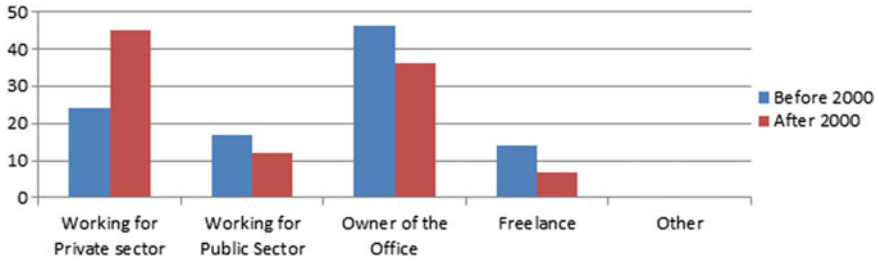
Fig. 12.11 Working styles of architects according to their graduation year. *Source* TMMOB (2016)
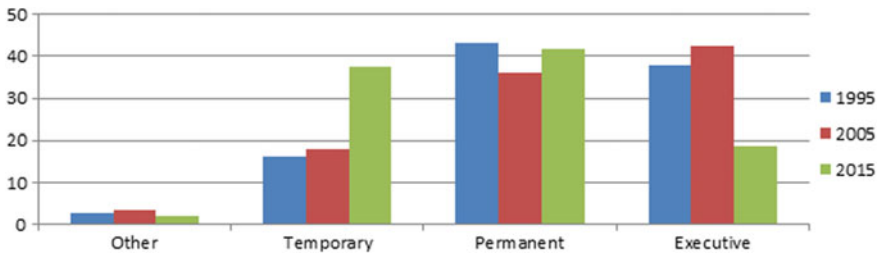

Fig. 12.12 Change of working styles of architects in the private sector in 1995–2005–2015. *Source* TMMOB (2016)

The neo-liberalist approaches in Turkey and in İstanbul have created monstrous geographies in both the social and spatial structures of the city. Inhabitants of some deteriorated areas have been expelled from their environments, public green areas have been converted to densely populated and privatized housing areas. Once the city of sacred towers and minarets, İstanbul has become a city of towers representing economic policies.

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Part IV
Resistance Against Neo-liberal Architecture and Urbanism

Foreword

Nishat Awan

Since the global financial crisis of 2008, much has been written on the mortgage and lending practices that led to the economic collapse, but there has been less critical reflection on the role of the architectural profession in perpetuating the type of speculative development that precipitated the crisis. Opinion pieces in the mainstream architectural press in USA and Europe have instead on the low quality and inappropriate design and construction of the vast majority of buildings (Architect 2015; Bingler and Pedersen 2014; Shubow 2015). It perhaps comes as no surprise that the profession's complicity has still not been fully acknowledged by those who see their role solely as fulfilling the needs of fee-paying clients. Yet, unfinished and abandoned buildings across the major cities of the world are a powerful reminder of the failures of neo-liberal architecture and construction practices. Alongside these are those developments considered successful within a neo-liberal logic, whole areas that operate as exclusive, gated enclaves for the rich and wealthy. Often these are the results of social cleansing as poorer residents are forced out of their neighbourhoods.

Where the relationship between architecture and neo-liberalism has been explored within architectural discourse, it has been interrogated as an aesthetic, albeit one that goes hand in hand with certain form of finance, procurement and the championing of particular types of users (Spencer 2016). The concerns of this section of the book are deeper and go beyond aesthetics to the kinds of places that are produced, the types of economies into which such architecture intervenes and that it continues to support, and of course the exclusions it creates. In this sense, the challenge to architecture is not only of resistance understood as opposition but also as a creative production of other possibilities. It is within this discourse of alternatives and resistances that over the past ten years architecture has produced the most interesting propositions (Bell, Fisher and Wakeford 2008; Cruz 2008; Llorens

et al. 2011; Mazé, Schalk, and Kristiansson 2017; Petrescu and Trogal 2017). It could be argued that many of these ideas related to the social mission of architecture are now becoming mainstream, and in the current climate of austerity and precarity, the narrow aesthetic concerns of Spencer's book seem outdated.

Whether such resistances take the form of protests and occupations, or they intervene to create alternative means of spatial production, they share an ethics that rejects neo-liberal and capitalist modes of production. In this, there is a necessary expansion of architecture beyond its traditional remit as built object. In the book *Spatial Agency* (Awan, Schneider and Till 2011), we wrote on this expanded field of architecture as not only belonging to architects and we were concerned with an underlying idea that the potential of agency, that is, the power and freedom to act for oneself, was somehow inherently spatial—it had a spatial dimension. We were interested in exploring how agency might emerge through spatial practices, including those of architects. Our conception of agency was based on the classical duality, between the ability to act independently and the constraints of social structures. We followed Anthony Giddens' thinking that agency emerged through the interplay of these two poles, what he described as 'the capability of acting otherwise' (Giddens 1987). He writes of the reciprocal relationship between human agency and social structure, and we followed this human-centred approach to think of agency as always residing in the architect or the user. We wrote of acting on behalf of others or acting with others. But perhaps a different definition of agency is needed today in a context where neo-liberal values threaten to destroy the world we all share.

What is missing from the above account is the question of materiality, the body, and of imagining agency as not only the privilege of humans, or at the very least not *only* emanating from human social structures and their relation to individuals. A different version of agency is developed by the feminist philosopher Elizabeth Grosz, who describes another genealogy of thinking the freedom to act and its relation to subjectivity (Grosz 1994). She starts from the writings of Henri Bergson, who did not rely on the Western philosophical tradition of setting up binary distinctions. For Bergson, the freedom to act was neither confined to the subjectivity of individuals nor to the structural conditions of society. Instead, he posited that acts themselves are free. Free acts are conceived as those that take part in the becoming of the subject; that is, they express the subject in transformation. In couching free acts as such, Bergson's concept of agency is affirmative; it is embedded within actions, in their possibility and in their performance. As Grosz makes clear in her appraisal of Bergson, neither the determinist position of structural conditions that will only allow one choice to be made nor the libertarian position that allows a choice of a number of outcomes that are equally possible and remain available to the free will of the individual acknowledge that the different outcomes were never equal in the first place. This is because the individual is always conditioned in what they do by their place in the world, which is produced through relations between people, spaces, social and cultural norms, and crucially, these are not one-way relations. In this, Grosz is critiquing a notion of agency that relies solely on oppositional modes and is advocating a form of agency that arises through the creative interplay of different spatial and material relations.

In claiming such a notion of agency embedded within free acts, an activist practice of architecture could be imagined that has the power to resist neo-liberal forces. Its strength lies in forms of practice that are able to facilitate a move from abstracted possibilities caught within the oppositional logic of struggles towards the production of materially real potentialities that are more open and creative. For Grosz, this is more a capacity of the body than that of the mind, 'linked to the body's capacity for movement, and thus its multiple possibilities of action' (Grosz 2010, p. 152). This is a way of thinking agency as embedded within spatial and material acts rather than residing in society itself, or in the individual architect. If we are to confront the world as it is now with all of its myriad challenges, we need to do so with others and through allowing for agency beyond human subjects.

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Chapter 13
Agripoetic Resistance in Urban Architecture and Planning in the European World

Bahar Aktuna and Carla Brisotto

Abstract This chapter focuses on the architectural responses to the evolution of human–nature relationships throughout history within European urban context by reviewing design practices with a focus on farming as a settling and dwelling. Drawing from Martin Heidegger's notion of *poiesis* and Henri Lefebvre's definition of urbanization, we elaborate on the ways that global urbanization controlled by neoliberal forces is challenged through a poetic urban agricultural tactic, namely *agripoetics*, an opposition to scientific and quantitative thinking of mass production for the sake of efficiency and profit. *Agripoetic resistance* overcomes one of the most controversial challenges of urban society—the impossibility to shape itself through the shape of its cities. Through agripoetic resistance, human–nature relations unfold with new meanings as social activists and architects, activism and profession merge together, while the rights to the nature, food, and city blend in a new modality of dwelling.

Keywords Agripoetics · Human–nature relations · Urban farming
Community gardens · Rooftop garden · House garden · Urbanization and agriculture

13.1 Introduction

Settlements have grown out of the possibilities initiated by the cultivation of soil, which directed the course of historical unfolding of human and environment relations. Agriculture changed the temporal and spatial manner of existence for human

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beings, introduced the notion of place as permanence, and led to civilization. Toadvine (2007), who contrasts nature and culture, and proposes agriculture as the intersecting ends and edges of the former and the latter, says that "seen from the side of the nature, cultivation is the first and essential step toward civilization, the fundamental human manipulation of nature that makes all later technological and social development possible" (2007, 209). From the horizon of the culture, Toadvine states that "the farmer is on the countryside, out in the natural world. Leaving the city for the farm is a 'return to nature,' to a 'natural' way of life" (2007, 209).

Boone and Modarres elaborate on the birth of the earliest settlements in Mesopotamia, Pakistan, China, Egypt, and Mesoamerica and refer to their proximity to fertile soils and areas devoted to food storage and food management (2006, 3). In its initiation and development of settlements, agriculture has moved in and out of architectural and urban planning discourses throughout history. In this chapter, we review the histories and contemporary conditions of urban architecture and planning in the European context and its agricultural framework. The practice of agriculture, which laid the foundation for cities, provides an activist stance in the cities of modern and postmodern era and resists the mainstream practices of architects and urban planners that serve within a consumerist understanding of society. Agricultural movements and projects within urban contexts are considered revolutionary today, since they offer a small-scale food production system that is alternative to the global scale of neoliberalism. These movements overlap with the agendas of architects and urban planners to stand against profit-based, corporate-oriented professional practices. As a poetic and productive relationship with the built environment, agriculture strengthens the ties between people and place and calls for continuity and permanence. In the affluent countries of today's "global north," what has been termed "urban agriculture" indicates "a reaction against large-scale agricultural production and food distribution, representing instead a move toward small-scale production and consumption focusing on quality rather than profit" (Haney 2015, 17).

This review starts with the seeds of agriculture in ancient cities, where farming was a fundamental part of dwelling; continues with the loss of vernacular and community-oriented relationships among people, cities, and agriculture and the emergence of consumerist relations with the rise of the modern era; and ends up with the rediscovery of poetic relationships among people and cities through agriculture. Along the way, we notice the shift from productive communities to consumerist societies and from alienated consumerist urban societies to productive communities. We also observe the attempt to restore the poetic relationship between people and the urban context through agriculture as it appears in architectural and urban planning agendas of professionals. We also observe that the scale of agriculturally resistant projects of the built environment changes from large scale to small scale as we moved from modern to contemporary era.

Agriculture as a product of art-based and qualitative thinking about the intimate relationship of people with land and food is introduced as *agripoetics*, a notion that stands opposed to scientific and quantitative thinking about mass production for the

sake of efficiency and profit. The term works with the notion of poetics borrowed from Heideggerian philosophy. In the realm of scientific thinking, Heidegger suggests that "agriculture is now the mechanized food industry" (Heidegger 2008d, 320). When we introduce the term agripoetics, we do not propose it as a radical break from the world determined by the forces of modern science and capitalism that pervade the human life because human beings already live in such a world of mathematically calculable relationships. However, within this world, *agripoetic resistance* appears as an alternative way of thinking toward the world. In an era where techno-scientific thinking prevails, poetics of arts may be considered resistance. Thus, the story of the agrarian city starts with the origins of civilization, whereas the story of agripoetic resistance starts with modernity.

13.2   Poetic Resistance as Heideggerian Approach

Martin Heidegger has had noteworthy influence on discourses about the relationship between people and the environment. According to Kevin Michael Deluca, "even a cursory glance at Heidegger's work reveals him to be a thinker who deeply ponders humanity-nature relations and how they are mediated by technology." (2005, 69) Human–nature relations are tied to Heideggerian concept of *the strife between the world and earth*[1] that is made visible in poetic thinking that is based on

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[1]Poetic truth has its origin in the strife between the world and earth. The phenomenon of the world is located within Heidegger's wider discussion of the meaning of being human (Dasein), which is "*being-in-the-world*." On "*being-in-the-world,*" Heidegger states that "Dasein is an entity which, in its very Being, comports itself understandingly towards that Being. […] Dasein exists." (Heidegger 2008a, 78). Heidegger also says that "[…] to Dasein, Being in a world is something that belongs essentially. Thus, Dasein's understanding of Being pertains with equal primordiality both to an understanding of something like a 'world', and to the understanding of the Being of those entities which become accessible within the world." (Heidegger 2008a, 33) Entities such as equipment, tools, and animals are *worldless* (Heidegger 2008a, 81, 2008c, 170); they may not encounter each other, and the only way they can be brought into each other's proximity is by being within a world. According to Heidegger, an entity can only be encountered by Dasein and "an entity can 'meet up with' Dasein only in so far as it can, of its own accord, show itself within a *world*." (Heidegger 2008a, 84) The world that Heidegger has in mind is the context of significance against which all entities gain their meaning. Thus, Heidegger refuses the division of subject and object that has come down to us from Descartes. In his later philosophy, Heidegger introduces the notion of earth as against the notion of world. The earth and the world are in a paired relationship and are rivals in a process of unconcealment and concealment. Only in this rivalry with the earth, the world begins to show its worldhood, and the relation between human beings and the earth is revealed. Roth summarizes that "dasein is not a subject, it is a relation, so too the world is not an object but a totality of relationships [and]… earth is the ground upon which the relationships of the world are fostered." (1996, 32) Furthermore, the earth is the ground on which the limits of the world may be pushed further. The strife between the world and earth is analogous to human–nature relations.

arts, *techne*[2] in the ancient world. Poetic thinking in the urban context as a force of resistance against modern technology and neoliberalism through agriculture forms the basis of our discussion.

According to Heidegger, the truth is made visible in the work of art, since the human beings' tendency to understand things as they are appropriated for human use is shaken by the artwork. Heidegger explains this occurrence by comparing the belonging of material in the artwork (as the earth) and in the equipment (as the matter).[3] Through the equipment and the artwork, the material is released into different relational contexts. Whereas the material is obscured in the being of the equipment, it is brought forth in the being of the artwork. Thus, comparing arts and sciences, Heidegger states that "science is not an original happening of truth, but always the cultivation of a domain of truth, already opened, specifically by apprehending and confirming that which shows itself to be possibly and necessarily correct within that field" (Heidegger 2008c, 187). Accordingly, the truth that happens in poetry is what resists to the monopolizing forces of modern technology.

Suggested by Heidegger, modern technology is not only a product of modern science, but it also drives the progress of modern science. We will call this pair techno-science. Through modern techno-science humanity's relation to nature operates in such a way that earth becomes an object of humanity (Deluca 2005, 71–72). Having turned the nature into an object that stands against human subject, quoting Heidegger, Deluca suggests that nature is dimished to a "standing-reserve," which means a quantified abstract system of the world (2005, 79). Modern techno-science presents "the wood [as] a forest of timber, the mountain [as] quarry of rock; the river [as] water-power, and the wind [as] wind 'in the sails'" (Heidegger 2008a, 100). As the modern techno-science obscures alternative ways of disclosure, humanity faces the danger of losing their freedom toward possibilities of being.

In his exploration of Heideggerian thinking on modern technology, Deluca suggests that machination is the most important aspect of its progress. According to Deluca "machination is about a logic, not a particular machine… wherein animals, plants and the earth become objects, mere resources … [and] are reduced to various forms of use value" and this logic is best manifested in global capitalism (2005, 76) in which their cooperation "bring[s] the world into the guiding power of a totalizing principle" (Roth 1996, 228) which does not allow the possibility of a different unfolding of world.

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[2]Aristotle divides knowledge into three categories—*episteme, techne,* and *phronesis. Episteme* is the type of knowledge gained through *theoria* or disinterested pure thinking—contemplation and reasoning. *Phronesis*, or practical wisdom, is the type of knowledge gained through *praxis* or actions and doing. *Praxis* may be further divided into ethics, economics, and politics, which are considered applied knowledge. *Techne*, or arts and crafts, is the type of knowledge gained through *poiesis* or poetics—the experience of production. *Episteme, phronesis,* and *techne* are known as theory or science, practice, and arts and crafts, respectively, in the contemporary era. See (Aristotle 2000).

[3]Earth has been described in the following way by Heidegger that resembles *physis*: "Earth is the serving bearer, blossoming and fruiting, spreading out in rock and water, rising up into plant and animal." See (Heidegger 2008b, 351).

The forces of technology and capital set the disclosure of being in the form of alienation. In this context of alienation, it becomes impossible to encounter the nature as it is. Along these lines Luis Barragan suggests that "before the machine age, … Nature was everybody's trusted companion…. Nowadays, the situation is reversed. Man does not meet with Nature, even when he leaves the city to commune with her. Enclosed in his shiny automobile, his spirit stamped with the mark of the world whence the automobile emerged, he is, within Nature, a foreign body. … Nature becomes a scrap of Nature and man a scrap of man" (Frampton 2000, 365; Smith 1967, 77).

However, by quoting from Friedrich Hölderlin, Heidegger suggests that "where the danger is, also grows the saving power" (Heidegger 2008d, 333) as he refers to the danger posed by modern technology against various possibilities of unfolding of the world. The saving power is suggested to be the poetry and the poetic disclosure of being by Heidegger. Where the danger grows, there grows also the opposition and resistance. We call this power *poetic resistance*.

13.3   Neoliberalism and Agripoetics as Urban Revolution

We define cities through Lefebvre's definition of urban fabric, which is not referred only to the material identity of the city, but all urban phenomena that establish power relations that govern a country (2000, 3–4). Therefore, modern urban fabric is ubiquitous, since "even though local and regional features from the time when agricultural production dominated haven't entirely disappeared, it has been changed into a form of industrial production having become subordinate to its demands" (Lefebvre 2003, 3). In the global economy, the urban fabric has expanded its boundaries beyond the traditional understanding of city limits, reaching out as far as the countryside in such forms as an isolated supermarket, a highway or a vacation home.[4] The meaning of countryside has also changed with the transformation of the meaning of nature. During the industrialization era, nature became a good as any other commercialized product that could be purchased thus having monetary value. The effect of the process of commercialization was a loss of the sense of nature related to earth and art, instead another sense of it developed, a "'naturality' which [was] counterfeited and traded in, […] destroyed by commercialized, industrialized and institutionally organized leisure pursuits" (Lefebvre 2000, 158).

The social practice of escaping the city in pursuit of nature-oriented leisure must be considered another reason for more urbanization as urban residents settle in the countryside. Accordingly, Lefebvre asks: "are the rights to nature and to the countryside not destroying themselves?" (2000, 158)

Thus, according to Lefebvre, a combination of industrialization and the desire to consume nature results in the urbanization of the land as well as the displacement of

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[4]For these examples, see (Lefebvre 2003, 4).

attention away from the city and its problematics.[5] Moreover, the relation of human to nature has transformed into a consumer–commodity relation. In light of this analysis, Lefebvre advocates for a new transformation of the city through what he defines as the "*Right to the City* […] a transformed and renewed right to urban life" (2000, 158).

David Harvey places Lefebvre's theory within the current political scene and explains why the achievement of this right is more important than ever in our contemporary society:

> The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. The right to the city is […] moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is […] one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights (2008, 23).

However, the city itself has become the predominant obstacle to the realization of this freedom. Since the design of Paris by Haussmann, urbanization has become the means to control the economic crisis in terms of unemployment and surplus of product offer. The practice of rebuilding the city as a way of social stabilization and capital production has led to the creation of a new mode of living in the city, where the consumption of culture by the tourism industry has been the new social paradigm in an enlarged urban layout. Since then, the history of cities periodically has shown how the control of the crisis through urbanization has become even stronger. Urban scale has been applied to regional scale and ultimately global scale with a progressive shift from community action to neoliberal property values and individual identities:

> The results are indelibly etched on the spatial forms of our cities, which increasingly consist of fortified fragments, gated communities and privatized public spaces kept under constant surveillance. […] Under these conditions, ideals of urban identity, citizenship and belonging—already threatened by the spreading malaise of a neoliberal ethic—become much harder to sustain (Harvey 2008, 32).

The contemporary city that should be our portrait of society has therefore been reduced to a network of individual interests that neglect the common good and impede the public sphere and collective action. In this ubiquitous global urbanization controlled by neoliberal forces, another crisis is unfolding, one that is addressed by social reaction. The only power to create social relations is the power of social life, and according to Lefebvre, it is with this power that the "urban revolution"[6] can take place. Architects cannot usually ignite this revolution, since they are not able to conceive new social relations (Lefebvre 2000, 151). However,

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[5]In Lefebvre's opinion, living in the city is miserable. Urban dwellers live alienating days, commuting between house and working location in a repeated cycle. *Writings on Cities*. (159)

[6]We refer to the definition of Henri Lefebvre: "…transformations that affect contemporary society" from the period of questioning the industrialized model to the period of searching solutions to urban problems. See (Lefebvre 2003, 5).

the role of the architect, working individually or in interdisciplinary teams, is to "help trends being formulated," assuming shape and forms (Lefebvre 2000, 151).

The desire for agriculture at an intimate level relating people to nature and food through production as an agripoetic act already exists within Western society. This contemporary act has the main characteristic of being developed on the interaction between social groups and architects, who attempt to claim urban space toward agricultural production as an art toward the right to nature and food. Finally, the agripoetic resistance takes place in the form of a new urban tactic, capable of enduring one of the most controversial challenges of urban society—the impossibility to shape itself through the shape of its cities. New social and professional interactions push toward a new horizon of urban opportunities: use of vacant land otherwise wasted, revitalization of dismissed areas, community gardens used as social spaces, production of food on rooftop. Within these opportunities, the human–nature relations acquire new meanings.

13.4   Urban Agriculture in the Ancient World Through the Lens of Human–Nature Relations

The thinking on human–nature relations in the Western world is rooted in the mythological story of Prometheus, who stole the fire from Zeus and presented it to the man as a gift. Kearney states that "with the use of this stolen fire, man was able to invent his own world, creating the various arts which transmuted the order of *nature* (the cosmos of blind necessity governed by Zeus) into the order of culture (a realm of relative freedom where man could plan and control his own existence.)" (1998, 80) *Techne* as the art of making initiates the relation between the world and the earth, human beings and the nature. However, non-guided making of the world ends in a chaotic order. Plato points out to that deficiency:

> By means of the gift of fire, man acquired sufficient resources to survive and to cultivate a world of his own making, transforming thereby the animal order of nature into a human order of culture; but he lacked the 'art of politics' (*technê politikê*). […] men found themselves unable to live together in community […] the creative arts bestowed by Prometheus […] were devoid of the guiding laws of 'political wisdom'. (Kearney 1998, 89)

For Plato, the art of acting enables people to be with one another as they make their world on the earth. Urbanization derives its origins from those considerations of *techne* and practical wisdom, most importantly the roles of economics, politics, and poetics in achieving a sustainable order.

The original relationship between city and economy was referred by Hansen, who states that "in the economic field the city is characterised by division of labour, so that the city dwellers buy a substantial part of what they need in the city market, and these goods are produced by the people in the city and its hinterland for the purpose of being sold in the market. With urbanisation man gives up the subsistence economy (in which each household produces everything it needs)" (2006, 85).

The original relationship between city and poetics may be found in the texts of Homer, the oldest known poet. Giesecke suggests that "the Homeric ideal, which is also the ideal of the nascent *polis*, entails the manipulation and transformation of the landscape by skilled human hands, by *tekhnē*." (2007, 35) In Heideggerian discourse, the landscape, the environment, is crafted in two ways: by raising edifices and cultivating vine. Thus, based on Homeric ideal, the making of the city is not achieved only through erecting of buildings, but also cultivating plants. Giesecke also adds that "…both the Iliad and Odyssey, each in its unique way, illustrate the post-Mycenaean Greek faith in urbanism as the optimum vehicle of human advancement, spiritual, ethical, intellectual, and technological alike; the form and institutions of the polis, it was thought, could best negotiate a place for humanity in Nature." (2007, 2) According to Giesecke, Homer's faith in the importance of polis for the progress of humanity is well illustrated through the "the apolitical, dystopian 'society' of the Cyclopes." (2000, 12) In Odyssey, Cyclopes are described as "violent, lawless people, who do no sowing of crops or/plowing with their own hands." Instead, they depend on "immortal gods," wild "crops of every sort," and "rain from Zeus." Above all, Cyclopes have "no assemblies for debate and no common laws" and "they care nothing for others"(Homer 2000, 95).

In the Homeric verse, the practice of farming as a humane relation with the nature is given as analogous to the practice of developing good conduct and moral behavior. The cultivation of crops builds up to the cultivation of virtues. Giesecke further adds that "just how well the wise Alkinoos (whose name means 'strength of mind') has ordered his *polis* is directly reflected by the order within his neatly fenced garden, which includes both a vineyard and extensive orchard […]. Apparently, the good 'politician' must also be a good gardener." (2007, 27)

In Ancient Greece, human and nature were divided and this division reflected to the relation between the cities and agriculture. When urbanization sped up during the archaic era, the town became separated from the agricultural land surrounding it (Carroll-Spillecke 1992, 85). The cities were surrounded with city walls with entire population living inside the city walls, and many of them, who were farmers, going to the fields outside the city and returning their dwellings in the city each evening (Hansen 2006, 70). Hansen adds that "many city-farmers must have produced a surplus of country products which they brought to market and exchanged for other goods produced by other inhabitants. Some specialised in one or two items which they took to market and exchanged not just for other items but for the agricultural products they did not produce themselves" (Hansen 2006, 95).

Parallel to human–nature division in their world, Athenians did not leave room for gardens on their properties and even in the central yard of their typical courtyard houses (Carroll-Spillecke 1992, 86). In respect of that, Giesecke also refers to Athens not having many gardens within the city walls (2007, xi). Although there were no house gardens within the city walls, there were gardens limited in number and size that included olive groves, laurel trees, and pomegranate bushes in the urban center of the polis. A green belt of vegetation owned by citizens and temples

encircled the city.[7] This division of city and agriculture as a reflection of the division of human and nature continues into Classical Ages, as Giesecke declares that "in Classical Athens, the ideal garden was extramural and utilitarian. Outside the fortified urban center lay market gardens in which fruit, vegetables, herbs, and flowers were grown. Here too were orchards, vineyards, and fields of grain, and, beyond them, pasturelands" (Giesecke 2007, xii). However, this division itself becomes the reason for the eventual collapse of "the artificial barriers between humanity and Nature" after the second century BCE (Giesecke 2007, 90–1).

The poetics of Ancient Greek productive gardens possibly reach their apogee with the introduction of pleasure gardens, an important scene for Ancient Athenian philosophers. Randhawa states that the Greeks kept vegetable gardens for culinary purposes and created separate pleasure gardens by imitating Persians (2007, 169). In these pleasure gardens, ancient Greeks grew fragrant fruit trees such as apples, pears, figs, olives, pomegranates, and grapes to please the sense of smell, taste, and sight altogether:

It was in the hot countries of Western Asia that the grouping of fragrant flowering-plants and fruit-trees irrigated from canals and wells, […], came into existence. Solomon's garden had shady avenues, vine arbours, groves of pomegranates, pergolas and vast pools of water. […] It was full of sweet-smelling plants like spikenards, camphor, saffron, calamus, cinnamon, myrrh and aloes. […] the fragrant plants, the most poetic being to the exquisite scent of the newly opened blossoms of the grapevines (Randhawa 1976, 169).

Domestication of nature plays a key role in human–nature relations in Ancient Rome. In Ancient Rome, outdoor and indoor blended into each other signifying a worldview that favored "living in and with Nature." (Giesecke 2007, 82) This worldview completely contrasted with that of the Greeks in which the houses acted as barriers between indoors and outdoors treating outdoors and wild (Giesecke 2007, 100).

In Ancient Rome, leaders and poets promoted agricultural practice. Along these lines, Virgil's Georgics, four books on agriculture as an epic, didactic, and poetic work, glorifies the farmer, acts as instructions on how to farm, and brings forth the creative imagination. "Let gardens sweet with saffron lure them on, /And let Priapus's well-known guardianship/Keep thieves and birds at bay with his willow hook." (Virgil 1956, 89) Virgil successfully blends together domestic with wild, the technical aspects of farming with divine imagination, and toil with spoil: "With a patch of unclaimed land allotted him, /Not suitable for pasture, crops or wine./This farmer, spacing herbs among his thickets, /… felt sure that this riches matched/The wealth of kings, when he came home at night" (Virgil 1956, 90).

In Ancient Rome, agricultural production took place inside the city walls rather than outside as a separate zone. Purcell says that "within the walls a considerable amount of space always remained free from buildings and was intensively cultivated in small garden units for the production of all kinds of crop for the market"

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[7]Carroll-Spillecke (1992).

(1996, 122). Furthermore, city dwellers also produced vegetables in window boxes (Purcell 1996, 122–3). According to an egalitarian Roman policy, each citizen of Rome owned the same size of *hortus* through the division of the city in small units. In each unit, there was place for a building as well as a productive garden as integral to daily life: "a Roman in Romulus' day was […] the owner of a *hortus*, and the plot of land in question was thought of as being in the closest relationship to the abode that was the other token of his belonging […] since the labour demands of horticulture usually preclude a productive garden's being located far from the homes of those who tend it." (Purcell 1996, 122) Giesecke states that "early Roman houses had garden spaces at their rear, evidence of an innate affinity for, or acknowledged dependence on, Nature, but the garden would eventually become a key feature fully integrated into the fabric of the Roman house" (Giesecke 2007, xii).

Ancient Greek urbanization and urban architecture differed from Ancient Roman urbanization and urban architecture due to the differing unfolding of human–nature relations through the conflict between the earth and the world. This relation is always revisited as human beings are the possibility of existence as they can project themselves toward the future as their possibility to be. They understand their relation to nature and understand it anew over time. The reformulation of human–nature relations is what causes the change from one era to another. Nevertheless, mythology and poetry as poetic thinking were the sources of understanding these relations in the ancient Western world.

13.5   A Radical Turn in the History of Human–Nature Relations

A radical turn in history of human–nature relations occurs during Renaissance. Particularly, Descartes has been an important figure in the course of these relations, whose philosophical effects stretch to our contemporary world. According to Kearney, "Descartes sought to vindicate man as the 'master and professor of nature'." (Kearney 1998, 161) Thus, in Heideggerian terms, the truth of being emerging in the strife between the world and the earth was disturbed through this new paradigm introduced by Descartes. Furthermore, Kearney tells that Descartes had a "negative assessment of imagination" (1998, 162) and quotes from Rousseau, who suggests that "the philosophy of Descartes has cut the throat of poetry." (Kearney 1998, 162) Consequently, imagination of the arts as a transformative power toward the world of human beings lost its important status taking away the "possibility to be" as the freedom of human beings. The status of art-based thinking and artistic production as inferior lasts after Descartes until our time in an influential way. Kearny refers to the words of Spinoza, who says "'imaginary ideas' are always inferior to the 'ideas of reason' in so far as they are concerned with merely

'possible' […] rather than 'necessary' […] entities" (Kearney 1998, 162) as a representation and sustenance of Cartesian understanding.

The Renaissance era was an important turn in the history of Western gardens as a human–nature relation of agriculture. Botanical gardens, as the architectural manifestation of the science of garden as opposed to the art of garden, appeared half way through the sixteenth century. According to Hyams, it is not clear whether botanical gardens may have developed from ancient botanical practices or are the by-product of the growth of botanical science (1971, 127). Nevertheless, the botanical garden represents the shift in mindset toward the human–nature relations. The world, as a mathematically understood environment, is revealed in a specific way through growing importance for the scientific study of plants and through the architecture that speaks the same language, in terms of its geometry, with this vision of the world. The nature encountered in this world differs from that of its historical precedents. According to Heidegger, "as the 'environment' is discovered, the 'Nature' thus discovered is encountered too. If its kind of Being as ready-to-hand is disregarded, this 'Nature' itself can be discovered and defined simply in its pure presence-at-hand." (Heidegger 2008a, 100) Thus, through botanical gardens, the human–nature relation is a disinterested relation, one of theory only. Heidegger furthermore says that "when this happens, the Nature which 'stirs and strives', which assails us and enthralls us as landscape, remains hidden. The botanist's plants are not the flowers of the hedgerow; the 'source' which the geographer establishes for a river is not the 'springhead in the dale'" (Heidegger 2008a, 100).

The architecture of the botanical garden speaks the same language of its world through its purely geometrical layout. This pure geometry and obsession with mathematical order is visible in the first European botanical garden, Orto Botanico di Padova, which was built in 1545. The garden has a circular plan divided into sixteen sections and an inscribed square, which Hyams calls "a rigidly geometrical pattern of very small beds each devoted to a single genus or even species." (1971, 128) On the language of pure geometry in the built environment, Boone and Modarres further suggest that "pure geometric proposals, which […] acted to dominate the 'natural' landscape, became a hallmark of Renaissance planning theory and practice. […] the functionality of the medieval period was replaced in European cities with concern about external spaces, aesthetics, and monumentality" (2006, 27).

The Western world moves into modernity in the built environment with such an understanding of the world established in the Renaissance. This understanding of the world and its relation to earth entails an obsession over ordering nature through the rules of mathematics and geometry in a disinterested way, which involves taking the human being as the subject out of its context and the context out of its subject.

13.6 Agripoetic Resistance and Urban Agriculture in the Twentieth Century

During the rise of industrialization, the rural population of Europe moved into the cities, changing their aspect and challenging traditions of urban planning. Capitalist economy separated the social classes, creating spatial segregation (Boone and Modarres 2006, 31). Consequently, the working class lived in unhealthy and overcrowded slums. In cities where the industrial revolution developed at a faster pace, cities such as Manchester, Bristol, and Birmingham witnessed the expansion of slums that were organized in long rows of two-storied cottages without sewers or gutters and with poor indoor ventilation facing dirty roads (Boone and Modarres 2006, 31; Engels 1987, 31–33). In this societal context, Ebenezer Howard initiated the Garden City Movement at the dawn of the twentieth century, with the goal to create a more pleasant, environmentally conscious, and moral urban alternative. His opening quote in the *Gardens Cities of Tomorrow* "new forces, new cravings, new aims, which had been silently gathering beneath the crust of re-action, burst suddenly into view"[8] (Howard 1902, 9) suggests his awareness of the growing interest in reforming the city.

Howard was particularly concerned about the excessive urbanization of the industrial city, which resulted from the massive migration from the country to the city. Howard theorized the reintegration of people into the countryside and the reconciliation with the nature by attracting people to a new settlement: the city country. The new urban plan aimed to blend the energetic and active life of the city with the delight and beauty of the outland. This new way of life would have functioned as a magnet to attract the inhabitants of cities to mother earth (Howard 1902, 15). From Howard's perspective, the environmental context of the earth is the mystical source of existence to which each human being naturally had the right, and therefore he planned the new settlement for the benefit of the whole community (Willes 2014, 292). The *Gardens Cities of Tomorrow* opens with the slogan "the country must invade the city" (Howard 1902, 147) and suggests a return to a poetic connection with the nature.

Howard's approach was to bring the agriculture in a close relationship with the city, as he believed in its economic and bucolic strength. Howard's urban planning proposal consisted of a system of small towns of about 32,000 residents set around a big town and connected by electric trains. At the center of each town, there were the main public buildings and leisure facilities surrounded by residential areas where houses could have common gardens (Howard 1902, 24). Each town was served by schools, churches, and playgrounds. On the outskirt of each town, he placed the fields and allotments. The fields were cultivated by capitalist farmers or cooperatives for extensive crops, whereas the allotments were for growing flowers, fruits, and vegetables. Howard believed that this kind of cultivation required a

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[8]The quote comes from Green's "Short History of the English People," Chapter X.

different kind of attention, a more creative and personal one. Thus, it was an activity that regarded individuals or small communities with a shared view of "efficacy and value of certain dressings, methods of culture, or artificial and natural surroundings." (Howard 1902, 25–26) This social facet enlightens the communal activity of the allotments and their capacity to build identities.

During the nineteenth century, allotments were common in most European cities. The allotments were large city properties divided into small plots designated to each factory worker for cultivating food, while gaining an individual relation to land. Corresponding to the time that Howard wrote the "Garden Cities of Tomorrow," the allotment acts in Britain—which brought the vegetable gardens inside the British cities—took place between 1845 and 1907. These acts allowed local authorities to purchase land to establish allotments to be rented to the factory workers. These policies gave way to a network of big clusters of vegetable gardens. The traditional design of the garden had been revolutionized; the sense of intimacy and privacy that belonged to the gardens set beside the houses was enhanced by the meaning of socialization and group identity. In "The Gardens of the British Working Class," Margaret Willes refers to several examples to describe the life in the allotments, in particular, the social relationships among the gardeners: "[…] the whole community on Saturdays ventured out to their sheds, which were furnished with gables, porches, dormer windows and curtains." (Willes 2014, 269–270) The allotment with its shed became an outdoor living room to receive friends and neighbors.

If not inspiration to the allotments movement, the "Gardens Cities of Tomorrow" was at least the expression of the same kind of resistance to the modern worldview that permeates those years. Through Howard's lens, the British allotment movement is an example of agripoetic resistance, since it not only attempts to restrain food supply problems but also expresses the desire to heal from the congestion and social isolation of the Industrial City.

Thus, the late nineteenth century witnessed the rise of agripoetic resistance within the urban planning profession, whereas the early twentieth century witnessed its disappearance through the architectural modernism movement. The works of Le Corbusier provide an exemplary genealogy of how and why this occurred. Initially, he included agriculture in his city plan "The City of To-Morrow" (1925) and put much attention on its efficiency. Afterward, he decided to remove it completely from the urbanized area of *Ville Radieuse* (1930) and introduced separate country villages, the *Village Radieux*, for agriculture, ending up with a process of expelling agriculture from the city.[9] Le Corbusier thought that industrialization would provide workers with excessive free time, which was a social threat. According to Le Corbusier, working hours would become less with the mechanization of the work leaving people "with eleven hours of unoccupied hours" (Corbusier 1967a, 64)! He designed his master plans to introduce leisure programs against the boredom. Agriculture was not considered a leisure activity by the architect. In fact, Le

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[9]To read a comprehensive analysis of "Village Radieux," see the chapter written by McLeod (2015).

Corbusier thought that urban people would not be interested in farming or gardening:

> It is complicated and difficult to keep up, and involves endless pains […] for the house-holder and his wife to keep things tidy, to weed it, water it, kill the slugs and the rest; long after twilight the watering-can is still on the go. Some people may call all this a form of healthy exercise. On the contrary, it is a stupid, ineffective and sometimes dangerous thing. The children cannot play there, for they have no room run about in, nor can the parents indulge in games or sports there. And the result of all this is a few pears and apples, a few carrots, a little parsley and so on. The whole thing is ridiculous. (1971, 214–215)

Le Corbusier considered gardening as an activity that had to be redesigned. His design envisaged blocks of apartments surrounded by sports facilities, fruits orchards, and gardens calculating rigorously their surfaces (150 m^2 for vegetable garden and orchard and 150 m^2 for sports calculated for each resident). The vegetable gardens were clustered in a single field so that they were cultivated by a hired farmer. The residents did not waste their time on agricultural activity, while they could still have access to their own produce. The act of cultivating and relating to the earth is completely dissolved; the social opportunity of community and gathering around a plot of land is dispersed; the connection between food consumption and food production starts to fade away. In *Ville Radieuse*, his second master plan for the city, Le Corbusier led a process of disintegration between urbanization and agriculture, by providing two separate plans: one for the city and one for the country village. Le Corbusier was certain that the industrialized system was vitiated and was not capable to satisfy the man's happiness, while planning and architecture were the means toward the "satisfaction of man's deepest instincts." (1967a, 69) In this sense, *Ville Radieuse* became only a place of work and leisure, while *Village Radieux* would develop the countryside as a "combination of machine and hand and mind." (Corbusier 1967a, 69) Le Corbusier suggested that the city assumed the aspect of inhuman space of capitalism and industrialization, so the village was the right response, since the countryside, and therefore agriculture, was the place within which "the human spirit […] [drew] strength from its active collaboration with the forces and beauties of nature." (Corbusier 1967a, 70) The design of the *Radiant Farm* had the intention to improve the salubrity of the house and to provide the entire necessary infrastructure for a modern mechanized agricultural technique. The village's plan responded to the same program of the farm, which was the transportation system, storage needs, and merchandise handling problems (Corbusier 1967b, 327).

Le Corbusier's vision of a sterile city did not wholly correspond to what was happening in those years in France. Like Britain, France experienced the establishment of a gardening movement toward a better quality of life for the working class. In 1896, the abbot Lemire founded the association "Le Coin de terre et le Foyer" with the intention to advocate for the workers and the families in need. He obtained the creation of allotments (*Jardins*) throughout France included the city of Paris (Cabedoce and Pierson 1996, 32). Le Corbusier failed to acknowledge the fact that agriculture was a means of sustainment for the urban inhabitants of cities,

concentrating his attention only on the commercial production of food in the countryside.

The rise of the industrialized era led to agripoetic resistance as a form of reaction to a world that had lost the connection to the earth. The work of Howard and the British allotments shows how this poetics was part of the professional world as well as the social world. However, with the advent of modernism this resistance tended to fade away from the urban planning agenda. Le Corbusier's utopic plans for the city and the village are examples of the failure to establish an agripoetic resistance, whereas *Jardins Ouvriers* as the social product of activism were capable to do it.

13.7 New Directions in Architecture and Urbanism in the Contemporary World

The connection between urbanism and agriculture abandons the heroic city planning manifestos of modernity and moves toward smaller scale projects of urbanism and architecture during the contemporary era. The movement from large-scale utopian plans to human scale projects allows the emergence of agripoetic resistance that points out to a new understanding of human–nature relations in the cities. This shift has been explored through several projects and works that have recently appeared in European urban context. While some of the selected projects are spontaneous vernacular cases built by city dwellers, most of them are architectural projects for urban intervention and exhibitions. Thus, the urban agricultural discourse has regained an objective that has been understudied since Le Corbusier's master plans and is included again in the consideration of urban context.

Spanish urban gardens (*huertos urbanos*) "*Ciudad de Huertos*" (gardens of the city), "*El Carmelo*" and the "*Huerto de los Taxistas del Aeropuerto de Barcelona*" (Garden of the Airport Taxi Drivers) in Barcelona, and the Italian *Hortus Urbis* (garden of the city) are a few spontaneous vernacular community gardens that resist waste urbanism. These three examples of community gardens show how citizens, without any supervision, reclaim interstices between buildings, strips of land along the roads, neglected parks, and leftover slopes of land, transforming them into luscious community gardens. *Hortus Urbis* is a garden in the Appia Antica Park born with the collaboration of local communities and organizations. Advocating for traditional agricultural techniques, solely plants of Ancient Romans are grown in *Hortus Urbis*. Other than this educational purpose, these gardens are also established to provide the essential food for the family. In this term, they are an act of resistance against the neoliberal model of the consumption of the nature. The ancient Roman gardens praised in Virgil's poems relive in these unplanned interventions. The domestic is blended with the wild. However, whereas the connection to earth was possible because policies decision in the Roman Empire, the relation with the nature is regained through activism in the contemporary era. Through a

spontaneous community action, abandoned urban areas are turned back to nature. This de facto action for the right to food shapes the city by suggesting a new model of citizenship.

The same model appears in some projects where professionals and communities collaborate with the common goal of reinventing parts of the city, usually disused vacant lots. Blulab_Building Landscape Architecture designed *Giardini in Transito* in Milan in 2010 in collaboration with local organizations and residents to recover an unused city park and transforming it in a garden at the service of the city. The residents of Milan played an active role on the restoration of the park, and the relation with the nature is based on how humans can nurture and preserve the nature. Similarly, the architect Giacomo Salizzoni designed *Orti Dipinti* in Florence in 2013 to convert an abandoned athletic track into an urban community garden. This project integrates the neighborhood into gardening activity and provides an alternative to the neoliberal food system. Other activist projects that resist to neoliberal production of food and consumption of nature and that were realized with the help of the community belong to AAA (Atelier D'Architecture Autogérée), the French interdisciplinary network of architects, artists, researchers, politicians, and inhabitants. *Le 56/ECO-Interstice*, *Agrocit*é, and *Eco-box* in Paris (2001/12) are urban interventions that create energetically independent community gardens by using recycled and salvaged materials, and reduce their ecological impact. All the above-mentioned projects are led by designers that work within a model of activist professionalism that values the quality of life of the community over monetary profit favored by corporate-oriented professionalism. These gardens are the legacy of the allotments that proclaimed resistance to the loss of the relation between humans and the nature during the industrial era. Now, they do not only react to the legacy of modernity that alienates the city inhabitants from the nature, but also provide food security. Furthermore, these gardens represent the will of the citizens to be actively involved in the making of the city. The participatory character of the design and construction process of the gardens represents a new modality of citizenship that leads to democracy among the inhabitants and professionals. The power of social life that pushes for reconquering the city, which was envisioned by Lefebvre, has finally found the support of the architect that interprets this potential and translates that into forms.

While the above farming projects are designed to be permanent in the city, some projects are more temporary in nature and reflect the intentionality of professionals to create prototypes for future projects and deliver ideas for the future of the city. Presented at the Garden Festival of Appeltern in 2010, *Eathouse* designed collaboratively by Marijke Bruinsma and Atelier Gras is a garden house made of crates entirely and installed on a scaffold. The result is a seasonal building that can be harvested and removed at the end of each growing season. *Eathouse resists* to technological domination of nature through embracing the cycle of nature. By allowing the garden flourish following the natural course of perennial existence, *Eathouse* stands against the worldview that comes down to us from Renaissance movement that sometimes takes the form of modern greenhouse. While the latter attempts to order the nature for infinite production, *Eathouse* is temporary and

ephemeral. This difference in their understanding is not only reflected to their temporal functioning but also to their spatial qualities, in which the organic layout of *Eathouse* works like the natural forms of the earth.

In the same year, during the London Festival of Architecture, the British firm Wayward Plant Registry designed/built a narrative environment, the *Union Street Urban Orchard,* by converting a disused site in an orchard garden with the help of one hundred volunteers in 2009. Here, educational workshops were held for the visitors and residents on urban agriculture. The project was dismantled at the end of the festival, and the trees from the project were given to local community gardens. *Union Street Urban Orchard* has been published[10] several times and became a model to resist against waste urbanism. The *Urban Physic Garden* was designed by the same firm in 2011 and focuses on medicinal and herbal plants. The garden draws parallels between the healing power of plants and the healing power of urbanism that can recover seedy sites through community action. The garden has been developed with the help of volunteers and has become a multicultural center for artists, designers, gardeners, and health practitioners. The utopian cities of Howard and Le Corbusier were speculations of professional minds, whereas the projects of Wayward are the ideal manifestos of possibilities and are achieved through community participation. This involvement must be considered essential to the unfolding of agripoetic resistance, which resists to the conventional practices of architecture and planning. Modern architects had the role of heroes that promised to build a better world for the humanity, whereas contemporary architects of agripoetic resistance are icons capable of engaging the city dwellers into the common act of changing the world.

Queen's Walk Window Gardens is another temporary project, an art installation, from Wayward Plant Registry. It was built in 2013 for the *Southbank Centre's Festival of Neighbourhood*. The installation was a reinterpretation of the British allotments and depicted pots hanging on vertical walls made of reclaimed windows. It utilized an innovative automated irrigation system. *Queen's Walk Window Gardens* also reminds of the strong poetic image of placing plants in the boxes onto the window seal, which came down to us from Ancient Rome and is mostly practiced contributing to household economy in places with limited productive yard space. The project has drawn attention to the challenges of food production in highly populated urban areas and has been dismantled and reinstalled in London's schools as legacy to the city. The London art-installation gardens are good examples of participatory design that resist against the dominion of technocratic society.

ECOlogic Studio is a London-based architectural firm, which designs architectural eco-machines to produce algae for consumption. ECOlogic Studio built *Hortus Paris* in 2013. It is an art installation for the EDF Foundation of Paris with digitally interconnected organic void columns that host microalgae organisms in a water-based solution. The algae grow due to the flow of energy in terms of artificial

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[10]Published in Heather Ring's (2012) article in Lotus International and in Moira Lascelles's (2011) book "The Union Street Urban Orchard: A Case Study of Creative Interim Use."

light radiation, carbon dioxide, and with the input of the visitors who are invited to activate an air pump that allows the oxygen to be released into the water solution. Another form of interaction with the installation is through the accumulation of digital data through tweets in a digitally designed virtual garden. ECOlogic Studio also built the *Urban Algae Canopy* and *Algae Folly* for Expo Milan 2015. Both projects are bio-digital architecture that integrates science and high technology. The aim is not only to grow algae, but also to create an organic architecture that allows human interaction with the artistic object. The works of ECOlogic Studio aim to explore human–nature interaction through the screen of science, while modeling an alternative food production system removed from the earth by using water instead. The works of ECOlogic Studio may be referred as *scientification* of art. Their technological approach that puts modern science into use reveals the world in a mathematically calculable way as opposed to poetic disclosure of arts. However, they are agripoetic cases as they direct the attention to the changing means and meanings of agricultural production based on modern technology. The forgetfulness of the constructedness of the world as a human–nature relation in each era is brought into view through the work of art and opens the realm to think about the possibilities of *Dasein*.

The French architectural firm SOA carries research on and proposes interventions for urban farming starting from 2001. Their main focus was to cultivate food in the sky. SOA is similar to ECOlogic Studio in the sense that their projects are visionary utopias that represent the realm of the possibilities for the future cities. In an imaginary Paris, the *Superfarm* and *Rooftop Farming* envisioned an expanse of greenhouses on top of the existing buildings in order to provide fresh vegetables to the chain supermarkets. They shift the agriculture from the ground to the sky and from global to local as resistance to neoliberal system by creating local food systems. In 2015, SOA designed *La Fabrique Agricole*, a project that envisages the transformation of a portion of city into an urban agricultural system. The project imagines buildings and urban farms as gathered around a green cultivated plaza. The interconnection between agriculture and the urban layout is strongly intertwined. Firstly, the farming activity serves to the surrounding neighborhoods and creates a direct and local food system. Secondly, the spatial separation between cultivation and leisure has been removed by designing indoor farming and leisure activities that share the same building. The resistance to the modern understanding of leisure and agriculture is clearly visible in these projects. Le Corbusier divided these activities into separated areas; they had to not blend and contaminate each other. Nonetheless, agripoetic works of the contemporary era stop this enforcement of strict separation and ordering in the space by blurring the boundaries between the activities of agriculture and recreation.

Rooftop gardens managed with community participation have been realized in Rotterdam and Amsterdam. In 2012, Groenprojecten in collaboration with ZUS (Zones Urbaines Sensibles) designed *DakAkker,* reclaiming an abandoned building in the center of Rotterdam by remodeling it and giving it to the local community. Growing and selling food to local restaurants and festivals are the partial purpose of this sky garden. Furthermore, it is an educational station on farming and

beekeeping. The same educational will is carried out in the rooftop farm *Zuidpark* that was opened in 2012 in Amsterdam, which mainly focuses on workshops, education activities, and special events. With their forgotten links to the rooftop cultivation in Ancient Athens, all these projects work with the poetics of cultivating under the sky by looking at the horizon in the open space as they resist to the global food market.

The cases show collaborations between communities and professionals. These are timely interventions in the urbanization of cities as they, in their subjects, range from resisting waste urbanism, which is integral to consumer society, to resisting corporate architectural practices, from resisting neoliberal consumption of nature, to resisting technological domination of nature. In the contemporary context of agripoetic resistance, urban dwellers and activist professionals of architecture and urbanism reshape the cities and consequently themselves through the production of food as an art that resists the domination of modern technology and neoliberal system in varying degrees. In this context, the rights to the nature and city blend together.

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Chapter 14
Participation Caught In-Between Projects and Policies?

Sukanya Krishnamurthy

Abstract Over the recent decades, we have experienced a shift away from technocratic planning towards the idea of place-based mediation, and the role of society in making the city. Initiating new readings the role participation and collaboration has on: (a) consensus building between capacity of participants, (b) the encouraging of broad range of contexts to shape evidence-based decision-making, including sociocultural, economic, and technological contexts, and (c) new forms of partnerships and funding between academic, municipalities, and companies. This has lead to contemporary planning practice and theory embracing the idea of reimagining and redefining, complexities and contexts that shape the city. By carrying out a literature review, the discussion of new instruments, strategies and formats, and theories that are currently being employed is expanded on. The author questions if this has lead to an urbanism approach where the strategic and spatial, formal, and informal frameworks of participatory practices appear to coexist.

Keywords Urban transformation · Placemaking · Participatory practices

14.1 Introduction

"Social space is a social product", Henri Lefebvre's statement from 1974 still stands at the centre of participatory and collaborative design today. Public participation processes have played an increasingly important role from the 1970s, when growing citizen awareness lead to advocacy based output in the 60s–70s (Arnstein 1969; Friedmann 1973, 1998), to the 90s where participation was linked to deliberate democracy (Healey 1997; Amin and Thrift 2002), to the current role of the planner/architect as a facilitator or moderator of issues. Particularly of interest is

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the shift within the fields of planning and design from its historically reactive stance to one that is more proactive and collaborative. However, the last decades have experienced a growing emphasis on the need for evidence-based planning, policymaking, role of various actors, new forms of partnerships, mobility of ideas, and funding models on various scales within both theory and practice. These various transitions have positioned the debate on the theoretical and professional knowledge on the role of participation in urban development (Vigar 2009; Sorensen and Sagaris 2010; Roodbol-Mekkes and Brink 2015). Importantly, the impact of these shifts has been experienced at many scales, altering expectations of stakeholders, decision-makers, and users.

The city is a complex process made up of flows of physical resources, people, financial capital, and increasingly also of information and ideas (Castells 2000; Canzler et al. 2008; Williams et al. 2009; Weise et al. 2012). Scholars such as McFarlane (2011a, b) have established that "assemblages of learning emerge through various voices, interests and expectations, translating and coordinating a multitude of information, and asymmetrical power structures" (Wood 2016, p. 177). The relationship between various stakeholders such as citizens, decision-makers, and the city is currently being reshaped by the diminishing role of the neoliberal state in decision-making. With spatial planning transitioning towards spatial policy coordination (Waterhout 2008; Dühr et al. 2010). The author identifies that this has lead to a multi-scale and diffused urbanism approach, where inclusive strategies and policy guidelines are contrasted against statutory and technical plans. However, the interactions between peoples, policies, processes, and strategies are amidst the need for placing projects within best practices, new forms of governance, and funding models.

This chapter seeks to build on and explore the picture of how, and if, the strategic and spatial frameworks coexist. Carrying out a literature review to understand how new instruments, strategies and formats are being employed can highlight the changing discourses on strategic and spatial frameworks within planning theory. Reflecting on connecting new knowledge (theory and actors) with forms of participation, and governance structures, we question if a transition is emerging and untapped within theory and practice. It is what Robinson (2013, p. 20) contends as "arriving at policies involves far more than assembling the discrete different entities, ideas, or objects which we can trace as they move from there to here".

Following the introduction, brief consideration is given to the search for new theory, terminologies, travel of ideas, and actors associated within complexities of urban development today. This is continued by the role of citizen participation and decision-making in the light of neoliberal frameworks. The section expands on existing and new methods, instruments, strategies, and formats, employed within participatory practices. Results from the section raise questions on transformations within participatory practices, discussing the shifting nature of community and stakeholder involvement in formal and informal planning processes. In conclusion,

the final section pulls together some general issues that are likely to rise within the shift away from technocratic planning, towards more collaborative and socio-tech planning ideals.

14.2   Logics of Development: New Vocabularies, Actors, and Institutions

> The cumulative effect of a range of developments- the internationalisation of consultancy firms; the broadening policy remints of transnational institutions; the formation of new policy networks around think tanks, governmental agencies and professional associations; and the growth of international conferencing and policy tourism- has been to proliferate, widen and lubricate channels of cross-border policy transfer. (Peck 2003, pp. 228–29)

Compounded by the era of neoliberalism, where collaboration is the mantra of the day, cities are now also nodes of learning models for best practices for urban ideas and projects. Cities today are learning from and examining a wide variety of not just policies, and projects, but also collaborating with various city governments, consultancies, universities, etc., on branding, rankings, metrics (Saunier 2001, 2002; Freeman 2012; Healey and Upton 2010; Roy 2012; Theodore and Peck 2011, 2012). The search for new conceptual terms surrounding urban and planning studies is not new, driven by Ananya Roy's (2009) call for "new geographies of theory" and the emergence of "critical urban theory" (Brenner 2009; Marcuse 2009), and "assemblages" (McFarlane 2011a, b), the production of theory and its embedding in empirical studies is a continuous exercise.

Cities are constantly engaging in what urban scholar Eugene McCann refers to as "extrospection". Where "city actors are tied to a range of national and global policymaking communities and institutions as well as to various cities elsewhere as they teach and/or learn about innovative policies" (McCann 2013, p. 7). Peck and Theodore (2010) label this as "fast policy transfer" through "policy actors" who move between conferences, consultancy, study trips, etc. (McCann 2008), acting as agents of transfer and information (Stone 2004; McCann and Ward 2011). Identified by McFarlane (2011a, b, p. 364) as "coordination tools" where movement of knowledge occurs through various forum, academic work, reports, workshops to name a few, or as Theodore and Peck (2011) have analysed, "through transnational advocacy groups and learning forums that package, frame and legitimise global circulation". This has led to a mode of import–export urban policy development that Roy and Ong (2011) have called "worlding' of cities". The work of Roy and Ong (2011) highlights that urban development seems to be dictated by the circulation of urban models, interfacing and learning from other cities, and building strategic partnerships between cities. Leading to an era of speculative urbanism focused on new types of economies and governance, competition and growing collaborations (Goldman 2011). The territorial and productive nature of these rapid shifts and exchanges appears to be currently shaping the planning

practice, actors involved, and its rationalities. Thus, there is a necessity for new approaches within urban and architectural studies to open up the discussion on the new realities of economies and space.

14.3 Complexity of Participatory Practices

Participation goes by many names: "citizen participation", "public involvement", "public engagement", "stakeholder engagement", "community engagement", or "civic engagement". The concept going back to Arnstein (1969, p. 216) can be metaphorically outlined as, "the idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principal because it is good for you". The role of civic participation in spatial planning has a long history, with interactive collaborative and/or participatory planning approaches introduced for example in the USA (Innes and Booher 2000; Sandercock 2001), various countries in central and northern Europe (Balducci 2004; Healey 1997, 2007; Albrechts 2004; Boonstra and Boelens 2011), Brazil (Avritzer 2006) and China (Fingerhuth 2004). Over the last decades, citizen participation has increasingly been backed up by a broad range of structural arguments in the economic, social, and political domains, as well as in the spatial domain (Boonstra and Boelens 2011). Central to the concept, however, are five distinctive components that characterise the structuring of participation: who participates, when participation happens, what happens, how much participation, and why the actors participate (Dietz and Stern 2008; Burton and Mustelin 2013; Sarzynski 2015).

"Spatial planning is oriented towards attempting to shape the future built environment, with regard to the future distribution of people, activities, and resources in cities and regions in response to the demands of society or specific interests" (Ryser and Franchini 2008, p. 21). Contemporary spatial policy and planning practices are embracing the idea of reimagining the problematic of planning in today's era. This can be seen through the increasing influence that neoliberal thinking has on spatial policies and territorial governance across Europe (Waterhout et al. 2013). Complex decision-making structures, wherein many stakeholders interact, alongside the decline of the representative function of the state in planning, have fostered the discussion of the legitimacy of decision-making. It has also raised demands for additional forms of citizen participation, and further exploration of the inner dynamics of representation (Cain et al. 2006; Saward 2010). With the transition from the first half of the twentieth century from indirect decision-making towards direct citizen involvement in the latter part of the twentieth century, we are now experiencing new challenges with respect to participation, and collaboration, added to this is the role of technology.

The work of Roberts (2004) highlights the vast and complex field that citizen participation entails. Sherry Arnstein's (1969, p. 216) definition where the

multi-stakeholder interests and positions are incorporated is still valid, "a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the politics and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programmes are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parcelled benefits of the affluent society". Added to this is the role of its educative function, where citizen responsibility increases alongside the integrative function of sense of belonging. Participatory planning implies the sharing of responsibility for decisions (Lefevre et al. 2000), leading to a win-win solution for both local decision-making institutions and the public/stakeholders (Stratigea 2009). The potential of participatory planning as advocated by collaborative planners is articulated by effects seen on social capital, environmental outcomes, strengthening community (Sorensen and Sagaris 2010) though others question if strategic issues are not decided elsewhere (Sharp and Connelly 2002). Others, including Swyngedouw (2005), suggest that decision-making gets pushed back leading to undemocratic means of "governance-beyond-the-state". What is clear is that there are real limits to what participation can achieve as provided in Table 14.1. Working towards "the common good" (Pateman 1970) is possible by posing the advantages and dilemmas of participatory and deliberative democracy.

Table 14.1 Advantages and dilemmas posed by participatory and deliberative democracy. Based on Graaf and Michels (2009) and Roberts (2004)

Advantages	Inclusive, integrative, and therapeutic	Representation of relevant groups and interests; a sense of belonging in their community
	Civic skills and virtues	Civic skills (debating public issues, speaking in public, running a meeting) and civic virtues (public engagement, responsibility, connectedness)
	Deliberation	Rational decisions based on public reasoning
	Legitimacy	Legitimacy of process and outcome; provides some form of stability to the process
	Education	Sense of responsibility
	Instrumental and reflection of society (realistic)	A platform and voice for change (Arnstein, 1969); source of innovative ideas and approaches
Dilemmas	Unrealistic and inefficient	Issues of trust, expense, need for expert decision-makers
	Expertise	Ordinary citizens participate in complex decision-making
	Access and exclusion	Not everyone is involved
	Disruptive	Heightens political conflict

14.4   Shifts Within Governance Frameworks and Impacts on Participatory Practices

Planning literature highlights that the governance landscape has progressively increased in complexity, where no single actor or scale has the power or capacity to shape the spatial structures of society on their own. Policy delivery becomes dependent on effective coordination between various policy sectors across various scales (Olesen 2012, p. 912). With strategic spatial planning recognised as a highly selective processes where issues addressed are driven by the actors involved in the stratergy making process (Albrechts 2004; Healey 2007). Albrechts (2004) further highlights that the decisive issues are determined by the prospect of win-win situations. This has led to much discussion on the state's role in spatial planning. The impact of neoliberalism on spatial planning has further "led to increasing concerns on promoting economic development through planning activities and the effectiveness of policy delivery in the planning processes" (Olesen 2012). The role of the state spatially as highlighted by Brenner (2004) is shaped by political geographies established over time.

A patchwork of different scales and spaces coexists as result of former and contemporary geohistorical structures, "spatiotemporal fixes" (Jessop 2000), and sociopolitical struggles. Urban processes are determined by the presence of a diverse set of stakeholders, "with environmental, social, and economic dimensions being added to the spatial dimension" (Roo 2000). Hajer (2000, p. 175) observes "an 'institutional void' as the context in which public policies are made in a constantly evolving environment and sometimes are missing generally accepted rules and norms". This can be attributed to the changes within spatial planning's shifts towards a more integrated, strategic, and collaborative approach (Vigar 2009; Dühr et al. 2010; Roodbol-Mekkes and Brink 2015). Spatial planning has transitioned into spatial policy coordination (Waterhout 2008; Dühr et al. 2010), where within the governance frameworks planning acts more as a facilitator, guiding and shaping the policies and activities of other key actors rather than directly implementing change. This is similar to the role of the state as a metagovernor of processes of "filling in" at subnational and regional scales (Jessop 2003; Goodwin et al. 2005; Jones et al. 2005). This brings up observations from Peck and Tickell (2002) on the further devolution and downsizing of the state and the "increasing responsibility of citizens and civic institutions for local urban planning and services". This is pushing towards the neoliberal goal of promoting economic development (example, Brenner and Theodore 2002). This has lead to Healey (2007) arguing on how, "strategic planning efforts at times have to move away from formal planning arenas in order to destabilise existing policy discourses and practices". This section expands on a few examples of informal spatial strategy making in urban spaces, while maintaining close links to formal planning arenas, and rooted within the neoliberal planning agendas.

14.4.1 Shifts Away Large-Scale Projects as Flagships Towards "Glocal" and Co-creative Solutions?

Large-scale urban development projects remain popular today, as they did 20 years ago when urban restructuring of the city was at its height. These urban transformations, exhaustively documented in many academic research and governmental documents, have invariably been situated in the context of a transforming spatial political, sociocultural, and economic system (Swyngedouw et al. 2002, p. 550). The last years have seen an increase in collaborations between planners and local authorities, with private companies and investors to shape urban renewal processes, economic revitalisations, making of innovation districts, and internationalisation. Examples, such as Strijp S, Eindhoven; Donau City, Vienna; Docklands Development Project, Dublin, are cases of where socio-economic growth and physical regeneration come together in a multi-stakeholder consortia aimed at flagship projects for cities. Linked to neoliberal process of the retreating state, flexibility and efficiency of collaborative decision of the various decision-making units is signalled as transparency between state and civil society. This has lead to the identification of the triple helix concept where the relationship between university-industry-government (Leydesdorff and Etzkowitz 1996; Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 2000) has become institutionalised collaboration (Winden and Carvalho 2015). This was seen through the development of "glocalised" solutions where projects were funded based on consortia formations, and the fostering of the social economy (see Swyngedouw et al. 2002). The public discourse around these projects shaped the making of the city, its image, while propagating an image of corporatist forms of governance.

The last years, however, have experienced an increasing emphasis on co-evolution and participation. This appears to support a transition from a triple helix approach into a quadruple helix approach where the citizen or user is the fourth dimension (Wilson 2012). The shift from place to people is visible through the stress on society-centred action and research. Most national and European funds now emphasise on collaborative/co-creative models for tacking "societal challenges". While the rhetoric that surrounds "development" may be shifting, questions on elite coalition formation, reduced universal support, and growth of targeted interventions continue to practise mechanisms of exclusion.

14.4.2 Placemaking: Collaborative, Creative, Informal?

"Placemaking is an act of doing something. It's not planning, it's doing. That's what's so powerful about it"—Fred Kent, Project for Public Spaces.

Public places fulfil a cornucopia of functions, behaving as sites of encounter, experiences, and reference. Over the last decades the idea and concept of "placemaking projects" pushing for collaborative urban transformations has gained

popularity to increase attractiveness of cities for investors (Madureira 2013). Traced back to the 1960s, what began as a reaction against auto-centric planning and bad public spaces has expanded to include broader concerns about healthy living, social justice, community capacity building, economic revitalisation, childhood development, and a host of other issues facing residents, workers, and visitors in towns and cities large and small (Silberberg et al. 2013, p. 2). The range and scale of activities that encompass placemaking vary from small interventions to large-scale urban regeneration projects.

The idea/concept of placemaking can be understood as geographic locations that are realms of and extend "lived experience" (Amin 2002, p. 388), "meaningful spaces, rich in associations and steeped in sentiment" (Lofland 1998, p. 64), and build on "sense of place" (Steele 1981). Markusen and Gadwa (2010, p. 1), for example, define placemaking as "in creative placemaking, partners from public, private, nonprofit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighbourhood, town, tribe, city, or region around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local businesses viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired".

The practice of placemaking works towards the improvement of the quality of community life and public spaces aims to include but not limited to community health and safety, social and spatial justice, environmental sustainability, and lastly stimulate economic development. Importantly, it is based on the notion that a variety of stakeholders shape societies; hence, city-making approaches should be collaborative as well. In practice, for the benefit of local communities, the active participation and engagement of a wide array of stakeholders (citizens and civil society organisations), alongside a multi-level and multi-sectorial approach in the development and management of space, is encouraged. Aimed at a transdisciplinary approach, where diverse communities are able to find common grounds around specific ideas and locations (Martin 2003), the role of various stakeholders, institutions, and community needs to play a central role.

Successfully employed globally (e.g. https://www.pps.org), the recognition of urban complexity is the first step in the design of an inclusive placemaking practice. The process of identifying actor/network interdependencies whose aims about place could be divergent (Klijn and Koppenjan 2007), and the importance of collaborative models of development can be traced back to neoliberal governance schemes. With neighbourhood- or community-based organisations becoming increasingly responsible for local services, this has initiated a growing "business climate" (Raco 2000; Ward 2000). While placemaking articulates the idea of local dependence and importance of coalitions, they remain at a "largely local community-based identities and concerns" (Robinson 2001). As a collaborative social and creative action method, placemaking operates within the confines of formal planning agendas while appearing as an informal strategy.

14.4.3 DIY Urbanism/Hack Your City

The Do-it-Yourself urban movement has come to be known under many names, "pop-up", "tactical", "insurgent", "guerrilla", or other shock tactics, and is synonymous with resident-driven, temporary, and low-budget interventions. The appeal of such micro-spatial approaches is identified by "its direct opposition to top-down, capital-intensive, and bureaucratically sanctioned urban change" (Talen 2015, p. 136) and is linked to narratives on public space and ideas of civic engagement, "right to the city", appropriation of space and responsibilities in relation to it (Hou 2010). Over the last years, there has been a growing volume of research to come to grip on the various forms these approaches have taken world over (see, e.g., Hou 2010; Zeiger 2011; Iveson 2013; Mould 2014; Talen 2015). Douglas (2014, p. 2) describes "Do-it-Yourself" (DIY) urbanism as, "Civic-minded and intended towards the functional improvement of lived urban spaces through skilful, playful, and localised actions, these increasingly visible yet often unattributed practices complicate common assumptions and have received little attention from social scientists or urban policy and planning professionals". The diversity of ideas, experiments, and conceptual questions has lead researchers like Zeiger (2011) and Finn (2014) ask "How do we measure the impacts of ambiguously defined and informal activities? And if there is, or can there be, a shared politics of the city that connects the practices". The aim here is to question ways in which DIY strategies have been co-opted by prevailing neoliberal development agendas.

Akin to the popularity of "placemaking", DIY tactics are being employed by citizens for small incremental changes. Finn (2014) outlines that DIY urbanism can be identified as "(1) instigated, designed, created, paid for, and implemented by single users or small voluntary groups, (2) efforts generally attempt to emulate or augment official municipal infrastructure in public space, (3) the beneficiary of these DIY interventions is the general public". These activities include street furniture, parklets, gardening, bike signages, yarn bombing, "plug-and-play" initiatives as some prevalent examples. The questions that DIY urbanism raises and exemplifies is, "the receding public investment in neighbourhood revitalization, and a renewed approach operates outside the bounds of conventional planning is gaining traction" (Talen 2015, p. 146). While questioning the lack creativity, flexibility, and imagination of institutional actors and policymakers within the framework of urban redevelopment.

In an era of fiscal scaling back, DIY urbanism showcases how improvements of the built environment can be user-funded, inexpensive, and quick. As a self-driven informal activity, DIY urbanism presents a unique opportunity for formal planning arenas to accommodate the informal. Cities can mobilise increasing interest in DIY activities to build partnerships between activists and institutional actors to encourage creative problem-solving, build platforms that showcase projects, and encourage collaborations, or use these as exercises for testing ideas as co-creative processes.

14.4.4   Role of Technology, Data, and Living Labs

With the onset of new media and the Web, communications between citizens and agencies are exploring new ways to access information. Informed by contemporary technologies that use data and models, participation is responding to new types of interactions (IFF 2011; Brail 2008). Central to this exercise is how the online culture bridges into and engage with the urban realm to help solve complex issues facing society today. The overarching aim is to move towards a vision where urban technologies can play a role in empowering communities in shaping their urban environment while collaboratively addressing shared urban issues (Paulos et al. 2008; Foth et al. 2011; de Lange and de Waal 2012; Stratigea et al. 2015).

With the push towards more efficiency and personalisation of cities, smart city concepts and subsequent policies are being institutionalised on large scales (Ratti and Townsend 2011; Allwinkle and Cruickshank 2011; Chourabi et al. 2012). With the idea of smart city/society/citizen gaining global momentum, these terms have become a catch-all phrase to accommodate the rapid and new waves of technological innovations within daily (urban) life. This is also expanding the socio-technical realm of collaborative and participatory initiatives. Examples where digital media has played an important role in citizen engagement include software such as participatory GIS, planning support systems (PSS), SimCity. The use of such methods can be seen in a variety of projects around the globe, including the Dutch Geluidsnet (http://geluidsnet.nl/en/), where residents near the Schiphol airport in the Netherlands have started a campaign against excessive airport noise pollution. Collective online storytelling is another example of engagement through narratives and place, Het geheugen van Oost (The Memory of Amsterdam East, http://www.geheugenvanoost.nl), or using online media tools to "crowd-source" ideas for city area, Face Your World (http://www.faceyourworld.net) by artist Jeanne van Heeswijk and architect Dennis Kaspori.

There is also a growing trend of municipalities forming alliances with knowledge institutions and universities to introduce Living Labs that acts as participatory or co-creative platforms with the aim to organise urban processes efficiently (Batty et al. 2012, http://www.openlivinglabs.eu/). Living Labs constitute a partnership-based mode of governance that delivers valuable outcomes by bringing together different stakeholders (Karvonen and Van Heur 2014). Juujärvi and Pesso (2013, p. 22) define Urban Living Labs as "a physical region in which different stakeholders form public-private-people partnerships of public agencies, firms, universities, and users collaborate to create, prototype, validate, and test new technologies, services, products, and systems in real-life contexts". Social actors from industry, knowledge institutes, civil society organisations, and various levels of government team up to co-produce innovative arrangements in strategically selected real-world settings by conducting hands-on experiments. The push of urban technologies though appears utopian, concerns remain on their sociological

positioning and exclusionary mechanisms (Tonkens et al. 2015), including social sorting, surveillance, and privacy (Crang and Graham 2007; Shepard 2011).

14.5 In Lieu of a Conclusion: Impacts of New Knowledge and Tools

The shaping of the urban environment is not the exclusive domain of the professional and institutional actors. Citizens, are not merely "users", but are active participants who shape the places they inhabit. As Jon Lang (1994, p. 35) notes "All kinds of people are involved in designing cities: lawyers, developers, individual households, and professional designers of various types. Much is designed by people who do not regard themselves as designers, but whose actions nonetheless change the built world. While professional designers are involved in making many decisions about the future of the city, many design acts are made by the citizens of cities on their own behalf". Today's planning can be called a balancing act between market forces and the public sector, as Myers and Banerjee (2005) put it, planners perform mostly creative, diplomatic and exhortative roles as shepherds of the public interest. While this may be true to a large extent, local activism and local identities are still alive and well today (see Talen 2015; Finn 2014; Iveson 2013).

With the move away from technocratic ideals, planning is seen as a facilitator within neoliberal frameworks. The utopian aims here appears to be a move towards new types of coalitions, funding schemes, and urban technologies merging to address various urban challenges. This push seen through various mechanisms might be responding to Pinder's call for "alternative urban utopias" (2002), though questions remain on how policymakers and planners mobilise and use new knowledge. Planning rationales have "become an arena for multi-scalar interactions and struggles" (Brenner 1999), as seen in the various shifts that planning and participatory processes have experienced. Careful attention, however, needs to be paid to the travelling of ideas across the globe, mobility of knowledge, and the role of contexts when it comes to planning processes and fast policy transfers.

As the chapter outlines, the question of the importance of participatory practice is not under debate. New challenge for participation today is the linking between formal and informal decision-making. The push towards more inclusive co-creative strategies after decades of the "city as a project", to the coming of placemaking and increasing attempts at DIY urbanism, is a signal of both the retreating state and growing awareness can even be seen as "city as a platform". For the support of new types of collaboration, data and technology needs, systems have to be implemented on various levels that encompass legal, technical, and social openness. Planning should (as it always has) question and harness new energies associated with DIY projects, ideas on placemaking, urban technologies to expand and support equitable, effective, and locally adapted solutions.

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Chapter 15
Urban Productive Landscapes: Designing Nature for Re-acting Neo-liberal City

Emanuele Sommariva

Abstract In the world of urbanism, architecture and landscape, new paradigms are currently changing the way people think about or interact with economic crisis, quality of life and self-made practices. In a scenario where the scale and pace of market-driven urbanization and ephemeral landscapes of pop-up settlements are challenging the notion of permanence as a basic planning principle, the regeneration of the city in the twenty-first century aims to the definition of multi-level approaches associated with emergent socio-spatial challenges. Many of the most promising ideas in this field are that of the reformulation, reclamation and recycle of variable patterns of open spaces as real generators of urban life. This paper presents a theoretical framework, understanding how urban regeneration processes, through the '*bottom-up*' redevelopment of residual spaces, can represent an attempt to reduce degradation of peri-urban fragile environments and to find environmentally compatible ways of increasing the definition of urban productive landscapes.

Keywords Productive landscapes · Ecological footprint · Urban sprawl

15.1 Neoliberal Contradictions in Urban Development

With the term neoliberalism we usually refer to *«a complex and contested set of processes comprised of diverse programmes, practices and discourses»* (Perreault and Martin 2005). This is the backdrop against which the contradictory process of real-estate spatial reconfiguration of contemporary urban condition, the so-called *actually existing neoliberalism* (Shenjing and Fulong 2009), is clashing with the traditional definition of the free-trade economic theories opening to further studies

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and more in-depth research. Considering the prevalent context of a market-driven globalization, these trends can be interpreted according to the design disciplines as an emerging restructuring relationship with extensive liberalization policies between private economic actors, capital and the institutions, in order to promote a *growth-first* approach for strategical planning and urban development (Brenner and Theodore 2002).

Rather than a conscious urban policy and design principle, neoliberalization in growing metropolitan regions can be understood as a response to multiple challenges as well as the trigger for fast development of public–private sectors, place-making, new forms of local boosterism in face of polarization of urban markets, rising of food and fuel prices, growing dependence on raw material imports. Places for market challenges and economic growth, cities have become hubs of institutional relations and socio-spatial open laboratories of intensive urban design experiences, although they functions very differently from the historical centres we inherited and their connections with the territories have profoundly changed.

Moreover, the pervasive impact of logistic and automotive sector based on the ubiquitous use of fossil fuels and supported by an extensive metropolitan demand for new mobility infrastructures, which make the physical dimension less liveable, is fostering the urban development as the only territorial 'engine' to be considered in order not to lose the demand of global connectivity. Today, the geographical position of settlements is becoming less relevant as company offshoring and production relocation are overturning the potentials of national and local economies. Contemporary urban dwellers *«do not really live in a civilisation, but in a mobilisation of natural resources, people, services and products»* (Girardet 2004). In the century of the city, modern agglomerations will require more and more significant quantities of green open areas for their environmental balance, clashing with their demands of big amounts of finite resources, commodities and food produced and distributed from the surrounding territory, or most of time to be shipped from other countries. Although it is strange to see, after two centuries of robust industrialization, urbanism, building construction activities and social institutions related to it have led agriculture and rural areas to an increasingly marginal role (Fig. 15.1).

The metropolitan region of London, just to mention one significant case study, covers an area of about 158.000 ha. With 13% of UK's population, London city depends upon more than 42% of Britain's whole agricultural territory for its fresh food supply. However, the global dependence of Londoners' foodscapes has to be extended overseas, reaching the wheat plains of North America, the Amazonian soya bean crops, the Mediterranean orchards and the tea cultivation of Far East and Central Africa.

Nevertheless, the side effects imposed by retailing and big distribution channels have never been a big issue for most part of Western society. The food topics are internationally debated on the cultural, social and health qualities in favour of the contemporary urban society, while the environmental impacts related to the processing, transportation and consumption cycle are only recently tackled.

Fig. 15.1 State of world agriculture, food productions and scenarios of future development. *Source* UN DESA

So, while the development of agriculture and urbanization are drawn apart from people's perception—two recent surveys led by British national newspapers have shown that only 22% of UK citizens were aware that most of the bacon sold came from foreign farms and only 36% of children knew the names of the vegetables served in schools—never before have these two disciplines have been so related. The reasons are as simple, as they are significant. Firstly, both agriculture and urban development could not do without the use of the same resources that are, in addition, increasingly rare: earth, water and energy. Secondly, both disciplines are forced to fulfil urgent global needs: How to serve, provide home/work and feed a

The agricultural sector's resources consumption   source: FAOSTAT
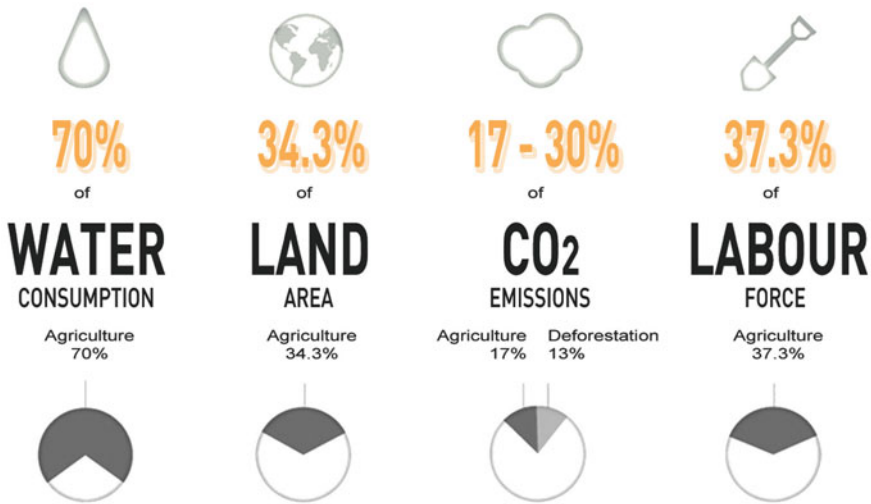
Fig. 15.2 Agriculture and urban development use the same resources until when they reach a stalemate

world population that will be estimated at 9 billion by 2050, of which more than half now is living in urbanized contexts?

Moreover, people awareness of environmental, social and economical crisis is growing, produced by unsustainable practices that have characterized the continuous development of the society until the last century (Fig. 15.2).

Nevertheless, while the urban sprawl continues to expand silently, as one of the effects of logic of purely incremental growth, new affordable lands, often in the forest regions of South America and South Asia, are being cleared and converted into agro-industries sites. Is here that the production of wood, fruit, cotton, soya beans or animal feed, challenges the primacy of the sector held by the USA. This fact enshrined the record of Brazil as one of the emerging worldwide giants of agriculture, providing China with more than one-third of agricultural imports.

Nowadays, we are facing with a complex territorial scenario[1]: many countries have access to limited areas to expand their agriculture, considering the high density of urbanization; others, which should have provided much larger areas, cannot do it

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[1]Only 11% of the land is suitable for agricultural production without improvements made by man or by external devices, and its intensive use in the long period impoverishes greatly the quality of the soil. All over the world, 75% of the soil put in production is compromised by erosion with a peak of 62% in Europe. Every year we lost from 5 to 7 million hectares of arable lands. The greatest risk is posed by water erosion and the poor drainage (affecting 55% of cases), followed by the low absorption of nutrients and by the high level of acidity/salinity (28%). Source: FAOSTAT (2012) http://faostat.fao.org/.

Sources of growth and world agricultural yields source: FAOSTAT
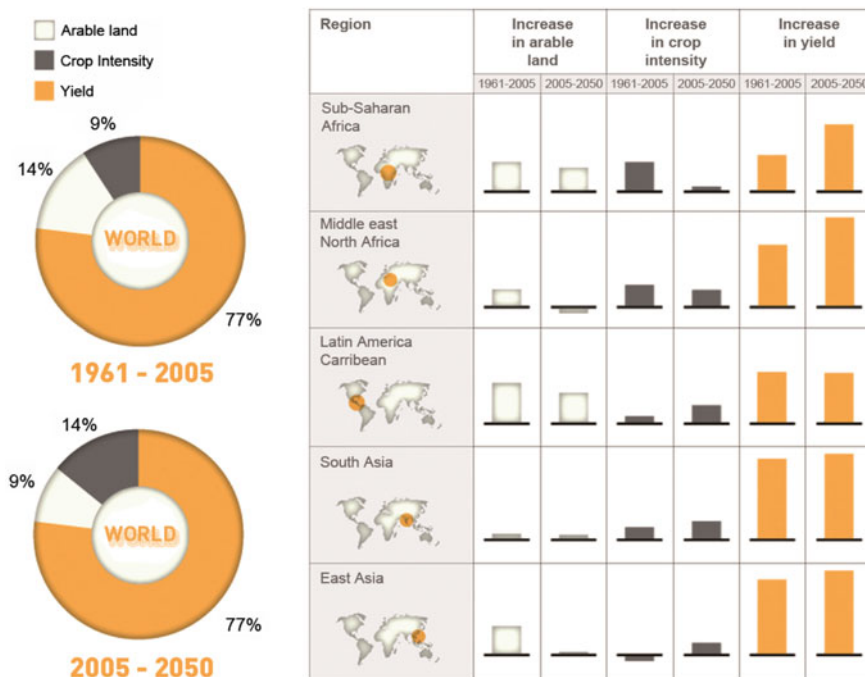

Fig. 15.3 The reduction of biodiversity and arable land is due to the increased productivity of agriculture

for adverse weather conditions and/or geographic disadvantages. On the contrary, Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Chile) has the greatest potential for expansion of croplands for the favourable soil conditions and low percentage of population density. The questions posed by the urbanization of society and its effect on climate change are influencing more and more profoundly the world state of agriculture, causing alteration of prices, reducing the individual access of *food security*[2] and considering the food production as mere commodities (Fig. 15.3).

Despite their in-built density, metropolis can guarantee multiple potential sites for enhancing farming practices and new open spaces, whether properly interpreted in continuity with network-oriented regional parks, can become *Continuous Productive Urban Landscapes*, showing how agricultural lands can still be part of urban iconic body (Viljoen et al. 2005).

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[2]According to FAO definition, *food security* is defined as «*… the achievement of a condition where everyone has the opportunity to access to enough food to satisfy own nutritional needs and food preferences to lead an active and healthy life*». This definition also includes a large extent to *Safety*, even if the latter receives much less attention in the international discussion.

Over the past 10 years, for example, the cities of Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan have produced within their administrative boundaries more than 65% of poultry, 16% of pigs and 45% of vegetables consumed by their own citizens. Recent reports show that in the USA, more than one-third of valuable agricultural production is developed in the so-called *Metropolitan Statistical Area*. Dar-es-Salaam, Casablanca and Cairo among the fastest growing African megacities are fully self-reliant in livestock and vegetable production, counting on the 68% of target groups involved in horticulture, compared with 17% in 1966 (Smit et al. 2001).

These data prove the overall incapacity of traditional planning strategy, to include agricultural topics with the urban policies. Experts of design disciplines were less engaged in urban agriculture practices as they were conceived as marginal and disorganized activities, sometimes conflicting with urban amenities development programme. For more than ten years, self-organized movements of citizens and associations reclaim their rights to green within urban areas, as an alternative factor for better living quality, self-sufficiency and survival strategy against the big distribution chains. If this state seems to be internationally known for developing countries with poor nutritional conditions, it is remarkable how this global trend is involving also neoliberal megacities, especially where the unemployment rate and social conflict are growing. Spending time in growing fresh food besides to enhance a sense of respect of community spaces (*cure by use*) is again conceived as a leisure pursuit and an escape to alienating daily urban living.

So, whether food topics are addressed by international authors, especially focused on the relationship between organic production, local identities and cultural values associated with agriculture, whereas not so much has been written about the profound implications on the structure of cities.

During wars, hard times or economic recessions, supporting basic food productions in cities has always played an essential role for the population. At the end of nineteenth century, *jardins ouvriers* (workers gardens) spread all over the country improving the diet of poorest industrial working classes. *Schrebergarten* (family gardens) were initiated in German-speaking countries between the WWI and WWII, as a public initiative for leasing municipal land in order to let children of poor classes playing in a safe environment while educating them to grown fresh food. In the same period also in UK and USA, the *Victory gardens* and *Dig for Victory* social campaign contributed with urban food production to contrast the famine of war.

Recent decades we are facing other challenges and we have the emergence of a dual equation that is based, on the one hand, on the competitive positions of megacities in a neoliberal scenario and, on the other, the demand for new cultural and environmental sensitivity towards urban recycle and re-naturalization process (Gausa 2012).

Chronically high levels of unemployment and social inequality dare a rising alarm in emerging metropolitan agglomeration, imposing the weaker parts of urban society to re-invent a culture of public spaces, associating new productive values, environmental awareness and social engagement. Several groups of activists across Europe, such as *Land is Ours* or *Guerrilla Gardening*, offered through their

fieldworks forms of temporary employment and the re-naturalization of urban squatted spaces often involving citizens, as in the case of *jardin partagé*: gardens with horticultural plantings of ornamental type that recall for formal structure the productive vegetable gardens.

The common awareness on wider social inclusive and greener urban condition has been supported also by prominent political figures such as Michelle Obama's campaign (2009) of new allotment and kitchens gardens, in order to teach the younger generation the values of a healthier diet and the safeguard of local identities/products. In this sense, looking at the history and thinking about the future of our cities, it is worthy to speculate on urban agriculture as a way to re-think more articulated food networks in order to express contemporarily strategic and structural elements of more sustainable urban environments (Fig. 15.4).
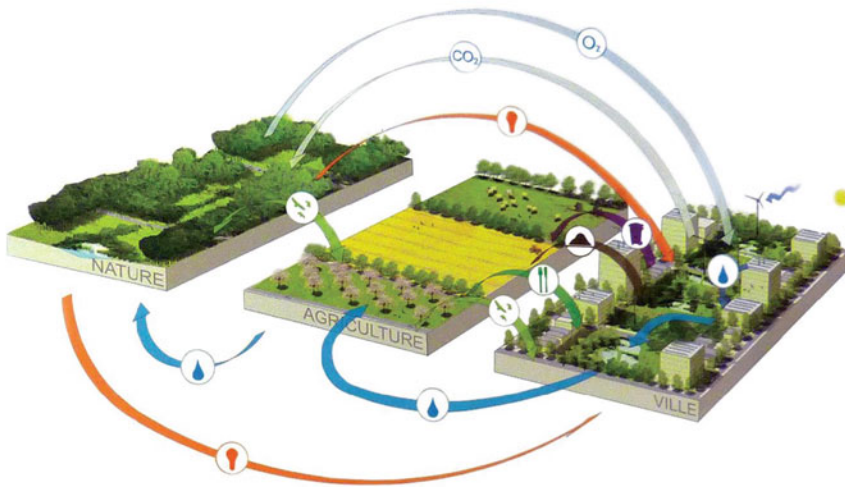
15.2   Farming Beyond the Edge

The results of a recent American analysis on city growth, directed by Karen Seto with a group of researchers from Yale, Stanford and Arizona State University, confirm the actual trend in urban development for the next few years. The study, based on the satellite data available for 48 major metropolitan regions, shows how by 2030 the cities will have grown by about 1.5 million square metres, almost the size of Mongolia, to answer to the needs of 1.47 billion new inhabitants who will be living in urban areas. Cities will also expand in areas that are sensitive and vulnerable, such as forests, biotopes and savannahs. Most of all they will grow more rapidly along the coasts, with huge environmental risks. According to the study, from 1970 to 2000 the ecological footprint of the world's cities grew by 58,000 m^2 (Seto et al. 2011).

The notion of ecological footprint[3] can be introduced for illustrating how much rural territories are affected by urban sprawl and which part of the natural capital is consumed during these transformation processes. Ecological footprint analysis calculates the absorbing capacity of a territory in order to evaluate ecosystem health in comparison with every human activities, such as housing, energy and food production, material consumption and waste disposal (Wackernagel and Rees 1998). The total amount of lands, necessary to satisfy the average resource use for a defined population, represents the ecological footprint of a specific macro-region. This does not have to coincide, and often does not, with the statistical demographic data of a territory. In this way, ecological footprint studies disclose the raising

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[3]Ecological footprint has emerged as one of the world's leading measure of human demand on nature. Firstly introduced by Wackernagel and Rees (1998), today this quantitative and qualitative assessment measurement is used to define the ecological deficit of a region per number of inhabitants, compared with many other statistical data define an important benchmark for our planet's health. Source: Global Footprint Network (2016) http://www.footprintnetwork.org/.

Fig. 15.4 Comparison between the neoliberal urban model and the resilient low-carbon urban–rural system
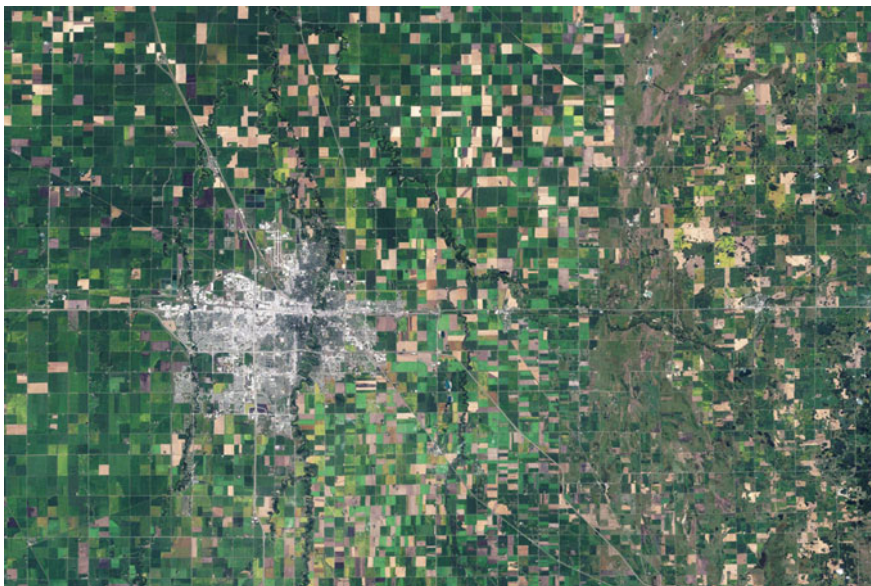
Fig. 15.5 The territorial impact of uncontrolled urban sprawl in the farming plains of Minnesota, USA

stresses on ecosystems produced by human activities, meanwhile tackling issues of social equity and future accounting of natural balance (Fig. 15.5).

By establishing the ecological footprint divided per categories of industrial productions, infrastructures, energy consumptions, waste disposal, urban services and fabrics, it is possible to understand better the effects of overconsumption of territorial resources and to intervene with appropriate mitigation strategies. According to Agenda 21, between the most important principles for the city of the future we can mention the reduction of human activities besides the enhancement of housing comforts, the accessibility to green spaces and the food self-sufficiency.

The global debate on the importance of agricultural realities for the city takes shape in 1960 by UN Conference on Trade and Development, after the beginning of the decolonization processes by the Western countries, which call into question the development models, their phenomenology and its purpose. In 1976, when for the first time Western society was compared with the effects of an energy and environmental crisis, John Seymour published in London '*The Complete Book of Self-Sufficiency*'. The theme of *self-sufficiency* became an integral part of a movement that will involve increasingly large portions of the population. But it is from 1983, with the evolution of the studies of Odum and Commoner, the diffusion of the

Mean Losses in per capita GDP from Climate Change source: FAOSTAT

Fig. 15.6 The urbanization of society and the climate change are affecting worldwide the agricultural sector

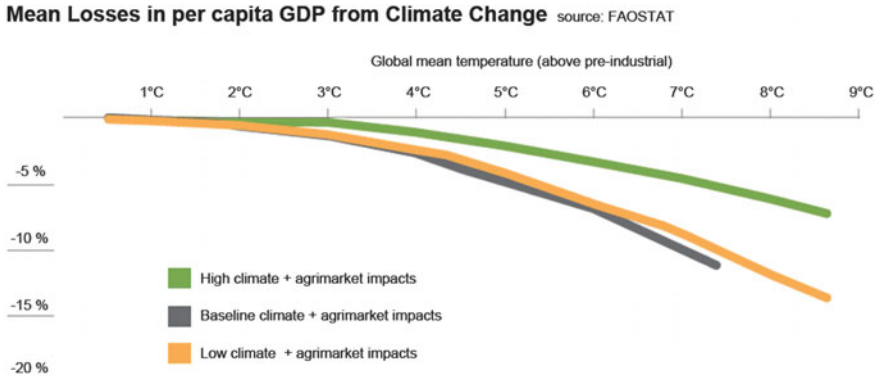ecological economics by Herman Daly, the Brundtland Report,[4] the World Conference on Environment and Development promoted by the UN in Rio de Janeiro,[5] that emerged in parallel to the discourse on the city, a common awareness on the ecological role of agriculture in urban areas.

In 1996, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) surveyed how the work of 800 million people is connected to urban agriculture, 200 million of whom were directly employed in food production with an economic strength that was particularly evident in Asian cities. The multiplication of agricultural initiatives in urban contexts today still yields between 16 and 21% of the global food supply.

After the *Millennium Development Goals*, the consistency of this phenomenon has been consolidated in a renovated framework of urban and social policy, considering also transversal issues such as the food's quality and traceability, the fragmentation of suburban and rural areas, the ageing population, the employment crisis as well as the climate change urgencies. The practices of self-production and commercialization of short distribution chains are emerging as the essential components of a rebalanced agro-food system (Fig. 15.6).

An emphasis on urban sustainability has encouraged the use of the formula *Urban and Peri-urban Farming* (UPF), for its ability to summarize a number of socio-spatial and technical features that detach these local experiences from the backdrop scenario of large-scale mechanized agribusiness. Citizens often ignore

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[4]*Our Common Future*, technically known as Brundtland Report, is a document issued in 1987 by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) where the concept of 'sustainable development' has been introduced as the capacity to satisfy the needs of present population without compromising the future generations.

[5]The *Earth Summit* held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 was the first global meeting on issues relating to the environment. It was attended by 172 governments to build a synthesis framework on the strategic issues of the ecology that led to the drafting of the *Kyoto Protocol*, of local development programmes (*Agenda 21*) and of the *Conventions on climate change and biological diversity*.

Fig. 15.7 Self-sufficient food production campaigns since WWII up today focused on UPF practices

that agricultural or allotment gardens can find space between the peripheral fringes or within urban blocks, even on terraces or rooftop gardening, in courtyards or community farms, as well as in residual spaces of the city, leading towards a spontaneous re-appropriation and re-design of existing green infrastructures. Therefore, the principle of multi-functionality can become a pervasive tactic to envisage new development potentials at every scale of urban design project, from *edible landscapes* to *eco-districts* (Sommariva 2014).

Many examples are visible in various *rur-urbanization* projects promoted both in UK and in France, where there are associations of urban gardeners active since the end of the nineteenth century. The *National Society of Allotment & Leisure Gardeners* (1930) or *Ligue Française du Coin de Terre et des Jardins Familiaux* (1896), for instance, gathered about 2000 regional organizations of small farmers and local distributors (Fig. 15.7).

On public lands in Berlin, there are currently 80,000 gardeners and 16,000 other people in waiting list, in Moscow 65% of households are involved in forms of agricultural self-production or through cooperative buying groups. In Vancouver, one of the world capital of urban agriculture, 40% of the population practice forms of cultivation within the city, both for production purposes and leisure ones. These forms of economy are made at local scale and regional scale, influencing also the education, the social participation and the highest institutional levels.

After the *World Summit on Food Security* (2009) sponsored by FAO in Rome, and international conferences such as *Cultivating the Capital* (2010) in London or

specific research as '*Re-naturing Cities*' in Berlin (2008), big metropolis like
London, Paris, Berlin, Munich and New York adopted in their political agendas
documents which connect food policies, smart planning and urban form (Schröder
and Weigert 2010).

In this sense, the growing awareness of peri-urban landscapes' fragility, the
expansion of interest on urban *leftovers* and the environmental sensitivity, as well as
the demands for healthier and fresh food, make more and more evident that the
places for agricultural production coincide not exclusively with the rural realm.

The intra- and peri-urban contexts, for a long time seen only in terms of land
cover consumption, today are complex realities that interpret the changes taking
place in the territories, defining measures of co-planning, providing alternative
services (such as agro-tourism, leisure, education, consumer groups, organic pro-
ductions) and promoting networks of relationships between farming communities
and citizens. In other words, urban agriculture in the common imaginary is valued
for its capacity to produce symbolic goods, enhancing new economic and social
demands.

15.3   Sprawl Is a Way of Life

The theme of peripheral areas' governance is an important node of the matter, if we
think that most of them define many historical and rural contexts covering over a
half of the world's land surface. Characterized by the modest presence of primary
sector services, these areas are organized by mainly organic crops, the use of
traditional techniques, the eco-friendly parameters, but also the fragility of the
economies and difficult accessibility towards the big distribution chains, which limit
their development.

If after WWII the countryside has been the main focus of sub-urbanization
phenomena, connected with the fluctuating logic imposed by the housing market,
today we look at the multiple interpretations of metropolitan reality (*exopolis,
global city, in(de)finite city, soft city, multiple city…*) trying to describe the complex
territorial mosaic we have to manage. Though the geographic knowledge is com-
monly referred to traditional toponyms and worldwide cultural heritage as happens
in Rome, Cairo, Tokyo, New York, Berlin, New Delhi, the larger part of human
population live in a peripheral or peri-urban condition, in a place totally different
from the historical or consolidated city centres. The unprecedented diffusion of
urban sprawl of the last twenty years has led metropolitan agglomerations far
beyond their limits, so that we cannot talk anymore about a precise form of urban
condition, but of an '*urbanized territory*' (Ingersoll 2012).

Turri (2000) tells the story about the pervasive suburbanization effect in
Northern Italy, particularly evident in Turin, Milan, Brescia, Bologna, Vicenza and
Verona, coining the term *Megalopoli Padana* (Po-Region Megalopolis). All around
Europe is possible to identify similar phenomena, such as the *Dutch Randstad*
(Ring City) of 7 million inhabitants, the Rhine-Ruhr region with more than 11

million people living in a sort of inter-urban condition or again the Vienna-Bratislava metropolitan area with 4.6 million.

Speaking about famous experiences, the Nile City, Los Angeles metro region and Tokyo-Yokohama conurbation are emerging as global habitat comparable per number of inhabitants and complex governance system to sub-nations. Everywhere the size and pace of city development trends are not readable anymore through the lens of traditional paradigms, becoming what we called *exurbia, urban nebulae, urbanized countryside, étalement urbain, aglomeratións, città diffusa*. Different concepts are used to describe a tendency which is experiencing multiple variations since 70's, but with the lack of exploring the reasons why these trends occurred not only on the city's edge, but also between cities, towns and historical districts. These categories refer to a relationship of dependency between contexts and landscapes, but it does not seem to trace the complexity of urban growth still in evolution. The neoliberal city, in this way, is *«less topical and territorial and always more tele-topical and extraterritorial»* (Virilio 1996).

The consequences on the transformation of the rural agricultural fringe zones concern the combination of important cognitive processes. Particularly in the territories characterized by sprawl, are going to configure different undefined spaces developed on the pre-existing agro-landscape structures, which are still the only weak frame of reference (Lanzani 2003). The role of residual agricultural practices, both in the peri-urban territories and in the agro-food systems integrated into the city, is still significant in order to define an idea of hybrid landscape, within the residents identify themselves, as stated by Andrea Branzi's Agronica (Fig. 15.8).

However, these spaces casually defined as residual or marginal borders are not recognized as integral part of cities and we often make the mistake of underestimating their potentials, both for the dynamics of internal changes and for the effects on environmental mitigation induced in the neighbouring contexts.

Gilles Clément in his *Third landscape Manifesto* talks about the ecological potential expressed by *friches* (brownfields), *délaissé* (residual territories) and by the underused plots, abandoned by human activities or never exploited, constituting nevertheless a key resource for the conservation of biological diversity. It implies a diverse idea of enclosed landscapes like the roman *hortus conclusus*, or the designed nature of the art of gardening, in favour of those spaces described for their wild aspects as in the Italian poems written by Leopardi: *the Broom or the flower of the desert*. The conceptual revolution brought by the text of Clément is realized if *«you do not look at the landscape as an object of human activities, discovering a quantity of informal spaces with no purpose, of which it is difficult to give a name»* (Clèment 2003).

If viewed in a wider perspective, the thesis proposed by Clément is to consider the environmental potential offered by these spaces. In fact, urbanizations must avoid welding processes around the city borders in order to ensure the continuity for existing or residual biodiversity. On the contrary, an excessive infrastructural development and closures deny the exchange of ecological services and the *biological inventions* (Fig. 15.9).
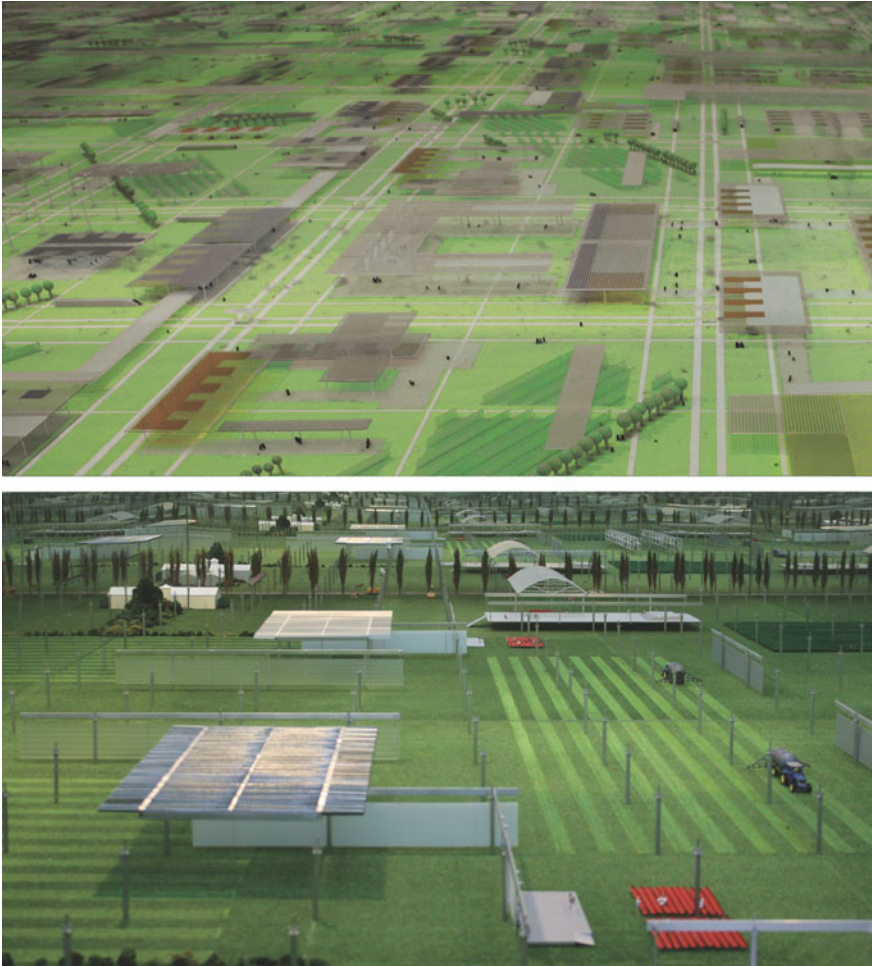
Fig. 15.8 The weak urbanization model of Agronica congregate multiple interpretations of metropolitan reality

The territorial phenomenology here described ensures that the concept of *urban limit* must be updated. No more as a visible and physical border, which make distinctions between what is inside and what is outside, but a transition gradient perceived with an original physiognomy capable to absorb specific uses for the realities defined by sprawl. These can be strategic functions for urban metabolism (delocalized services, buffer zones, mitigation areas, wetlands, water basins, waste treatment, ecological corridors, etc.) focusing not only on soil productivity that could allow territorial agencies to re-think urban planning policies in an innovative way for the management of both the urban open spaces and the marginal peri-urban areas.

Fig. 15.9 Gilles Clément + CoLoCo Studio, Garden of the third landscape in St. Nazaire submarine base, 2012

It is in this perspective, especially in metropolitan areas, that Lewis Mumford's lesson must be interpreted: today does not make sense to define a clear distinction between urban and rural strategical policies especially when the descriptive categories speak about fringe areas, or half-open, enclosed or semi-closed spaces, no more defined with independent form and functions, but resulting by what is around

them. With the current development trends, this process will continue to increase the contradictions between a city more and more similar to a big suburb and a rural urbanized territory in which the spaces will be arbitrarily mixed and values related to the different contexts, will be confused, or worse, forgotten (Donadieu 1998).

Even though it is still unclear whether the socio-economic crisis contributes to the rapid change of land use/land cover patterns, neglecting the topological relationship between urban and rural contexts leads to unsustainable spatial fragmentation, the erosion of ecosystem services,[6] the introduction of new ecological stress as well as the reduction of territorial adaptability to natural hazards (Carsjens and van der Knaap 2002).

Understanding the risks and potentials of small-scale urban pattern configurations compared with the heterogeneity of farming practices helps to monitor local environmental balances and to deepen urban landscape traditional characterization methods, generally subdivided into three categories:

1. *Biophysical landscape classification*: verifying the structural consistency of landscape elements, their forms, the replicability, the redundancy and the functional models referred to geo-botanical, geo-morphological, climatic regions, water availability and land uses.
2. *Anthropic landscape classification*: addressing the development processes of the landscape, the values to be conserved and the possible opportunities/threats produced by human activities on it, with particular attention to livestock farming, agriculture, forestry, fishery, mining and urban growth.
3. *Visual landscape classification*: studying the perceptive values related to landscape fruition by different target groups, based on indicators such as accessibility, degree of security, interaction with other public functions, attractiveness and aesthetic aspects.

Although these approaches in recent years have become a key framework for regional and metropolitan planning studies, serving as basis for landscape analysis and evaluations, the role of characterization is generally narrowed to natural realm, ignoring the increasingly diffusion of hybrid spaces produced by sprawl. Situated halfway between the urban and rural culture, the landscape project for urban agriculture represents a strategy that derives its operating tools from both realities but it is the bearer of a new synthesis.

On the one hand tries to contain the gradual city dispersion of *land-stocks* (enounced with a positive meaning as new lands of potential transformations) and on the other hand, look to rural areas as new potential public spaces, enhancing the local cultural heritage and identities.

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[6]The *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment* (2005) establishes the concept of ecosystem services as supporting natural benefits for living beings. The report entails four different categories: life support (all earth's primary production, such as soil, water, air-wind, vegetation), procurement (nutrients, food and finite resources), regulation (natural cycle for climate, water and soil regeneration) and health and well-being (education, recreational, aesthetic and spiritual values).

Fig. 15.10 Analysis of sites for urban agriculture in the Queens District, New York. *Source* Columbia University

The interest on the regeneration of these fragmented landscapes is a praxis already experimented in many European and international programmes as proved by the growing interest on urban agriculture, allotment gardens associations and alternative zero km initiatives (Fig. 15.10).

In particular, several European regional development projects such as *Metropole nature, Rurbance (Rural–Urban Governance), PureFood* and *RurbAl (Rurban Alimentation)* underline the topicality of these themes and their mutual relationship

with regional and local dynamics. In other terms, the regenerative capacity of future cities by means of participatory planning approach will pass through the reinvention of these undefined spaces, envisaging forms of interaction between land reclamation, new collective demands and green community governance models.

The re-naturalization of the twenty-first-century city aims to the definition of multi-level scenario of interventions associated with today's socio-spatial challenges in face of potential conflicts, in order to overcome the limit of the crisp classification of peri-urban landscapes and the necessity to define adaptive design approaches for enhancing ecological resilience[7] and self-sufficiency (Drescher 2000).

15.4 Recycle as a New Urban Vision

In the world of urbanism, architecture and landscape, new paradigms are currently changing the way people think about or interact with socio-economic trends, technology production, quality of life, self-made practices and survival strategies (Ricci 2012).

Today as never before Latouche's theory on *happy de-growth* represents a realistic hypothesis for urban communities, struggling to survive in this neoliberal and environmental stress juncture. In the meantime, recycle strategies applied to architecture and urban design are emerging as the better low-cost approaches in order to congregate social innovation, historical memories, re-functionalization and public–private involvement in the post-metropolitan city. Researches[8] on complex systems confirm that the structural weakness of emerging megacities (especially in terms of food, energy and water supply) is closely related to the limits of development of society (White and Przybylski 2010). Moreover, if the essential metabolism of urban agglomerations is structured on the transformation of raw materials in the process of building new facilities and settlements, based on massive injections of fossil fuels as the only main energy source, is evident that cannot be anymore the only vehicle of progress for our way of living and creating cities.

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[7]In the discipline of ecology, the term resilience describes the capacity of a system to absorb shock or external influencing forces, by adapting its configuration and enabling different responses for restoring the equilibrium. In ecology, different properties can be used to measure the resilience attitude of an ecosystem, such as the degree of biodiversity, the multiplication of uses (redundancy), the self-regenerating capacity of a terrain, the panarchy (mutual influence between level of hierarchies in a context).

[8]The application of ecological resilience to urban and territorial studies is not an easy task and represents an area of academic interesting of growing importance that can be subdivided in the following principle lines: climate urgencies, transition towards sustainable energy resources, ecological remediation and mitigation, disaster recovery, socio-ecological systems (Pickett et al. 2004; Colding 2007; Scotti-Petrillo and Prosperi 2011; Wilkinson 2011).

In other terms, the scale and pace of contemporary urbanization defy the concept of permanence as a basic condition for creating cities. Ephemeral landscapes of pop-up settlements are constantly increasing in size and confronting the metropolitan dimension as a long-lasting permanent entity. Considering the evolution of our society, when cities are analysed over large temporal spans, metamorphism and dynamics emerge as basic constructing principles for absorbing transformations without losing a distinctive urban structure.

The concept of recycle applied to urban landscapes should mean, therefore, a research for new equilibrium: the overlap of functions in space and time and the capability of different regenerative level as defined by the citizens, in a condition of mutual exchange, learning and experimenting. It introduces an operative idea of sustainability, such as that described by resilience: not as stability, but as persistence borne out of adaptive renewal cycles. According to smart and ecological planning principles proposed in many urban agendas, the paradigm of sustainability should be reached through the facilitation of active flows (material or immaterial), the porosity as a value of the complex morphology (natural or man-made), thinking of a gradient from more stable and fix models towards informal and open-configured ones (Mostafavi and Doherty 2010).

The innovative aspect of this contemporary condition lies in understanding that the practice of recycling can be strategic for both architecture and landscapes, because it is necessarily place-based and time-adaptive. Each specific condition offers a wider range of possibility which cannot be tackled with standard solutions or pre-configured forms and functions, even if it answers to the same general objective: to restore value to the waste that urban transformations have generated over time, making them new *leading figures* (Ricci 2012). It is a negotiation art, which works on a language of mediation between the demands of technique, history and its interpretations by society. It would be unrealistic to affirm that recycle represents a solution to oppositions in terms of modern–postmodern, utopia–realism, collective–individual; contrarily, it represents an approach that is able to collect unlimited individual tendencies, able to absorb the past and the identity of context without imitating them or being overwhelmed by their value. Nevertheless, it is possible to speak about a new horizon for design discipline, focusing on the intelligent and creative dimension, pioneer activities and co-planning principles to combine informal uses with formal planning (Fig. 15.11).

The nineteenth century was characterized by the idea of the metropolis as the target for social progress and qualitative development, while today the diffusion of environmental and ecological sensitivity has garnered in urban discourses is the expression of a recent disciplinary realignment on the two positions proposed within the frame of landscape urbanism. The first, developed in the USA within the Harvard GSD, focuses its activities on recycling post-urban territories in the dimension of landscape. The second, inspired by European academies, adopts a more regionalist position for the preservation of *genius loci*, in which the landscape is re-configured as the cultural medium for the local communities against the flattening perception imposed by the globalization (Frampton 1983). The landscape has replaced architecture as the basic structure for urban design, becoming a lens by

Fig. 15.11 Superelevata Foot[Prints] took place in 2014 within the Genoa Port area by opening a secluded part of urban waterfront by implementing art performance, open-air installations and participatory planning activities. *Source* Università degli Studi di Genova

means of which is possible to read the territorial complexity (Corner 1999, Waldheim 2006).

Whether the contemporary design is based on the criticism of urban traditional paradigm for counteracting neoliberalism as a condition of new territorial efficiency, is not so easy to be defined. Nevertheless, it is intriguing to see how the various ongoing experiences on green cities are including in their urban policy agenda the necessity to reinforce the connection with the surrounding, interstitial and clustered productive landscapes and producers' community. Urban dwellers in the '*Age of the Metropolis*' will need open spaces to express their different sociocultural biodiversity, whether in a more aesthetic form such as the urban parks and gardens or with a more flexible structure such as the urban allotment gardens can provide (Fig. 15.12).

Different scholars and practitioners, such as Andre Viljoen, Kathrin Bohn, André Fleury, Joe Nasr and Pierre Donadieu just to name some of the best known, emphasize in their studies how urban agriculture can be interpreted as distinctive

Fig. 15.12 Views of Union Street Orchard, herbal and community gardens in Southwark, London Bridge

elements to enhance cultural landscape values for local communities, combining the production meaning (*self-sufficiency*) with place-making strategies (*self-identity*).

However, there is a theoretical void in terms of what follows contemporary design methods and cultural disposition of globalized development models, which affects the production and reproduction of urban and peri-urban spaces. Different research frameworks reacting to these assumptions assert that an alternative

narrative exists outside the trappings of market-driven process, proposing a post-neoliberalism approach with the interactions of local–global levels, such as the Critical Regionalism[9] or the Territorialist School (Magnaghi 2005).[10]

Many of the most promising ideas in this field are those related to the reactivation and reclamation of variable patterns (spectral, textural, topological, etc.) related to open space as generator of new urban–rural linkages. In this way, the project, instead of representing a precise interest, form and function, acquires a narrative value that depicts contexts for their democratic spatial qualities (decided by many, shared by many, made by many) augmenting the possible different uses and the sense of the place. This strategy for a new green re-naturalization of the city obviously occurs in order to take advantage of vacant and underused spaces, fringe between urbanizations, brownfield areas as well as the borders towards non-urban realm. Sometimes, they belong to natural or semi-natural spaces; in other situations, the logic behind is far beyond the standard categorization methods, talking about semi-open, enclosed or interstitial places (Groom 2005).

Numerous projects have addressed the issue of dross, as a result of Alan Berge's studies on landscapes of American sprawl, on the remains of mining operations, on former military or industrial areas, inspiring subsequent research such as *Re: American Dream* regarding new adaptive configurations in American suburbs. Undoubtedly worthy of note are the experiences related to the ten visionary proposals for Paris metropolitan region after Kyoto Protocol, exhibited in 2009 at the *Cité de l'Architecture*.

Many of the teams involved in the Grand Paris study demonstrated that the crucial issue of contemporary urban transformation was that of recycling and re-naturalization. To reduce, simplify and scale down are the key words of Yves Lion and Jean Nouvel's projects (Groupe Descartes). The first is based on the breakdown of urban areas in twenty sectors inhabited by 500 thousand people, where it is possible to mitigate human pressure through the identification of *reserve areas* that can be populated: the pavillonnaires (warehouses).

The second traces a Paris through a scheme of creative activities including temporary occupations, which reinterpret volumes, interior and exterior spaces, public and private places without meaning. The LIN team follows the slogan of the *city upon the city* speculating on the many opportunities of reconnecting isolated

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[9]Critical regionalism is a design approach different from vernacularism, which attempts to face the loss of distinctive character of the International Style, providing renewed architectural principles but rooted into site-specific cultural context. The term was coined by A. Tzonis and L. Lefaivre and then theorized by K. Frampton, and illustrated in the publication *Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance*.

[10]The term territorialism is defined an approach to urbanism and planning based on the school of A. Magnaghi with other Italian academicians, which is focused on the local qualitative and on self-sustainable development. This approach intends to combine a deeper background knowledge of local arts and crafts and cultural heritage, with reference to bio-regionalism of P. Geddes, and the idea of self-government and place-consciousness.

fragments by introducing micro-polarity parallel to the ecological reactivation of the Seine.

The city and architecture have always known recycling strategies, which over time have defined articulated positions. At the end of this review, there is a desire to trace a brief reflection on the projects involving the scale of the landscape, as an essential palimpsest of memories, values within which the extended urban condition we live in, interacts with a renewed demand for nature, production and ecology.

Diller Scofidio + Renfro and Field Operations's High Line,[11] or the recovery of the landfill, Vall d'En Joan proposed by Battles y Roig Arquitectes[12] or the conversion of motorway tunnels by Elisabetta Terragni for Trient Historical Museum,[13] show us how the immense production of waste of our urban age (third and fourth landscapes, waste-scapes, various interstices) must increasingly correspond to a scenario in which design tools, remediation techniques of naturalistic bioengineering are parallel to the concept of recycle (Fig. 15.13).

These examples are making evidence that the design and landscape disciplines are strongly interconnected and need to evolve in a common spatial language, in order to overcome the limit of traditional representation, studying complex aggregation of discrete static objects. A condition of ephemeral landscapes to be explored and designed; an architecture of temporary uses in a weak urbanization structure but with strong relations between users and communities in a new sense of public spaces. As in other times of urban development, the possibility today offered by the many forms of reuse is that spaces, architecture and operative landscapes can be generated, capable of counteracting, at least in part, the wear and tear that affects the places we inhabit. Wear that not only includes uses, perhaps more easily replaced by others, but above all the meanings that those same places may convey in neoliberal society of twenty-first century.

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[11]The High Line (2006–2009) is a linear park designed by Diller Scofidio + Renfro and Field Operations, on a disused section of New York's West Side Line. An agri-tecture project which alternates landscape inspired rooms with gradients and colours of pioneer plant species. Source: Dimendberg E (2013) *Diller Scofidio + Renfro: Architecture after Images*, Monacelli Press: New York.

[12]The conversion of the Val d'en Joan landfill into a landscape for agriculture and energy production on the part of Battle y Roig is supported by three key themes: the topography, water and vegetation. Source: Abitare la Terra, n.37/2015 Geoarchitettura.

[13]The intervention of Studio Terragni proposes the reuse in the two decommissioned highway tunnels under the hill of Piedicastello in Trento, merging recycled components of contemporary restoration. Source: Terragni E. (2010) *Tunnel REvision: le gallerie di Piedicastello; The Trento Tunnels*, Fondazione Museo storico del Trentino, Cataloghi XII Biennale di Architettura di Venezia.

Fig. 15.13 Diller Scofidio + Renfro and Field Operations adopted an agri-tecture approach for the High Line, 2009

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Part V
Post-professional Architecture and Academia

Foreword

Ashraf Salama

Fundamental Approaches for the survival of architecture.
Architecture is an integral part of human activities and affects everyday experiences and actions. Today architects must face and respond to the challenge of creating built environments that support, nurture, enrich, and celebrate human activities. The creation of cities, towns, and buildings has always been the result of a combination of cultural, social, environmental, and economic factors and needs. New demands require architects to take pro-active responsibility for these factors and promote designs that support a responsive environment. In addition, social and ethical approaches to the profession, which are amenable to invigorate such a responsibility, need to be considered and acted upon. In response to the continuous transformations of the profession and the changing role of the architect, three concepts have emerged in the last three decades: these are programming or pre-designing, post-occupancy evaluation-POE or building performance evaluation-BPE, and community design or user participation (Salama 2015).

Due to client/user dissatisfaction with the built environment and the continuous lack of public awareness of what architects do and how they do it, these concepts must continue to evolve in a responsible manner. While they have not long been part of architectural professional practice, they are now seen as a valid and important part of practice and research in architecture, although not, in practice, fully integrated as a triad. They must be viewed as the basis for social and ethical approaches to architecture since they are characterised by generic qualities that cover a wide range of factors architects must respond to in their practices. Such qualities include the following:

- Identifying human and social needs within the context of the environment in which socio-behavioural, geo-cultural, climatic, political, and economic aspects are employed.
- Evaluating the built environment towards making appropriate adaptations and adjustments.
- Involving people affected by the built environment in the process of decision-making.

Programming and pre-designing

Architectural programming has developed as an activity related to design but somewhat distinct since it is typically defined as an additional design activity, or pre-design service (Cherry 2003). It can be defined as the process that analytically, and systematically, translates the objectives of an organisation, community group, or individual clients into an integrated activity that results in an efficient, functional environment (Preiser 1985). Architectural programming is thus intended to facilitate communication among the designers and clarifies and identifies, for the client, user, and the architect, the environmental needs and requirements that exist for a given project. Programming for architecture is responsible for articulating the values and goals to which the architect should respond in design.

Three categories of values within the process of programming can be identified: enduring values, circumstantial values, and institutional values (Hershberger 1999). Enduring values, usually referred to as architectural qualities, are exemplified by Vitruvius' definition of architecture as commodity, firmness, and delight; these generally have a direct impact on people. Socialisation, privacy, and personalisation are examples of socio-behavioural phenomena that should be explored in the programming process and before a design task starts. In essence, functional and social goals should be articulated in the architectural programme. In addition, another challenge to programming is the need to articulate people's preferences and interpretations of the visual environment with respect to socio-cultural contexts.

As well as considering enduring values, the architect must identify circumstantial values and aspects that include human, societal, technological, economic, and aesthetic, pertaining to specific environments. Programming can clarify institutional values include the purpose and value of the building, and the implication of these values relative to specific goals, objectives, and needs; these then are important influences in the way designers should approach design problems.

Literature in the field of programming points out that society and human experience should be rigorously taken into consideration in the programming and pre-design processes. Henry Sanoff argues that professionalism lies in expertise that is based on skill, method, and knowledge. While design in architecture is an established profession, much of what designers do has been, and will continue to be, done by lay people, since experience and knowledge reside with lay people as much as with experts. He explains: '*Professionals are not known by what they do, but by the way they do it*' (Sanoff 1992:2). Social values are an important determinant in the architectural programme, and the architect's own values are part of the programme but not the entire programme. This necessitates that contemporary

architects learn how to listen to people who use and are affected by the built environment within specific socio-cultural contexts.

Post-Occupancy Evaluation—POE and Building Performance Evaluation —BPE

Post-occupancy evaluation has been discussed in the literature as an aspect of architectural research that can be incorporated directly into architectural practice; this may open up a new avenue for architects to be ethically responsive. It provides guidance on how analytical and systematic evaluation of buildings or the built environment can better enable architects to take advantage of lessons learned from both successful and unsuccessful building performance. It also emphasises that those who learn from their own history are not as likely to repeat the mistakes of the past and are certainly in a better position to make sounder judgments in the future. The results of building evaluation principles have been used for centuries, particularly after the emergence of a major incident. Three basic elements pertaining to the performance of the built environment can be used as criteria for evaluation. First there are technical elements, which are concerned with health, safety, and security aspects; the second is the functional elements, which are concerned with the ability of occupants to operate efficiently. Third is the behavioural elements that are concerned with psychological and social aspects of user satisfaction. A considerable number of benefits can be gained from post-occupancy evaluation; these benefits, classified into three categories (Preiser et al 1988), are outlined as follows:

Short-term benefits:
- Identification of problems and solutions in the built environment.
- Improved space utilisation and space reallocation when remodelling or renovating existing buildings.
- Improved attitudes of building occupants through involvement in the evaluation process.
- Better understanding of the consequences of design decisions.

Mid-term benefits:
- Capability for adaptation to organisational change and growth over time.
- Cost efficiency in the building process, and throughout the building life cycle.
- Consideration of building performance by the architect and the client.

Long-term benefits:
- Long-term improvements in building performance.
- Improvement in design databases, standards, and guidance literature.
- Understanding of tools and measurements for building performance.

In the light of arguments for and results of many POE-BPE studies, one can assert that architects are responsible for guiding society by their control over the evolution and design of buildings that shape contemporary culture. Nonetheless, there is no tradition in the practice of architecture in which architects are expected to explicitly evaluate their own work or that of others (Preiser and Nasar 2008; Salama 2014). Architects still know very little about the performance of the built environment, particularly from the users' point of view. The implications of

post-occupancy evaluation and building performance evaluation in practice are evident only when each and every building is evaluated through a study directed towards noting whether the use, functions, and activities of the users are successfully supported.

Community design and user participation

It is often argued that although our built environments are designed by a few, in reality they affect many; in addition, the public rarely have the opportunity to significantly influence or even modify the form in which they live. Contemporary literature affirms the importance of involving people in the process of decision-making about the environment in which they will live, work, learn, or socialise. Community design is commonly used as an overarching term that embraces social architecture, community development, and community planning among other terms utilised as mechanisms or approaches to architectural and planning practices. It is generally regarded as a democratic movement in architecture and allied design and built environment professions; this premise grew out of the recognition that the mismanagement of the built environment is a major determinant of the social and economic problems in cities. Some advocates of user participation define it as a vehicle for user decision-making power (Habraken 1986 and 2007), wherein the layperson is asked to voice his/her opinion, be heard, and ultimately be taken seriously. It has also been defined as the face-to-face interaction of individuals who share a number of values important and relevant to all. Interest in the field of user participation or community involvement is not new; it is not rooted in romanticism about human involvement or human rights but in the recognition that users have a particular expertise different from, but equally important to, that of architects. This expertise needs to be integrated into a process that concerns itself with providing an appropriate built environment.

User participation is the only way of taking the needs and values of those who use an environment into consideration. Early and contemporary literature on advocacy planning and design points out that participation reduces the users' feeling of anonymity and communicates to them a greater degree of concern on the part of management and administration (Davidoff 1965 and Sanoff 2003). In this sense, one can assert that user participation can have a positive impact on the building, its users, and the socio-cultural and environmental contexts in which buildings are created. Two major aspects, however, should be underscored; first, people need to be involved in the decision-making process so that their trust and confidence in the organisation are increased, and secondly, people need a voice in the design and decision-making processes in order to improve plans, decisions, and the service delivery system of the profession.

The implementation of these three integrationist and democratic approaches continues to reshape the role of the architect. Furthermore, future architects will need to adopt and integrate such responsive approaches into their design practices in order to be able to respond to social and ethical questions about the profession. In fairness to current endeavours, these approaches are actually starting to shape and reshape many architectural practices worldwide. Programming can help articulate the criteria and goals to which the architect should respond to in design,

post-occupancy evaluation offers the architect a type of control over the evolution and design of buildings by systematic learning from precedents, and user participation helps improve and scaffold design decisions, since people's experiences will be integrated into the designer's values and incorporated into a collaborative design process. These three key ethical approaches should be regarded as integral components of future architecture both in practice and in education.

The way forward: Knowledge production and Transdisciplinarity—TD
The preceding three social and ethical approaches have also been elaborated upon within the recent discourse; this emphasises the fact that research and collaboration already coexist within professional practice and should continue to coexist among different built environment professionals and the users and inhabitants of future environments (Dunnin-Woyseth 2002 and Dunnin-Woyseth and Nielsen 2004). Two major concepts derived from such a discourse can be highlighted; these are 'knowledge-making professions' and 'transdisciplinary practice and research'. The concept pertains to producing knowledge based on practice; in this sense, 'making professions' relates to architecture, urban design and planning, and other allied design fields. The concept of 'making knowledge' is primarily based on the distinction between 'knowing how' and 'knowing that'. 'Knowing how' is a discipline in itself with its own specific knowledge base: the 'knowing how' concept was introduced through the science of design paradigm (Simon 1976) and acts as a prelude for a disciplinary construction of knowledge that pertains to the 'making professions' (Rowe 2002). One could also add 'knowing why' as an integral part of 'making knowledge'.

These insights underpin the fact that four types of knowledge exist to form the backbone of 'making knowledge': these include scientific expert knowledge, folk knowledge, practical knowledge, and tacit knowledge, all of which constitute a type of knowledge resulting from transdisciplinary practice. Programming, post-occupancy evaluation, and community participation in design aim to capture and integrate these types of knowledge into design, wherein programming represents 'knowing that', evaluation exemplifies 'knowing why', and participation characterises 'knowing how'. However, one should note that a continuous challenge does exist even when attempts are made to integrate and transform these types of knowledge into a mode that may acquire the status of a scientific discipline on its own. The second concept is transdisciplinarity—TD, a notion that can be described as a new form of learning and problem-solving involving co-operation among different parts of society, professionals, and academia in order to meet complex challenges of society. Transdisciplinary research and practice start from tangible, real-world problems. Solutions are devised in collaboration with multiple stakeholders, including professionals from different disciplinary backgrounds (Fig. V.1). Thus, TD is about transcending the boundaries of the various disciplines.

Recent writings support these notions and identify three major components of knowledge production relevant to TD; these are: (a) the integration of discipline and profession which means the integration of theory and practice, (b) the ethical dimension, and (c) the experimental dimension (Doucet and Janssens 2011). The first and second components are evident in the definition of TD '*Transdisciplinary*
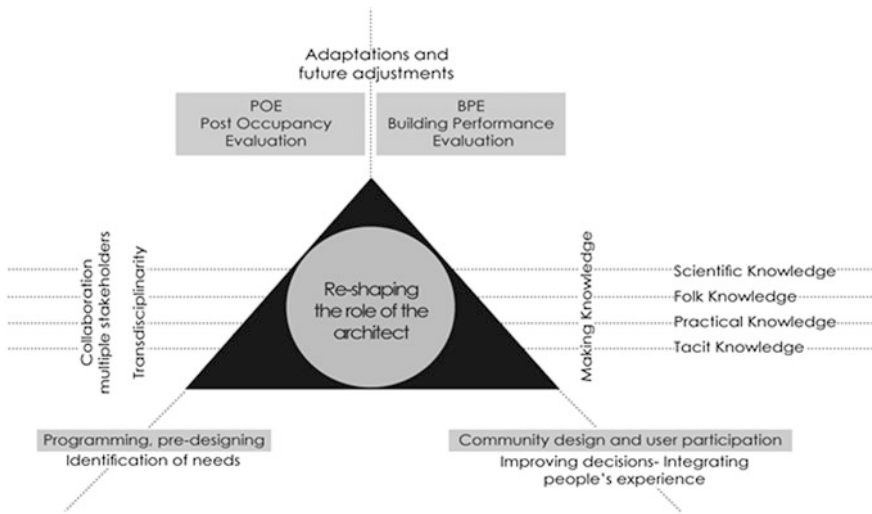
Fig. V.1 Reshaping the role of the architect through social and ethical approaches and the types of knowledge involved

research is needed when knowledge about a socially relevant problem field is uncertain, when the concrete nature of problems is disputed, and when there is a great deal at stake for those concerned by problems and involved in dealing with them' (Pohl and Hirsch 2008). The experimental dimension is evident in other writings, which assert that architectural design is a particular mode of practice-led research, wherein differentiation between research 'for or into' and 'through' design can be made (Rendell 2004). Research 'through' design refers to the research and development that take place as part of practice, typically oriented to a design application while research 'for' or 'into' design is centred on questions relevant to the role professional practice can play in the building of theory. This differentiation builds on earlier works of Nigel Cross's assertion (2001) that there is a specific way of knowledge building in architectural design; he names it 'designerly ways of knowing' (Cross 2001). In essence, TD provides a basis for understanding design and built environment professionals who share skills, values, and approaches that are more amenable to collaboration rather than competition; at the same time, it offers a principal field for integrating social and ethical approaches into knowledge construction, production, and professional practice in architecture.

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Chapter 16
Alternatives for Contested Mega-projects: An Academic Venture into Activist Space

Nelson Carofilis, Olga Peek and Viviana d'Auria

Abstract The following chapter is centred on the endeavour of a small number of researchers and lecturers who joined forces with urban residents of consolidated riverbank settlements in Guayaquil (Ecuador) threatened of eviction due to the implementation of an 'ecological' mega-project. This large-scale ministry-led intervention over Guayaquil's urban waterfronts fits within a series of recent transformations heralding the notion of *Buen Vivir* ('Good Living') that over the last decade nuanced the professional environment nationwide by opening new opportunities for local urban professionals, however, straddling them right between traditional top-down urban planning and community-led city-making practices. In the context of contested waterfront renewal projects along the Estero Salado estuary in Guayaquil, a design workshop titled *Designing Inclusion* (2015) provided for the development of alternative urban design visions by bringing together diverse local voices and expertise with foreign academics and practitioners therefore transcending customary boundaries of social engagement between architects, activists, communities and government bodies. Building on the experience of this summer school and ongoing research-by-design activities in Guayaquil, the chapter scrutinizes the recent twist in the professional environment that Ecuadorian architects have been involved with and vis-a-vis examines how the condition of being 'socially engaged' swings the conventional notion of architects and design professionals involved in teaching and research.

Keywords Mega-project · Social engagement · Design · Academic activism Live projects

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16.1 Introduction

Neoliberal urban transformations have left little space for threatened citizens but to self-organize, or so we hear (Holston 2009). This process occurs more or less successfully against mega-projects dooming over urban areas that have become palatable to the flows of global venture capital. While this situation has often been discussed in cities accommodating mega-events such as the World Cup, many other sites have become the terrain for 'expulsions' to take place (Sassen 2014). In such a contested situation, and hand in hand with a post-professional condition, it has become more than arduous for design academics and professionals alike to situate their role as critical spatial practitioners. When professionals do meddle with the mess engendered by neoliberal regimes, scholarship on the topic reflects upon this involvement as one generated mainly in the name of realism. Architecture is considered as socially engaged because of the conventional expediency rooted in the design disciplines and triggered in response to cities made unequal by current economic processes. Nonetheless, this engagement calls for more in-depth scrutiny by considering socio-cultural particularities, economic conjunctures and global political dynamics that frame practice. Relatedly, the widespread culture of mega-projects that are developed in the name of climate change and ecological improvement, nuances depictions of rampant neoliberalism and invite us to look beyond oppositional depictions of urban change (Parnell and Oldfield 2014). This chapter pursues such solicitation by focusing on a particular case study where the distinctions between academia, activism and resistance are made hazy by the contested implementation of a government-driven waterfront transformation. The chapter is centred on the endeavour of a small number of researchers and lecturers involved in the documentation of auto-constructed settlements under the menace of forced resettlement in a seemingly politically innovative context, where therefore the boundary conditions of socially engaged design become muddled and are subject to specific challenges.

Indeed, in Ecuador, the *Buen Vivir* concept has bred many promises to promote alternative forms of development and spread well-being across the country's human settlements. In line with this agenda, Ecuador's largest city and port has been subject to significant transformations, out of which the most prominent is the *Guayaquil Ecológico*. This large-scale intervention is expected to provide a significant amount of new recreational and environmental areas proportioned to the number of Guayaquil's inhabitants in order to enduringly safeguard and re-introduce nature in the city. In the context of a fragile estuarine landscape, it aspires to recover over 40 km of waterfront along the Estero Salado estuary, leading to the eviction of communities who partly depend on water for their livelihoods but are also subject to the threats of climate change and pollution. Unsurprisingly, urban residents threatened by evictions are struggling to keep the homes they built for themselves during the past 40 years. Besides organized resistance, a summer

workshop[1] realized in July 2015 helped set the momentum to develop alternative visions to this capital-intensive intervention that does little to prevent real environmental threats in Guayaquil. The initiative was funded by the VLIR-UOS and held in collaboration with local communities, the University of Guayaquil and the University of Leuven (KU Leuven), where a handful of researchers had joined forces with the urban residents in the claim for their actual well-being. Participatory urban design was expected to help solve the conflict between the scale of the ecological mega-project (and the development pressure it is generating) and the scale of the affordable housing needs of vulnerable urban dwellers. It additionally generated a revised agenda for the local institution involved, posing questions of academic engagement and positionality. As it adhered to the model of many North-South collaborations, it most importantly opened up interrogations on trans-cultural engagements and challenges.

Based on the dilemmas of local academics vis-à-vis the experience of the summer school and its larger setting, this chapter will examine how the condition of being 'socially engaged' swings the conventional notion of architects and design professionals involved in teaching and research. Relatedly, the chapter will touch upon two other intertwined topics: (1) the growing emphasis of architectural schools on community-based knowledge, action-learning 'live projects' and participatory transformations and the trans-cultural setups that enable these to occur (or not); (2) the epistemological shift engendered in urban analysis by considering the city as 'home-made', namely self-built from the home outwards, and the necessity to visualize this process of city-making with tailored techniques that may voice claims on space and rights to claim (Jenkins 2013; Sáez et al. 2010; d'Auria 2012). The chapter will reflect on the challenges and opportunities created by having transcended the boundary of conventional 'academia' and 'activism', inviting to reconsider these categories in less antithetical terms as occurs, by contrast, in a context such as that of Guayaquil.

16.2 Looking Beyond the Humanitarian Dimension from the Junction of Academia and Activist Space

When addressing difficult social conditions, academics and activists may enter a significant area of overlap where the distinction between academic work and activism can become blurred. Be it due to the genuine desire of effecting changes through the use and generation of knowledge, or out of discontent with the status quo, both academics and activists find themselves confronted with political, social,

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[1]'Designing Inclusion' is a VLIR-UOS funded international summer school held in July 2015 in Guayaquil. Alternative design proposals were developed in dialogue with local actors and communities supporting already ongoing negotiation between residents under eviction and local authorities implementing *Guayaquil Ecológico*. Website: https://designinginclusion.wordpress.com/.

cultural or environmental issues whereby engaging with diverse social groups becomes crucial. Even if under the strong influence of the global media, the work of professionals and academics alike attending to crushing issues may be seen as a conscientious action stepping into a void left by the state, this engagement involves other pressing concerns.

Besides furthering social exclusion and poverty, urban development in many countries is characterized by uncontrolled sprawl, pollution and unnecessary consumption of land, water and other resources (Tuts 2010). It has been abundantly argued that a major challenge facing the reversal of these trends in most cities lies in the complete or partial absence of the competence and capacities required for carefully balancing the conflicting interests of powerful global and local actors with those of disadvantaged ones (Satterthwaite 2006). Capacity gaps need to be filled, linking developmental concerns with local and global environmental concerns, and integrating considerations of space as a hardly renewable and extremely valuable resource (Loeckx and Shannon 2004). Especially for architects, urbanists and planners concerned with urban development, attempting to effect change over the status quo often also means facing established traditional professional structures that contribute to the disciplines' lack of responsiveness and through which so much of the neoliberal urban development takes place. These issues have led to the recognition of architecture, planning and design schools as important constituencies for pursuing less damaging practices (Tuts 2010), but most importantly to the need of doing so through a 'real world' understanding of what the latter may be (Satterthwaite 2006). Regardless of the above, in doing away with customary professional practices, activism in the field of the design disciplines has meant pushing the conventional frame of design activities. The idea of 'other' ways of doing architecture (and design) translated in the notion of *spatial agency* (Awan et al. 2011) reflects back on a second (under covered) history of architecture where the ability and power of individuals to act and engage with societal structures in transformative ways is enacted. Thereby, it presents a much more collaborative approach which disrupts the boundaries of professionalism (Ibid.).

So what is academic activism about in the first place in the disciplines of architecture and urbanism? For the design disciplines, the attentiveness and proximity to these problematics and the exploration of process-based urban transformations have a longer history. Over the last 50 or more years, several positions emerged in architecture forming their roots in variegated waves of political activism in which the discontent with conservative, repressive regimes (1960s–1980s) and later with issues such as massive evictions linked to rapid urbanization and economic upheaval (Luasang et al. 2012) overlapped with paradigmatic disciplinary shifts. Common to the many currents of thought that became predominant since, were the goals of searching for a coherent framework for redefining the roles of the architect, re-structuring the design decision-making process and bringing a transformation of the profession sensitive to steadily growing social issues. However, at the early stage movements such as the radical, populist and community architecture had little success. Their relative marginalization was first associated to a lack of consideration for historical conditions and socio-economic particularities of social

groups in shaping the organization of power in society, leading to a falsely optimistic view of the role of design (Tzonis and Lefaivre 1976). In the late 1990s, the critiques to the oppositional genesis and binary structure of the discussion about the architect and the user led to questions of power relations and the possibilities of their re-configuration. Knowledge mediated by common experience and space as the product of social practice and the potential container and producer of social activities became central to the reformulation of practices with potential to empower users (Till 1998). Empowerment through a critical engagement of both users and architects remained an important concept for subsequent generations of practitioners and provided the grounds for the cultivation of transformative kinds of practice.

Within the same period of time (1950–2000), the phenomenon of rapid urbanization had major implications for urban professions worldwide. In the time span of 50 years, Latin America turned into the most urbanized place on earth and served as an inspiring breeding ground for the development of new methods of action research and practice-based approaches. Studies from various disciplines and fields on the Latin American region became instrumental for the realignment of architecture, urbanism and planning towards the challenges of settlements in the so-called developing world under the human settlements paradigm (d'Auria et al. 2010). Based on year-long extensive field observations the work of John Turner, William Mangin and Robert Fichter were among the first to demonstrate convincingly that under certain conditions informal settlements represented a potential solution and suggested that housing should be understood as a 'process' rather than a finished design product (Mangin 1967; Turner 1968; Turner and Fichter 1972). The paradigmatic shift engendered by their ideas reached its way into broader urban agendas echoing in evolving housing policies through which widely disseminated practices of slum eradication turned into actions of tolerance and support (Ward 2012; Zanetta 2001). At the project level, the world-known experimental housing competitions of PREVI (Perú) and later ELEMENTAL (Chile) both heralding the notion of incrementality have provided perhaps some of the most valuable experiences for the study of incremental housing processes in the region. Numerous professionals from different Latin American countries have continued to work extensively on the topic,[2] and more recently, researchers have developed guidelines for 'coordinating the efforts of all stakeholders involved in the process of constant transformation and improvement of settlements' (De Pirro et al. 2013) and emphasizing on the social aspects of the production of space. In such studies, a people-centred approach to architecture is a common theme that focuses on the roles of all non-architects in creating and interpreting the built environment. Given the complexity of the situations explored, research projects have turned from

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[2]We refer to the work of (among many others): Gustavo Riofrío and DESCO in Lima, Perú, Peter Ward, Edith Jimenez Huerta and Mercedes di Virgilio and the Latin American Housing Network (www.lahn.utexas.org); Reinhard Goethert and the Special Interest Group in Urban Settlement (SIGUS) at MIT, Enrique Ortiz at Habitat International Coalition (HIC) in México and Germán Samper in Colombia.

offering 'solutions' to focusing on how public dialogue could be cultivated for the benefit of improved urban places and on how to use innovative research methods to better understand what people need from their cities and buildings (Kaufman 2013). Also, groups and networks such as the Habitat International Coalition—HIC (created in 1976) have been active in protecting and promoting the fulfilment of human rights and the right to dignified housing internationally. Working as a pressure group in defence of the people who struggle for shelter and now with consultive status at the ONU, HIC and its regional office in Latin America are devoted to documenting well-structured experiences of 'social production of habitat'[3] from which effective strategies can be distilled. The Shack/Slum Dwellers International (a movement born in 1975 and today constituted as a transnational network) continues to support slum dwellers globally through developing mobilization, advocacy and problem-solving strategies that counter exclusion from development.[4] Since 1989 SDI has developed community-based tools and techniques for empowering communities and engaging effectively with city authorities. The historic profiling of data on informal settlements, enumeration (house-to-house surveys) techniques and mapping have additionally proved of chief importance for understanding problems of settlements at city scale and comparing conditions between cities and across national borders (Beukes 2015).

As the emphasis on the social aspects of the production of urban space and the attempts to effect change through 'action' blended in the design disciplines, designers also shifted their focus away from spatial approaches and space as a resource itself. This iterative, shifting relationship expands well over research and education.

Non-disregarding earlier radical pedagogies, around year 2000 in the UK, the discussion about architectural education's disregard for social responsibility was also part of the debate that led to the establishment of 'live' innovation projects in a series of education programs (De Carli and Kinnear 2015). Surfacing over the last decade also in several other contexts,[5] the most recent wave of 'live' projects and notion of 'liveliness' has sparked critical debate from a number of educators working 'in context'.[6] The considerable advantages of situated and socially constructed learning and reflexive practice exercised in contexts of criticality should take seriously into account the risk of the widespread adoption of these novel pedagogical methods without longer-term engagement with local communities.

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[3]HIC refers to the social production of habitat as the experiences in which the components of habitat are auto-produced by their inhabitants, forced by their socio-economic conditions and without adequate instruments to support their efforts. http://www.hic-al.org/psh.cfm.

[4]http://sdinet.org/.

[5]Austria, Switzerland, France, Germany, USA among others.

[6]See, for example, the Association of Architectural Educators Conference, Living and Learning at The University of Sheffield, 3rd to 5th September 2014. https://aaeconference2014.wordpress.com/.

16.3 Latin America's Interface of Pedagogy and Change

Looking at the Latin American architectural schools in relation to these developments, it is noteworthy that both transformation and stagnancy are simultaneously deployed. For many scholars, it is clear that a majority of architecture schools have continued to forge professionals oriented by market motivations (Gazzoli 2003) and many continue to integrate latest architectural trends from Europe and the US or turn to mid-twentieth century Latin America's modernist works of architecture for reference. Thus, for many architects and urbanists, there has been little reflection about the strong social and spatial inequalities that characterize the continents' cities and for the ways in which practitioners might contribute to ameliorate them (Leguía 2011a). On the other hand, various exceptional cases show how 'radical' pedagogies have challenged conventions, as in the case of the Valparaíso School (Colomina et al. 2012), or how a more targeted advocacy can be provided as illustrated by the University of Buenos Aires in the famous case of Villa 31 (Perten 2011). Similar examples can be found in Sao Paolo, México and Lima in which universities have played a key role in the development of their regions by performing as 'mediators' between government, private developers, NGOs and community (Leguía 2011b). Correspondingly, many necessary conditions enabling these reinterpretations of pedagogy have been highlighted. Building-up the intellectual and political courage and gaining greater exposure to precedent studies is fundamental. With regards to the setting-up of a sustainable and socially engaged practice in general, research and rigorous analysis and development of the methods, approaches and processes that practitioners need to be involved with are important considerations (Wilkins 2015; Leguía 2011b).

This is particularly relevant for the Ecuadorian context where the culture of mega-projects is placing strains on local communities and development pressures on institutional actors including higher education institutions. At present, the latter have undertaken demanding qualification and accreditation processes under the Higher Education Law of 2010, in line with the National Constitution of 2008. In this process architecture, planning and design schools are finding the need to switch from a teaching-only, solution-oriented education centred on technology, to a research-based education that tackles crucial problems. While the backlog and pressing issues of neglected urban sectors have started to be recognized, the institutional and qualitative transformation of local universities and their key role in achieving more inclusive urban transformations in the neoliberal context remains to be seen. Evidently, the extremely challenging problems of Latin American urbanization call for insightful knowledge of complex situations, where an approach that meddles with reality is necessary. Nevertheless, educators, students and practitioners working at this interface have to be well prepared to recognize and value other forms of practice-based knowledge, as to recognize non-architect agents as equivalent partners in the making of the built environment (De Carli and Kinnear 2015; d'Auria 2015). For practitioners coming from more conservative professional environments, a considerable deal of unlearning needs to take place especially when

addressing contested situations in the South. For this, self-critical reflection and a key shift of the responsibility for the learning process is implied (Ibid.). Considering the long dating influence from northern academia on mainstream architectural education in Latin America, the production of knowledge in and for the region opens questions on the adequacy of epistemological paradigms inviting us to reconsider and even challenge prevailing academic paradigms dominating the validation of knowledge (Jenkins and Smith 2010). This consideration comes at a moment when 'global' studios are rising across academia, which do not necessarily imply that long-term engagement between local universities and communities is actually happening. Last but not least, awareness of the traps of 'do-good' humanitarian design will help academics and practitioners alike to prevent sustaining the expansion of humanitarian-corporate complexes in becoming the principal means of social service delivery in the South (Johnson 2011).

16.4 Social Practices and Post-professionalism

The way in which architects are involved in the exercise of city-making is increasingly stepping aside from socially engaged practices, clearly marking the turn to a post-professional setting. In the Latin American region during the 1970s, many examples can be found of architects who promoted a form of design that would support self-organization and collective action. While clearly inspired by earlier progressive ideas on the city (Turner and Fichter 1972), professional engagement this time went beyond just recognizing the vigour of transformative and incremental building processes, now truly acting 'at the service of' such forward thinking.

The settlement CUAVES (*Comunidad Urbana Autogestionaria Villa El Salvador*), a planned city extension of a large-scale sites-and-services programme in southern Lima, is a world-known example in which design closely interacted with bottom-up initiatives of self-managed communities (Chávez 2009–2010).[7] In 1971 —the same year in which the plan for *Villa El Salvador* was launched—citizens in Quito, Ecuador, in search for land and housing created the popular movement *Comité del Pueblo*. Likewise, architects interacted in drafting the blueprint prior to the formation of the neighbourhood *Comité del Pueblo*. In this case, an academic body named TISDYC (Taller de Investigación Social, Diseño y Comunicación) part of the Central University of Ecuador (UCE) supported the neighbourhood organization in the elaboration of design proposals (Godard 1988: 59).

The engagement of public universities in community-based design also occurred on smaller scale in Guayaquil. When in 1976 local and national police forces

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[7]The layout of Villa El Salvador proposed by architect Miguel Romero Sotelo is based on a large-scale grid structure in which 400 × 400 m 'superblocks' or 'urban cells' with smaller residential blocks, open spaces and facilities are embedded (UN-Habitat 2015).

forcefully evicted the community of *Casitas del Guasmo* from residents in southern Guayaquil, the *Frente de Lucha Popular* association that had emerged from this incident was assisted in their negotiation with local authorities by the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Guayaquil who designed a layout for the site (Salmen 1987).[8]

Yet, this circumstance of professional practitioners being socially engaged and working to support the urban poor in their claims to the city has become increasingly exceptional. Peculiarly, the architect of the famous Villa El Salvador who up to the 1990s continued to be actively involved in the neighbourhood's consolidation process as technical assessor for CUAVES, currently leads Lima's major private design and construction company involved in the city's prime mega-project developments of *micro-viviendas* in Lima's remote urban periphery (Córdova 2014; Strauch et al. 2015). Similarly, Ecuadorian public universities as UCE in Quito and UG in Guayaquil have become advocates of business-oriented post-professional education that very rarely involves projects assisting the urban poor nowadays. This delineates a loss of community-based architectural practices in which reforms under neoliberalism have set the stage for Latin America's post-professional condition.

16.5 Waterfront Transformation Under Post-professional Conditions in Guayaquil

Unequivocally, a paradigm shift in critical pedagogy in the professions of architecture and urbanism is required emerging from a profound understanding of urban life and radical changes under way in the neoliberal city. Under neoliberal reforms in rapidly transforming Latin American cities, private actors have returned more prominently on the stage. This basic fact has deeply impacted on the city's spatial justice and political transparency (Strauch et al. 2015), as well as limiting the professional environment for practitioners involved in making the city. In this setting and under the condition of environmental crisis, space as a non-renewable resource continues to be used in exceedingly unsustainable ways. This is particularly the case in Ecuador's largest city Guayaquil, where the consolidating city is threatened by 'ecological' mega-projects that go hand in hand with forced displacement of vulnerable communities who have inhabited urban waterfronts for various decades, to mass housing projects in the remote urban periphery. The way in which radical urban transformations in highly contested territories unfold in a shifting setting from professionalism to post-professionalism is particularly

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[8]The plan involved a block structure comprised of 9 × 22 m plots, a variety of open spaces and a main road structure complemented with pedestrian walkways. A group of academics from the University of Guayaquil and undergraduate (thesis) architecture students provided spatial designs that reserved space for future equipment and open spaces. This collaboration was corroborated during interviews with actual members of the staff and community leaders who were involved in this movement at the time.

important in relation to political innovation and climate change that call the design disciplines to the fore.[9,10,11]

Guayaquil's rapid urbanization process occurred in a complex water-based landscape as part of the largest estuarine ecosystem of Latin America's Pacific Coast, exposing the coastal city to extreme vulnerability for climate change.[12] In the early processes of city-making (1950s–1980s), the in-migrants were major actors in shaping the city through self-build housing that was a basic asset enabling them to accumulate other assets over time (Moser 2009). Currently, major parts of Guayaquil's urban population continue to live in these 'first suburbs' that have transformed into highly dense and consolidated low-income settlements: an occurrence consistent with urban consolidation trends in the broader Latin American region (Ward et al. 2015).

In latest processes of urban (re)-development in Guayaquil, a renewed attention has been given to the presence of water in the city. Since the late 1990s, local authorities have introduced various large-scale projects for waterfront transformation (Malecón 2000, Malecón del Salado, La Playita del Guasmo), aiming at the recovery of city-river relations that has marked the history and identity of the port city (Delgado 2013). However, such large-scale capital-intensive urban renewal projects have primarily been used as strategy for city beautification. Its implementation radically transformed not only the landscape of the city; they similarly caused profound changes in employment, local economies and social interactions that are built within and with space (Allán 2011). As a result, urban waterfronts have evolved into ambivalent spaces where citizens have contested the forms of access to and exclusion from them (Andrade 2007).

Very recent practices related to city and waterfront transformation are adopted under the nationwide well-being approach of *Buen Vivir*,[13] with the project *Guayaquil Ecológico* being the most emblematic feature. This *Buen Vivir* ecological mega-project prospects for ecological restoration to guarantee environmental sustainability and improve people's quality of life (SENPLADES 2013), quantitatively increasing green spaces for the city through the construction of a 40-kilometre-long linear park. While the notion of *Buen Vivir* hypothetically

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[9]http://sdinet.org/.

[10]Austria, Switzerland, France, Germany, USA among others.

[11]See, for example, the Association of Architectural Educators Conference, *Living and Learning* at The University of Sheffield, 3rd to 5th September 2014. https://aaeconference2014.wordpress.com/.

[12]A study led by the World Bank suggests Guayaquil is the third most vulnerable city in the world considering its location in a flood prone region, low income neighborhoods in low lying areas and waterways, and flood-related costs as percentage of GDP (Hallegate et al. 2013).

[13]The term *Buen Vivir* (collective well-being), referring to the indigenous notion of *sumak kawsay*, has been actively used by social movements and has reached its way into the new Constitutions in Ecuador and Bolivia. With the ambition to gradually achieve the socialist reconstruction of Ecuadorian society, President Rafael Correa (2007-2017) introduced *La Revolución Urbana* (Urban Revolution) under the heading of the national plan of *Buen Vivir* (SENPLADES 2013).

emerged as a paradigmatic shift offering an alternative 'to' development within neoliberal administrations, in its adoption into the political realm, the term has been largely (mis)-understood as inter-changeable 'with' development in which the voice of citizens is exceedingly disregarded (Walsh 2010).

In *Guayaquil Ecológico,* vulnerability and risk for natural hazards are used as pretext for dislocating urban poor without truly engaging with local dynamics and specific issues related to climate change.[14] The project is instigated by a variety of governmental institutions, with the Ministry of Environment (MAE) and the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (MIDUVI) taking the lead supported by a number of other state institutions (MIES, MSP, MINEDUC, DIRNEA and the Guayas Gobernación). Following a sectorial approach, the implementation relies largely on public-private partnerships in which private consulters and construction companies are contracted with large capital to carry out very specific tasks in a short time frame. In the absence of a democratic process and the lack of public information, local communities were deliberately kept out of the decision-making process, illustrating how mainstream neoliberal practice withdraws from used-based design (Peek et al. 2017).

Relatedly, dormant community organizations where instantly re-activated and new communal leaders stood up to collectively contest the top-down implementation of *Guayaquil Ecológico.* Neighbourhood committees even developed their own alternative design proposals for which they sometimes had asked assistance from acquainted architects. These counterproposals were presented to the local municipality and used in negotiation with MIDUVI and MAE as the officials of the *Guayaquil Ecológico* project (Figs. 16.1 and 16.2).

16.6 Academic Ventures into Activist Space

As for local institutions, the *Constitución 2008* introducing national well-being principles for political innovation has strongly influenced the re-structuring of public and private academic institutions, exerting development pressures on academics as well (El Universo 2012). On account of the overarching *Buen Vivir* ideologies that underscore the participatory nature of planning in all levels, a positive note is that linkages between academia and society have been re-conceptualized and put forward as main criteria for evaluating education. Yet a large gap between formalized frameworks, academic education and local practices persists. In main public universities and major urban planning schools in particular, a seemingly social engagement in professional practice still follows single-sided approaches leaving little room for true social innovation.

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[14]Across various cities in the South, environmental vulnerability is very often used as an excuse to dislocate the urban poor and unlock land values (Davy and Pellissery 2013; Rolnik 2013; Amoako 2015).

Fig. 16.1 Ruptures in space and appropriations after eviction. Photograph by Olga Peek

Fig. 16.2 Linear park of *Guayaquil Ecológico*. Photograph by Nelson Carofilis

Until recently, 'social engagement' in Ecuadorian academic environments has been commonly understood as capacity building courses for professionals, specialized and consultancy services (CONEA 2009). In 2010, the Law of Higher Education re-conceptualized the terms focusing on real societal demands at local, regional and national levels (LOES 2010). In the specific context of the University of Guayaquil, which is the largest public institution with influence over the entire coastal region, the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism recently established a department for *vinculación con la sociedad*.[15]

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[15]Spanish for 'linkage with society'.

Although the expressed mission of the department is to promote and implement technological innovations applied to training, socially engaged practices are understood more broadly and comprise more activities linked to other departments. These range from participation of academics and students in ongoing or scheduled public projects, individual thesis projects, internships or research. Pitifully, the potential of such activities for developing productive relationships with the community is narrowly limited by the way private or government agendas are favoured by the academic environment. Thesis projects are discouraged when they do not link to municipal projects which generally are run by public–private partnerships. Students are repeatedly required to present endorsements demonstrating their involvement in listed municipal projects[16] often including urban (waterfront) renewal, cutting-edge transportation systems, theme parks or major infrastructure fashionable to local authorities. These restrictions do not always persuade students who many times resist and develop topics originated in their own everyday realities. However, the learning environment undoubtedly confronts them with little flexibility and biased ideas about socially engaged practices, discouraging the development of individual initiatives or participation in other non-governmental ones.

In the midst of this climate, the resistance and community-led contestation that evolved in 2014 in the *Suburbios*, a group of academics from the University of Guayaquil and the KU Leuven, prepared a short training initiative. The training was meant to enhance critical thinking in the local academic and professional setting, by training a number of mid-career professional, while supporting the community-led development of design alternatives to the mega-project. Furthermore, it aimed to promote the formation of a 'community of practice' among participants, strengthening inter-university relationships and the role of the local university as a host of multi-actor exchanges. The initiative was awarded by funding from the Flemish Interuniversity Council institution for development cooperation VLIR-UOS and was realized in July 2015 under the title of 'Designing Inclusion'. As a two-week intensive action-learning event, the programme was built-into accommodate the promotion of theoretical inquiry with on-ground experiences and spaces for critical reflection and design. Three work packages were delivered to motivate critical reflections towards the notion of 'sustainability' and ecological mega-projects and introduce water urbanism design methods with community-based tools used to represent the voice of neglected city makers. Integration activities comprised field visits, on-site fieldwork, stakeholder workshops and integrated design *charretes*[17] in which participants were able to 'reflect in action'. Forty-eight participants selected through an open call formed a diverse team comprising 16 nationalities. Groups were organized according to four strategic sites where specific situations where evolving.

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[16]A common practice in many provinces of Ecuador consists of municipal governments presenting approved projects or plans that are tailored in the studios.

[17]Intense periods of design activity in teams.

On-site fieldwork was mostly organized among participants with local community leaders, who were fully aware of the momentum the summer school was creating and how the media was reflecting it to a broader audience (El Comercio 2015). This particularly made the task of documenting living environments and livelihoods very productive. Community leaders not only eased the entrance but accompanied and many times steered the fieldwork. Fishermen from the neighbourhoods offered boat rides for accessing the backsides of the housing from the water.

Fieldwork findings, visions and scenarios were presented and discussed with significant response from residents and neighbourhood leaders in two stakeholder workshops. Leaders shared their minds on proposals for in situ relocation, waterfront transformations and ecological recovery. For all, this was their very first time in the arena of a public university, participating as partners and sharing their thoughts in a discussion centred on how to ecologically re-image the urban landscape without displacements. Among many expressions, at the final workshop, a leader took the floor to state that 'finally their dignity and basic respect had been considered'.

Participants faced significant obstacles when attempting to tailor socially acceptable solutions. Since analysing contested spaces concerns the unfolding of complex layers, which add to the multidimensional issues experienced by vulnerable communities (d'Auria 2015), designing was evidently the most challenging activity for both participants and trainers. Confronted with the impossibility of arriving at clear-cut designs and rather the necessity of re-imagining long-term visions, participants were compelled to constantly oscillate between the spatial re-configuration of sites and the bottom-up planning approaches entailed by it.

The outputs of the workshop combined numerous of findings and re-articulations: micro-stories that inform us about broader patterns of past and present urban life; spatial re-configurations that take advantage of opportunities found on-site; scenarios of the gradual ecological recovery of the estuary and the spatial transformation of housing; and visions of a possible (future) urban landscape that represent the social commitments of multiple actors.

Immediately after the closure of the workshop, the abundant materials produced by the initiative were delivered to the local communities for their use in the discussion of inclusive design alternatives to the mega-project with leading institutions and local municipal authorities. Additionally, CUBE leaders led further fieldwork for the preparation of selected materials used in press conferences with high government representatives from Quito. At this last follow-up meetings, some leaders commented that MIDUVI officers had been visiting the neighbourhood asking residents about how much space from their backyards they were willing to yield for creating a green edge (Figs. 16.3 and 16.4).

Fig. 16.3 Fieldwork: documenting dwelling environments and estuarine living spaces. Photographs by Ana Sabrina Martínez, Designing Inclusion, 2015
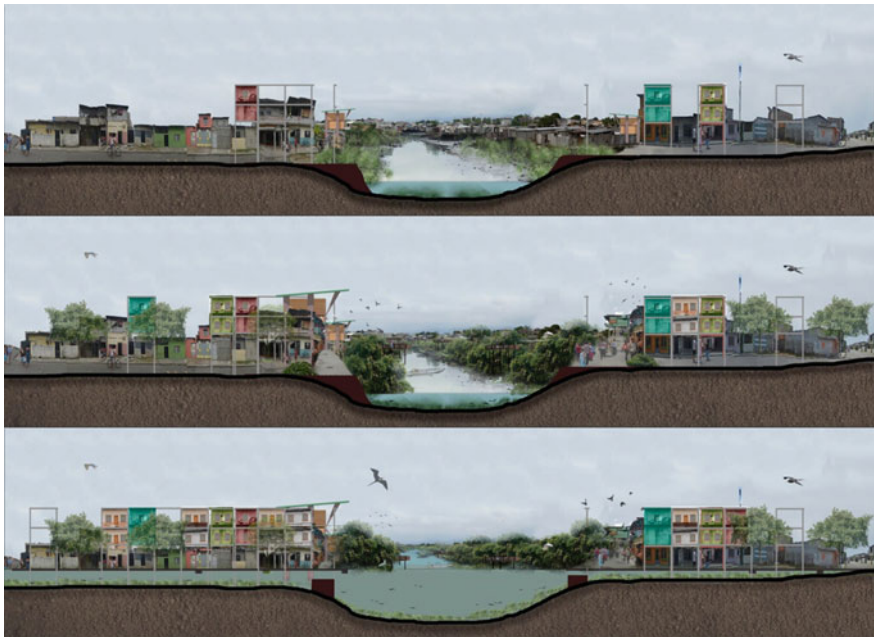

Fig. 16.4 Alternative imaginations for short-, medium- and long-term adaptation: incremental housing transformation and ecological infrastructures. Image by Ana Sabrina Martínez, Astrid van Kerckhoven, Designing Inclusion, 2015

16.7 Conclusion

Against the backdrop of neoliberal development in Latin American cities, the case of Guayaquil is exemplary of challenges and opportunities that lie ahead for academic institutions in becoming key actors for the development of their cities and regions. Reflecting on the circumstances, the local and national institutional set-up of Ecuador in which the experience of the summer school *Designing Inclusion* (2015) was introduced, the case throws light over unexplored possibilities within an uncharted territory for most professionals and academics in Guayaquil and Ecuador.

The action-learning approach considered relevant for the Ecuadorian context was effective in pushing unspoken barriers that actually hamper innovation in the learning environment of the academia. In the case of Guayaquil, it made possible to re-connect a more coherent idea of social engagement, which in Ecuadorian policy for higher education remains open to wide interpretation. The 'action' implied in the whole exercise was successful in suspending stereotypical perceptions and attitudes towards people, places and problems of urban settlements. The exchange of knowledge between external and local actors enabled participants to discuss and re-frame such categories in a socially constructed way and to critically question why in the first place neglected communities often need to challenge the state. The initiative also provided the opportunity to reflect on the important role and specific contribution of professionals and academics in balancing contested urban development. From the other side of the equation, the recognition of communities as equal partners in the dialogue about their environment, present and future well-being, helped remove some of the stigma of tense relationships of struggle that popular sectors commonly have to bear with. While this achievement is essential in preparing the stage for future productive collaborations, it points at the fact that this kind of exchanges has been long expected by the community and the university is not used to having them; therefore, its public mandate should be questioned. The discovered convening capacity of the university is vital for staging a broad-based stakeholder setting where the voices of powerful and neglected city makers are equalized and therefore should be potentiated. By integrating and generating new knowledge relevant for reducing capacity gaps in ecological design, climate change-responsive urban planning and participatory housing-focused urban development, the experience of the summer school suggested to local academics, a more precise focus of architectural education in a timely moment of the curriculum development at the University of Guayaquil. It does not come as a surprise that in an academic environment which is been thoroughly evaluated, authorities will take advantage of opportunities to score higher in the ranking. However, for purposes of revising the curriculum, it remains as equally important to reflect critically on the emerging trend of 'mega-projects in the name of ecology' in Ecuador, in Latin America and the South more generally. For students and practitioners alike, becoming aware of the mechanisms through which unprecedented amounts of capital (public funds) are re-directed to private actors is crucial. Even if communities can mobilize and are known to be able to do so, academics should question

why techniques to fragment their social practices are built-into mega-projects and why basic conditions linked to environmental crisis are used to support speculative ventures. Re-considering and bringing back the idea of a pro-poor city is a core task of urban professionals that needs to be cultivated through a critical pedagogy. From this perspective, the social engagement of academia should be posited well beyond humanitarian or clientelist standpoints, in the light of its value for achieving more inclusive, just and innovative forms of urban planning where space and design are key.

As the contemporary setting is evidently making it harder for university graduates to carve their own alternative practices, universities are called to reconfigure their role as key actors in contesting unequal city-making. A main challenge to reflect upon, which surfaces in the case of Guayaquil, is the polarity of attitudes and postures among academics and lack of stimulating dialogues on positionality. Institutional resistance to progressive forms of teaching and learning falling out of conventional-normative controls is a known trend (Archipovitae 2015), as postures that stand in strict antagonist 'activism' towards other actors. Both such postures are not only doomed to fail, but constitute a problem for education and governance in general.

Looking forward to a change of paradigms, the discussion of academic activism in the design disciplines offers an interesting perspective as an approach to architecture which allows us to raise questions and reflect on new ways of thinking about what we do and how we do it, within and with a wide spectrum of non-architect agents. On the other hand, it compels us to look at academia as a productive site for activism, whose power relations may be challenged and reassembled (Flood et al. 2013). More generally, academic activism should be more about intervening in your locality than travelling around the world with a different 'cause' every semester. Rather than being understood as ´failed cities´ as has been the prevalent view among planners and governments, our students and practitioners can be encouraged to start looking at cities in the global South as examples of everyday resistance against misplaced urban and development plans (Simone 2004).

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Chapter 17
Universities' Urban Impact in the Neo-liberal Context

Haniyeh Razavivand Fard

Abstract The role of higher education institutions in contributing to urban development and global evolution of knowledge economy is now well-recognized. In the global knowledge-intensive world, knowledge is regarded as a valuable property and an important mean of power. Universities' impact has been altered with new missions (specifically third mission activities) they have accepted in congruence with globalization and neoliberal policies toward marketization of knowledge in higher education system. Universities as large urban institutions are key actors in the global growth of knowledge economy that stimulate development of their host urban spaces. They function as knowledge enterprises in the neoliberal context that nurture the intellectual and human capital required for the knowledge-based economy. Through being entrepreneurial entities, universities attempt to increase their competence in the redevelopment activities and address the challenges of their societies. It is facilitated through establishing coalitions with government, industry, and other stakeholders. These cooperative initiatives between university and city reinforce the status of both university and the host city in the global economy in one hand and contribute to the socio-economic development of the region. In this respect, this chapter focuses on universities as principal agents engaging in re-development activities in the neoliberal context and portrays universities as collaborative and entrepreneurial entities that embrace the regional development responsibility. The chapter starts with the specific features of the neoliberal context and follows with investigation of the structures that reinforce the expansion and engagement policies of universities in the neoliberal context. It describes impact of higher education institutions on changing global geography and marketization of urban space within knowledge economy incentives and underpins the importance of their third mission on restructuring and redevelopment of the regional and global urban space.

Keywords Neoliberalism · Knowledge economy · Universities' impact
Urban development

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17.1 Introduction

Our era is exposed to the consequences of rapid globalization. Rise of neoliberalism has stimulated free market-oriented approaches and activities and strengthened economic relations which also embraces commodification of knowledge.

Globalization gives momentum to regional collaborations that result in changes in socioeconomic status of the society as well as transformations in modes of production of knowledge.

Urban spaces clearly are the main contributors to the economy and global society, whereas they are the milieus of different kind of economic exchange. Through the history, knowledge has been a critical property for nourishing a robust culture, economy, and community (Van Doren 1992). In new era, knowledge as the intellectual property is the precious asset that significantly has changed the global world and puts its traces on any aspect of human life (Drucker 1993; Etzkowitz et al. 2000; Lundvall and Johnson 1994).

Many of our modern cities are important hubs of knowledge production, knowledge consumption, and promoting innovation. In the knowledge economy context, the influential factors for creating vigorous global and local economic environments are the accessibility and price of venture capital, free markets, libertarian culture, and proper government economic strategies. While the economy is highly dependent on the generation and dissemination of knowledge, the knowledge-based services including education and communication are developing with a dramatic speed specifically in western world and are attracting public and private investments for their research and development initiatives. Thus, knowledge-driven practices and industries have important role for sustainable economic and socio-cultural and spatial growth of regions and cities (Ofori 2003; Metcalfe and Ramlogan 2005). The local industries comprise public and private universities, enterprises, research centers, and technology and science parks (Yigitcanlar 2009). These knowledge-based industries are interwoven into their hosting urban fabric (Kunzmann 2009). In growingly competitive and globalized economy, urban spaces attempt to develop their knowledge industries for promoting research, education, technology, intellectual property, and urban services and this fact has intensified the significance of universities to their regions as important agents in territorial competitiveness through providing human and intellectual capital (Benneworth et al. 2010). Universities are milieu for two main aspects of modern knowledge-based economy described as education and human capital development, and technology and innovation revolution. Universities also vastly contribute to the third feature of knowledge economy which is promoting enterprises and industries. Universities are also dependent on the information and communications technology that is the fourth element of modern knowledge economy (Forbes 2014).

Alongside with the increasing demands of the knowledge-intensive economy and the competitive labor market both in local and global contexts, the higher education institutions undergo evolutionary reforms over the last few decades to be

able to move beyond their traditional role of teaching and research and shift toward their third mission. For this purpose, universities have expanded their urban outreach activities with public and private partners. They are the initiators of academia-government-industry-community collaboration in many regions particularly in small- or medium-sized regions. They contribute to socioeconomic sustainability of their region through providing human and intellectual capital, transferring technology and boosting urban development initiatives (Razavivand Fard et al. 2017).

In light of these considerations, this study aims to discuss the role of universities in economic and spatial development of urban milieu in the era of knowledge-driven economy.

17.2   Neoliberal Context

It can be stated that neoliberalism is perhaps one of the most influential notions in connecting economic and political issues of social life with urban studies. Brenner et al. (2010) describe neoliberalism as: "Neoliberalisation represents an historically specific, unevenly developed, hybrid, patterned tendency of market-disciplinary regulatory restructuring." It is developed by neoliberal regimes and indicates a move from state to private strategies, a transition from publicly planned motivations to market-oriented and competitive ones. Neoliberalism characterized by economic globalization and global capital mobility, by liberalization of market and business activities, privatization, devolution of central government, imbalanced economic growth, and increasing social inequalities. It intends to promote administrative competence, entrepreneurialism, international capital mobility, and economic freedoms (Dumenil and Levy 2004; Harvey 2005; Sager 2011). Harvey (2005) defines neoliberalism as: "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an industrial framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey 2005).

Neoliberalism serves to the reforming the association between the state and private capital owners that require fostering a growth-first approach to urban development (Sager 2011). Neoliberal policies have had considerable impacts on territories, spatial development, and urban planning, and it is for three decades now that neoliberalism has sketched the route of urban restructuring. Neoliberal ideology claims that all social and economic problems have a market solution (Peck and Tickell 2002).

However, it is a prerequisite for neoliberalism as modernization and urbanization necessitate the vast investments in urban spaces around the world. Accordingly, there is a shift from production to commerce and finance. Sassen (1994) explains it evolving through special economic and social complexes embedded in particular places and emphasizes on the importance of local place in flow of human and capital that comprise globalization and focuses on weakening the significance of

national economy, in a highly uneven condition, in global world. However, according to the nature of globalization process, the investment capital is less local, crossing the national boundaries as financial markets are liberalized and so the mobile investment capital gives rise to intense competition of cities in both national and global levels.

Therefore, global cities have arisen since 1970s with the rise of global financial system and domination of foreign investment through capital flowing between capital markets. Smit (2002) explains two major shifts that restructured the functions of the cities as firstly territorialization of production systems at regional scale, separated from their national setting and centered in metropolitans which are the milieus of global production rather than traditional industrial regions that resulted in deindustrialization movements in 1970s and 1980s and secondly moving national states away from the liberal urban policies. Neoliberal urbanism has an essential role in this rescaling of functions and relations and highlights the connection of production and capital at the expense of the question of social reproduction (Bose 2015).

So, in order to achieve the success in the global competition, cities need private businesses and new kind of management expressing an entrepreneurial attitude that can act in global scale.

17.3 Universities as Knowledge Generators in Global Knowledge Economy

Neoliberalism is associated with globalization, and it is evident that globalization has been parallel to rise of marketization and privatization in socioeconomic areas of life around the world. In this era, the emergence of neoliberalism has had a drastic impact on the social and economic vision specifically through dominance of market on any areas of social and economic activity which also has led to an extreme competitiveness as one of its noticeable results (Roberts and Peters 2008).

Parallel with neoliberalism and with the changes in the society from economy dependent on agriculture and industry which was mostly based on physical capital toward the economy based on service and knowledge (De Jonge and den Heijer 2008), the intellectual and human capital has gained more importance. In the rise of information era and network society as Castells (1996) declares, information and knowledge have gained the value of assets and function as means of economic growth. Socioeconomic shifts that occurred in the globe have set the stage for evolution of high-tech industries and information technologies and aimed at commodification of knowledge and sophistication of products and services.

Within the recent literature, different terms have been used to describe the issue including the knowledge economy (Drucker 1993; Powell and Snellman 2004), learning economy (Lundvall and Johnson 1994), the world economy (Sassen 1994), the global economy (Dunning and Lundan 2008) and so on.

Knowledge infrastructures are part of the knowledge-based society. Knowledge infrastructures are public or private institutions that function for generation, dissemination, and management of knowledge and include universities, colleges, libraries, research centers, and so on. Universities are not anymore the only generators of knowledge, but producing knowledge is shared between a network of knowledge infrastructures.

In this respect, the OECD report on "The Knowledge-Based Economy" (1996) states that the dynamics of knowledge-based economy differ from traditional economy where now knowledge is generated and transmitted through communication and information networks. The report also emphasizes on the interactive model of innovation that encompasses knowledge flows and the collaboration between academia, industry, and government (OECD 1996). There is no longer a linear path from research to commercial innovation to proceed consecutively from research to marketing, and rather, there is an interactive procedure where a wide number of institutions cooperate and perform multiple roles (Lundvall 2002).

Moreover, the World Bank (1998) in its report on "The World Development Report: Knowledge for Development" explores the role of knowledge in promoting economic and social well-being. The report indicates that universities as the traditional institutions for knowledge production are leading future service industries and pioneers in the development process. In addition, in the report, it is also described that there is a big gap between developed and developing countries regarding the production of knowledge and technology.

However, through globalization, the production and utilization of capital, technology, and knowledge have moved beyond the national boundaries and being integrated with global stream. Neoliberalization has given rise to international competitions and changed the nature of products and production processes. The increasingly investing in knowledge and human capital also create competitive benefits for places and triggers their economic development. In this context, there is a strict competition between countries in production and distribution of new knowledge and innovations.

17.4 Universities and Changing Geography of Globalized Urban Spaces

Globalization and neoliberalism have dramatically transformed today's world. Intensified world economy, supremacy of nation-states, and international corporations assimilated the local traditions in global culture. Dependence on global network is now more widespread for many cities around the globe (Taylor 2004), and global cities are in constant competition with each other. The success of a city is

mostly dependent on how it can utilize knowledge and information. Thus, the significance of places in the recent knowledge economy is more highlighted.

Currently, geographies of higher education are changing and going beyond their campus and national boundaries and "global city regions" are emerging in both developing and developed economies of the world, becoming the loci of information, knowledge, and capital (Sassen 2002; Wiewel and Perry 2008). Cities are in a constant competition for dominance within the global network to be in higher ranks as the "world city." The position of cities in this framework is closely related to their participation in world economy. These global cities such as New York and London are agglomerations that clusters of knowledge-driven industries are located as the sources of technology and innovation (Beaverstock et al. 2000; Gordon and McCann 2000). Nonetheless, the success of the cities in the global network is not merely dependent on size and global centrality, but it is also related to their ability in attracting innovation and knowledge-driven activities, creating an attractive urban space and framing a supportive strategy that can absorb creative class (Benneworth et al. 2010; Florida 2002).

In the global world, global universities have critical position in both knowledge economy and network society. The wider access for higher education for larger number of population and increasing possibility for mobility of students and graduates have contributed to the accumulation of human capital for urban development purposes.

The networks between universities in addition to current massification of higher education have changed the global geography of tertiary education. The cross-border mobility has become more widespread, and the wide range of higher education opportunities offered particularly in global cities has increased the number of students' enrollment. This tendency is not just allocated to large capitalist countries, but it is also a popular trend throughout the globe. For instance, the number of students continuing in higher education has been grown five-fold between 1970 and 2007 reaching from 28.6 million to 152.5 million which points out to an average growth of 4.6% annually. This pattern is also obvious in less developed regions in sub-Saharan Africa that demonstrates an average expansion ratio of 8.6% per year. East Asia and Pacific also have experienced a rapid growth of annually 10%, and this is mainly because of China where has displayed a substantial student increase in recent years. The expansion rate was slower in West and South Asia with an increase average of 5.2% per year. In Latin America, the rate of annual enrollment growth was approximately 6.8% in recent years which displays a decline in the ratios from 11% between 1980 and 2000. In North America and Europe, the ratio has not changed dramatically because of their historically high participation in tertiary education and has increased 1.6 times from that of 1970 (UIS 2009).

It is also noteworthy that the intense universal differences in growth ratios particularly between West Europe and North America and the rest of the globe have influenced the world wide distribution of students enrolled for the higher education.

While in 1970, almost every second tertiary student in the world studied in West Europe or North America, but it descended to almost one quarter in 2007. The global number of mobile students has risen almost 2.5 times from 1975 and demonstrates an average of 11.7% annual growth. In 2007, the largest number of students who had gone abroad for tertiary education belonged to China (about 421,100) while the USA has hosted the majority of mobile students (about 595,900). However, the landscape of international student mobility is changing. Comparing the flows of mobile students between 1999 and 2007 reveals that more students recently prefer to stay in their home regions while the opportunities for higher education have increased in different destinations including home regions (UIS 2009).

Networks between universities also open new horizons for cities to enter into the global network. Therefore, the significance of universities to their hosting urban space is more evident where universities are strictly connected to cities, but they are not fixed in particular cities. In the global world, cities for achieving prosperity encourage global activities of universities. Research and education offered by universities are critical aspects for nurturing human capital and promotion of labor skills. The extent of competitiveness of cities in attracting knowledge-intensive industries and services defines their position in the knowledge economy (Beaverstock et al. 2000). Therefore, the urban hierarchies are also determined regarding the capability of particular places in attaining knowledge capital. Competitive cities such as New York, London, and Tokyo have an ever-increasing desire for growth. They have experienced economic prosperity and major development motivated by many diverse knowledge-driven industries mutually endorsing fast economic development. These cities attract investment that makes them the hubs of physical infrastructure and virtual communication centers which ultimately intensify their urban competitiveness. There are also smaller cities and rural and semirural towns with declining industries that are "socially disintegrated" (Moulaert 2000) excluded from knowledge economy while their functional disconnection from the knowledge-incentive centers and obtaining high-quality workforce restrict creating new industries in their urban settings. Thus, the significance of territorial mobility has been emphasized (Keating et al. 2003) in building polycentric urban networks and connecting social, economic, and cultural resources into coherent internal activities for enhancing the appeal of region for external investment (Benneworth and Hospers 2007).

Therefore, universities as the key determinants of urban competitiveness and knowledge enterprises have created strong extra-regional networks for attracting affluent students, academic staff, and administrators and to obtain research grants from governments, corporations, and private foundations, and they are major participants in the intense competition between localities, regions, and countries for achieving economic growth. They are important players in directing regional mobility specifically in marginal regions (Benneworth and Hospers 2007).

17.5 Marketization of Urban Spaces in Knowledge Economy

In neoliberal urbanism, the inter-urban competition and reviving urban economy also demand re-orientation of urban space by providing various facilities and infrastructure in order to raise the city's reputation and attract corporations, enterprises, and businesses and absorb the capital. Urban entrepreneurialism attempts for accumulation of wealth within city's borders (Jessop 1997), and this also requires new urban governance organizations that accept the entrepreneurial role. The entrepreneurial strategies change the spatiality of the urban space through constructing flagship projects such as cultural hubs, science parks and gentrified downtown neighborhoods and so forth (Ford 2008; Raco and Henderson 2009; Sager 2011) and intended to intensify the marketing of city in the market-oriented world for achieving economic development through the flagship projects and particular activities such as sport and cultural events (Eisinger 2000; Sager 2011). City marketing and branding are implemented for attaining competitive benefit that can strengthen investments, community development, reinforcing local identity of the citizens and applying social forces for decreasing social exclusion. City marketing strategy is also a shift from managerial urban role to entrepreneurial mode (Kavaratzis 2004; Sager 2011). However, branding may be a risk for authenticity and local identity of urban space.

Another strategy for rising economic development is attracting the creative class (Florida 2002). Florida argues that the economically developed societies are experiencing a capitalism period that creativity is considered the driving force of economic growth. This includes new industries, new technologies, high-tech workforce, managers. Therefore, cities require to create a stimulating atmosphere that can attract the creative class (Sager 2011). However, the concept of creative class is criticized by many scholars because of its nature of reflecting the class concept (Krätke 2010) and the policies that support the creative class instead of deprived groups and social projects (Peck et al. 2013). These incentives stimulate urban renewal and are mostly invested in selected zones encouraging new developments, restoring, and transformation of brownfields.

Moreover, as penetration of the globalizing economy gets momentum, universities and cities are compelled to become more globally competitive. They attempt to become the growing nodes in the universal knowledge economy, and they pursue competitive benefits through creating collaborations. To be "ideapolis" (Jones et al. 2006) which is a sustainable knowledge-intensive city, urban spaces share an interest in promoting creativity. Universities move forward technology through research and innovation. They absorb talented individuals to the region and create the synergy between various groups with large ethnic, socioeconomic and cultural diversity, and expand new ideas. Thus, globalized higher education has become a growing industry in many countries of the globe such as the USA, the UK, Australia, Canada, and West European countries that contribute to urban and national economies through developing strategies for expansion of intellectual

capital and attracting fee-paying students. Thus, the governmental strategies have been designated for place making and place marketing of the cities for transforming them to desirable destinations for students and human capital. Universities also attempt to brand their institutions as the attractive hubs for absorbing students, faculty, research grants and government and corporations funding and charitable donations. Singapore is one of the best examples that since 1990s intended to be a hub for world class education. Contemporarily, cities in Asia specifically in Malaysia and in the United Arab Emirates such as Dubai, Sharjah, Abu Dhabi also have been actively involved in creating higher educational hubs (Forbes 2014).

So, as famous architect Stern argues, universities utilize branding as a tool to affirm their distinction and declare their reputation among the similar practices and products. Competition in the global world is the driving force for branding, and branding is used for market differentiation (Drori et al. 2013).

Higher education institutions, neighborhoods, local governments, and metropolitan regions are extremely reliant on their image and prestige for attracting people and investors. The issue is highly dependent on the place they are located while an appropriate place contributes to the well reputation of a university. A successful university also gives rise to the cultural prosperity and socioeconomic development of the urban space, and a good reputation is also important for municipalities (Bromley 2006). Branding is the common attempt of universities around the world in the twenty-first century, regardless of their size and location, even the very localized institutions, and regardless of being public or private, all have been absorbed into the waves of marketing and globalization. In the knowledge economy era and global competition, universities attempt to marketize and commodify their intellectual products.

17.6 The Scope of Universities' Outreach Activities in Society

Universities as the places of generation and dissemination of knowledge have the mission of directing and reflecting their society. They are significant agents in development of the knowledge-based societies where they lead changes in the field of education, information, and technology (Benneworth et al. 2010; Charles 2003; Chatterton and Goddard 2000).

Some fundamental transformations have occurred in the higher education system within the last decades. The emergence of knowledge economy, changing national and regional governance policies, the accumulation of knowledge clusters in global cities, and encouraging regional engagement can be mentioned among the important changes. In order to be adjusted to these changes, the higher education system has gone through reforms and restructuring in institutional attitude over last few decades (Delanty 2002). First reform was replacing the monastery-like academy

with the Humboldtian university (the German higher education model) in nineteenth century based on two fundamental aspects of research-like education and academic liberation of research and teaching and evolved the university to a modernized, professionalized, rational and universal institution (Elton 2008). This model is considered the base of current research university, and in this model, universities were mainly established by government that made higher education system centralized (Gellert 1993). In late nineteenth century, in the USA, the research university changed to the American civic university and became more decentralized, pluralistic and extremely competitive in the academic market supplied by the federal research resources (Carlsson et al. 2009; Graham and Diamond 1997). This model introduced more vocational learning approaches besides local community service activities. Following this reform, mass higher education became pervasive by the Anglo-American model and this model gained popularity around the world since it was enabling massification and decentralization of higher education to keep pace with the increasing knowledge-based economy. This trend reformed the higher education toward the democratic mass university in 1960s following the social changes and growing universal need for access to tertiary education (Daalder and Shils 1982). Engagement was the main element in this trend specifically embraced by students as the individual radical actions against the authorities. The most recent reform of higher education is shifting toward virtual university (Delanty 2002) that is portrayed by multiplicity of missions and approaches and directed by reducing the government's' funds and rising competitions regarding globalization. Therefore, universities are required to compete for resources, restructure their administrative system, cooperate with industry, government, and businesses, and become more involved and entrepreneurial (Benneworth et al. 2010; Sam and van der Sijde 2014). These dynamics stimulate universities' commercialization and their third mission. The third mission of universities beyond teaching (first mission) and research (second mission) is associated with their participation in economic and socio-cultural activities of the society (Razavivand et al. 2017).

There are several viewpoints about the definition of the third mission of universities, but it is mostly described in terms of universities' entrepreneurial activities and their responsibility for community outreach and socioeconomic development (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 2000). It is stated that it leads to higher education as having "a civic duty to engage with wider society on the local, national, and global scales and to do so in a manner which links the social to the economic spheres" (Goddard 2009). Community outreach is now a prevalent notion supported by many students and academic staff attempting to advance volunteer activities, public service, civic research and education service, university-community collaboration and to a wider extent the idea of "communiversity" (Lempert 1996; Lerner and Simon 1998; Bromley 2006). The outreach initiatives of many universities concentrate on local regions and encompass variety of activities such as agriculture and rural development and also research and development like establishing science parks, spin-offs, and business incubators.

Clark (1998) proposes an entrepreneurial role for universities and claims that universities are needed to be more financially independent of government and seek for new revenues from external foundations through their knowledge-based activities.

From a neoliberal perspective, universities can be considered a part of capitalist system, supporting the rationale of accumulation and value flow (Yates 2000). Slaughter and Leslie (2001) explain it as a global trend toward "academic capitalism" that contains both market-like behavior such as competitive activities for allocating external funds from fee-paying students or research foundations and market behaviors including for-profit activities like patenting, licensing agreements (Baldini 2006), building spin-off firms (Etzkowitz 2008), university-industry collaboration and so on (Castree and Sparke 2000; Slaughter and Leslie 2001; Yates 2000). Universities nurture students and researchers to acquire marketable specific skills, and through this, they enhance the quality of labor force which is necessary for success in the competitive globalized economy and capital division (Harvey 1982; Yates 2000). University' development is not only for profit making, but it is also for branding and promoting reputation in order to be involved in market (Readings 1998). Universities' development is aligned with concept of neoliberal urbanism for spatial restructuring that enables value attraction (Bose 2015). Cleary (2002) has also emphasized on the role of universities in regional development of their districts and identified their main functions including supporting the regional knowledge economy and the society, contributing to the economic stability, enhancing the social life of the region, providing cultural opportunities, contributing to international cooperation of the region and its globalization, supporting innovative activities and entrepreneurship, improving the regional economy through academic entrepreneurship.

Van den Berg and Russo (2004) identify two principal factors in the significance of education for economic development in cities as: academic activities produce direct economic outcomes such as job opportunities, revenues and services and also knowledge spillover or human capital as indirect outcome that is related with the direct encounter between private companies and knowledge centers in order to accelerate the knowledge exchange.

On the other hand, cultural enrichment is also considered as main objectives of regional development. In this respect, universities establish the basis for cultural resources of the region through research services, cultural activities, and employment of graduated students. They also enhance the cultural richness of the region through offering cultural services as well as requesting for cultural demands (Charles 2001). Universities are the gates of communication with the region's outside world. Since early 1990s, with international corporations, universities attempt to improve their academic programs and new activities and for this purpose, their academic staff and alumni are as important as their graduate students in dissemination of knowledge and educational culture. So, universities are important elements in the international cooperation of their region and interaction with outside

world. Universities also accelerate innovations and are key actors in foundation and development of new entrepreneurs. Thus, they provide a vast number of new job opportunities in addition to investing on innovative researches and new future-oriented revenue recourses. In this context, universities are the main consumer of local products and services and help to the formation and improvement of local businesses (Rosan 2006).

In the knowledge economy, urban competitiveness strategy has associated with inviting and evolving technology-based industries and knowledge-intensive services, skilled individuals, and the facilities that contribute to attracting and retaining human capital and companies. Therefore, local governments need universities to engage in the regional economic development in both regional and global level (Benneworth et al. 2010). For this purpose, some changes are foreseen in the urban and regional governance in order to encourage universities to get responsibility in collaboration with other regional stakeholders from public and private sectors. This may put pressure on universities to take a more active role in more collaborative activities for the economic and social development of their urban context and attract high added-value activities into the regions.

17.7 Universities' Impact on Urban Development

The central role of higher education institutions in regional development has been vastly investigated in academic literature (Bromley 2006; Bromley and Kent 2006; Castree and Sparke 2000; Perry and Wiewel 2005; Rodin 2007). Several researches have explored the involvement of higher education in regional development from various perspectives such as focusing on the participation of graduate students in regional labor markets, effects of universities employment and investment in the local economy, conducting research for creating localized knowledge spillovers, collaboration of university and industry for developing science parks and innovation centers (Goddard and Vallance 2013; Lawton Smith 2007; Wang and Vallance 2015; Uyarra 2010) and universities' real estate practices (Perry and Wiewel 2005).

Since 1970s, along with neoliberal policies and rapid deindustrialization and intensified competition, specifically in many metropolitan areas of the USA and other countries in the globe (Bluestone and Harrison 1982; Bromley 2006), the importance of universities and colleges for their regions has been more exemplified.

Universities are considered as economic engines for development of their regions. At local scale, several university-related demands are essential for development of various local businesses such as restaurants, local stores, housing, and various services. Moreover, universities' amenities and infrastructure such as sport and cultural facilities, R&D centers and also training services does not only have functional importance for the region but also considered as the sign of prestige for the local governments in smaller regions. For instance, universities in Russia, Mexico and Argentina and some countries in Africa increase their collaborative activities through transformations in their administrative system and evolving their

educational structure's quality and also developing new cooperation and economic resources apart from the state to meet the demands of knowledge-intensive system. In China, through reforms in its higher education structure, it has given more autonomy to universities to generate their financial resources (Cetin 2007).

The substantial investment on research and development competences reinforces economic growth through entrepreneurial activities and knowledge exchange between higher education institutions and industry through spin-off companies, incubators, workforce mobility, and so forth (Breschi and Lissoni 2001; Wang and Vallance 2015). Vigorous entrepreneurships and strong collaborations that support regions' economy in addition to the spatial proximity of these networks can facilitate developing scientific and technological clusters in the region that reinforce local economic growth (Lawton Smith 2007; Patton and Kenney 2010; Wang and Vallance 2015). Thus, universities are critical elements of urban competitiveness and important knowledge enterprises in knowledge economy.

However, the relation between universities and urban space is not limited to establishing tech-parks and incubators, but there are also their infrastructures situated in the urban space. Integrating with the host community has influenced organizational structure of universities in internal and external aspects over the past time. The spatial arrangement of universities (planned or unplanned) and their quality generally demonstrates their organizational characteristics, missions, and approaches in managing resources.

It should also be mentioned that the physical form of universities has undergone reforming in response to various drivers of globalized knowledge economy. Since 1970s, there has been a growing trend in marketization of urban processes transforming the space economy of global cities that gave rise to neoliberal urbanism. In this regard, neoliberal activities of place marketing and place making implemented by several entrepreneurial agents can be considered as strategies for creating surplus value within urban space (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Hackworth 2007; Bose 2015). Smit (2002) describes redevelopment as a principal accumulation strategy, which is created politically and generates new urban politics. Universities also are among these new redevelopers in the context of neoliberal urbanism that adopt corporate model for achieving profit and serve as settings for neoliberal practices. Furthermore, universities got involved in an intense competition with other similar institutions following competitive strategies.

Therefore, universities restructure their space regarding their growing needs, and also, they seek for association from external partners. "The university as urban developer," as Perry and Wiewel (2005) describe it, relates the universities' expansion practices with engaging in real estate market through actions including possessing, purchasing and developing for renovating, re-using existing constructions, and creating new structures. The logic of university expansion also can be observed under the concept of accumulation.

Universities may be involved in different activities in different sites and even different cities to expand their financial profits. They may also establish new

campuses, even in other geographical locations to create new markets. The physical organization and location of universities in relation to host cities have broader impact on urban space and urban hierarchies as well. Universities that are situated in central areas of urban fabric mostly are rooted and fixed in their location and required to preserve the spatial consistency of the urban fabric. This situation offers them easier access and mobility and getting benefits from amenities of their surrounding neighborhood, and reciprocally, they give services to their environment through their specialized facilities and infrastructure. So, these urban universities act as catalysts in the re-developmental objectives. However, implementing these strategies may create a condition of collaboration or contradiction.

The reasons behind the universities redevelopment vary. Spatial expansion as the result of increasing enrollments, expanding infrastructures, enhancing the status of urban space, and improving the socioeconomic condition of surrounding urban texture specifically in deteriorated neighborhoods have counted among the main reasons for universities engagement in urban development (Perry and Wiewel 2005). For this purpose, universities are required to set up collaborations with local stakeholders for funding the development projects.

Involvement of universitiesin campus development can offer broader opportunities to their urban environment. Primarily, it contributes to forming knowledge-based clusters or districts that can alter the attributes of the area. Although campus development can be chlallenging because of the availability of land, universities try to promote their international prestige through other practices such as establishing specialized infrastructure or creating mixed-use development hubs that can create localized clusters within the cities. This effect is so noticable in smaller towns where universities can be the major agents of growth. Furthermore, through cooperating with local authorities, universities attempt to enhance the urban governance.

Universities contribute to branding of the cities and their intangible enhancement for attracting knowledge-based industries and workforces. It is also discussed that universities participate in urban transformation activities in order to be able to compete more effectively with other similar institutions in attracting high-quality students and faculty and grants from state, private foundations, and so forth. For instance, an institution in a deteriorated district or in a derelict industrial area with high level of crime or poverty and unemployment is less desirable than an institution in a prospered neighborhood. So, community outreach to the hosting urban context is portrayed as civic service and also universities' "enlightened self-interest" (Bromley 2006).

In order to succeed in renewal practices, universities need to create appropriate and efficient alliances with different stakeholders and sometimes with neighborhood inhabitants. Some studies also state that development activities can arouse conflicts drawing attention to the threats that can impose to the living or workplaces of residents or the housing and transportation infrastructure of cities (Perry and Wiewel 2005).

It is stated that the collaboration between university and city can be mutually beneficial, but the extent of their spatial relations can be complex and even

problematic depending on the size, location of university, the nature of expansion, and also the characteristic of the hosting city. Moreover, the form of universities' engagement differs according to variety of institutional contexts in different regions and nations with different socioeconomic conditions and managerial organizations. Nonetheless, most of the studies on the issue have conducted on the western contexts, and recently, some researches have noticed the context of developing and eastern countries.

17.8 Conclusion

Neoliberalism has directed the strategies and practices of regional development within last decades. It has reinforced an approach based on market-oriented solutions for the regional problems and claimed that the problems specifically in economically less developed regions would be solved through national economic development when each region attempts for enhancing its competitive potentials and by liberating markets to align with global trends. In the knowledge economy, cities require regulating their local economies in order to be in congruence with the globalized knowledge economy. They need to get re-oriented and develop policies and provide infrastructures to prosper in the global competition. Specifically, in peripheral and less developed areas, it is needed to enhance their capacity and revive their economy in order to attract knowledge-based investment through improving their internal cohesion and developing networks for drawing affluent individuals and the mobile investment to their region.

Thus, from a neoliberal point of view, universities are part of capitalist system, supporting the rationale of accumulation and value flow. They have leading role in directing mobilizations of territorial partnerships and renewing regions. In this respect, the international approach toward mass participation in higher education (Delanty 2002), which was motivated by state economic and social growth considerations, make it accessible for a wider extent of population and increased human capital needed for labor markets. The trend caused expansion of higher education institutions in broader geographies (Teixeira et al. 2014) which in many cases has been used as a regional policy tool for development of marginal areas (Wang and Vallance 2015). Universities are key agents in global and local knowledge-driven economies, and through making collaborations with regional stakeholders and local authorities, they contribute to a mutually beneficial development, both for their institutions and for the region. The spatial expansion is among the most influential practices of universities that involve divers partners and applies holistic approaches and intend for a competitive prestige upgrading and local socioeconomic and spatial development. So, the conflicts that may arise in the university–city interaction needed to be negotiated and coped mutually with public authorities and other partners. The university-city collaboration is effective on three dimensions. Firstly, it aims at enhancing the status of the urban space and higher education institution within the knowledge economy. Secondly, it intends to improve their competitive

position in the local-regional environment that can cause even negative local results. And thirdly, it influences universities' business and entrepreneurial approaches and their corporate policies. These dynamics are related to the university–city collaboration and attempt to reposition universities and cities.

This paper presents a general perspective on the role of universities in urban development of their regions and attempts to describe the rationale and motivations that stimulate universities' participation in neoliberal context. Therefore, it suggests that through comprehending the lessons learned from various attempts done throughout the world, universities are supposed to foresee the future needs of their regions and make decisions in this respect. For this purpose, the state, the industry, the city, and university need to cooperate for achieving a more inclusive and context-related approach for socioeconomic development of their region and also universities are required to make stronger collaborations with various stakeholders in the society.

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Chapter 18
Transdisciplinary Research as a Platform for Sustainable Urban Regeneration

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Abstract The concept of sustainable urban regeneration is a central issue in contemporary global frameworks. This chapter provides a contribution towards demonstrating the complexity of sustainable urban regeneration in the twenty-first century, with an emphasis on the spatial–physical aspect. The aim is an essential implementation of the theoretical transdisciplinary discourse into practice of the regeneration of urban areas. Previous theoretical transdisciplinary orientation is in practice dominantly implemented in disciplinary framework. With the transformation of conventional disciplinary methodologies into a universal transdisciplinary research platform, we can respond to the complex sustainability issues that contemporary urban practice is facing. Integrated research of spatial determinants released from disciplinary autonomy articulates new energy, ready to face the challenges posed by contemporary global processes. Challenges in implementing transdisciplinary practices are varied and complex, but also insufficiently resistant to oppose transdisciplinary research action built on a platform of integrated knowledge. This section seeks to point out also that architecture and urbanism have an underdeveloped transdisciplinary research platform, even though these are by nature multidisciplinary activities and suitable for the development of transdisciplinary research practice.

Keywords Sustainable urban regeneration · Spatial–physical dimension
Integrated knowledge · Universal transdisciplinary platform

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18.1 Introduction

This chapter is a result of research on the discourse of contemporary urban regeneration for the realization of the doctoral thesis entitled "Transdisciplinary research paradigm in sustainable development of the physical structure of the city" (Perović 2014).

The starting point in this paper is that the city is the interpreter of complex processes, and these processes in the context of sustainable development trigger new relations. Cities have reached the development phase which involves a new dimension of urban regeneration, where there is a need for a new form of social engagement. The paper points to the need for the transformation of conventional disciplinary paradigms and the adoption of universal disciplinary research platform, free of disciplinary prestige, which has the potential to contribute to the production of sustainable spatial practices and sustainable urban rehabilitation of the cities of the twenty-first century. Due to the complexity in which modern cities occur, as products of specific social, spatial and disciplinary relations, the paper starts from the premise that the process of urban regeneration is essential for sustainable development of cities and includes integrated social activism, freed from autonomous disciplinary postulates, which is developing a new line of integrated knowledge and with the problem being the focus of research.

Previous diverse theoretical models of urban regeneration had varying success in the implementation in practice, with research showing that none of the proposed integrable disciplinary models is able to respond to the urban demands of the global time, as well as not establishing the required level of integrity between complex parameters and actors in addressing complex urban problems. Everything indicates that it is necessary to direct activities towards the development of new methodological platform in the planning and design of cities, in order to adequately respond to the constantly present issue of sustainable urban development.

This chapter analyses the complexity of urban regeneration with emphasis on the spatial–physical dimension, i.e. architecture urban action as central in this process. Methodological selection of process of urban regeneration in the twenty-first century needs to respond to multilayered relations of spatial, social and environmental determinants, which are in conventional terms dominantly operated within disciplinary practices of limited ranges.

18.2 The Complexity of the Physical Structure of the City

Physical structure of the city implies "complex set of built elements, spaces and ambient, units and assemblies that jointly and connected into an integrated urban system create an atmosphere and environment for the ongoing of complex processes of urban life" (Radović 2004, p. 16). Various authors who have dealt with the form, i.e. the physical structure of the city throughout history and recent history

(Bacon 1976; Boyer 1994; Cullen 1961; Ellin 1999, 2006; Frey 1999; Grant 2006; Katz and Scully 1994; Jenks and Dempsey 2005; Jenks et al. 1996; Lynch 1960, 1971; Mumford 1968; Rosenau 1959; Rossi 1984; Rykwert 1964), have a base in the complexity and multidimensionality of urban space and the need for integrated approaches in the study of the urban structure.

Intensive urbanization, technological development and global challenges have led to the development of global metropolises and cities, which are facing environmental degradation, uncontrolled exploitation of resources, poverty and *terrain vagues*. Questioning of the approach to the development of physical structures of cities in a complex socio-economic and environmental context is a current topic of the twenty-first century.

The complexity of the physical structure of the city is reflected in the need for sustainable development and sustainable urban regeneration. Physical structure of the city is the primary component of urban systems and determines, to a large extent, the character and functioning of urban processes. It is not sufficient to consider the physical environment through functional-formal and aesthetic dimensions; it should be considered as a complex set of processes and contents, cultural, economic, environmental, technological, psychological, philosophical and others, with the evolutionary value. Issues of resources, poverty, environmental vulnerability and climate change are essential issues in the perseverance of civilization in urban conditions. New perspectives through integrated problem-solving can make a powerful contribution. The new language of cooperation among disciplines that promote the highest level of integrity and a high degree of universality can contribute in shedding the light on contemporary urban challenges.

18.3 Sustainable Development of the Physical Structure of the City

Sustainable urban form (Williams et al. 2000) involves, first of all, research on the complexity of space and place (Manson and O' Sullivan 2006) and adequate knowledge, skills and competences in spatial planning (Salaj et al. 2010). Sustainable development of the physical structure of the city is reflected in the successful regeneration and sustainable urban planning. Collaborative approach encourages sustainable urban regeneration and also the sustainability of the physical structure of the city as its basic components.

The nature of architecture and urbanism is multidisciplinary, and they represent action-oriented professions. Architecture and urbanism include complex fields with double actions, as disciplines and as professions, and with a wide range of practical forms of knowledge. The activities of architecture and urban planning in the context of the development of city's physical structure include educational, theoretical, practical and professional orientation. Sustainable development of the physical structure of the city in the twenty-first century means a continuous and complex

process, theoretical and practical knowledge and research dimension through all stages of the process. The physical structure of the city does not develop solely on the platform of "compositional principles" (Radović 2004, p. 5) and cannot solely be the product of agreement of certain dimensions, but a well thought out integrated research practice, in the context of environmental sustainability. Architecture and urbanism, in addition to functional-formal and aesthetic dimensions, include researching social, economic, environmental, psychological and other components.

Urbanism and architecture as disciplines with primary involvement in the production of spatial practices require integration with other disciplines and with the participatory role of space users, through all stages of the implementation of interventions. Transdisciplinary research methodology on specific spatial practices can contribute to a better identification and understanding of the problem, in order to overcome them and create the basis for sustainable development of modern cities.

18.4 Sustainable Urban Regeneration

Topicality of the issues of sustainable development has positioned urban regeneration as core in the process of transformation and re-identification of urban environments of the twenty-first century. The process of urban development, prompted by globalization trends and primarily by the technological revolution, is greatly transforming the identity values of urban settlements by establishing new cultural patterns. Studies indicate that contemporary urban regeneration, in the context of sustainable development, is a multidimensional process that requires participation of different structures and levels of social engagement, as well as different forms of knowledge and a high degree of integrity. Complex needs of modern society increase the number and content of the criteria in the process of sustainable development, from the global to the local level. According to many authors, urban regeneration represents comprehensive and integrated visions and actions that lead to solving urban problems and aims to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental state of the area that was subjected to change (Roberts 2000; Lichfield 1992).

The complexity of the urban regeneration process involves the development of paradigms, models, patterns, as well as a quality methodological platform for its successful implementation. Developed social awareness for solving problems in the context of sustainable environment plays a crucial role. There is a wide range of functions and processes that take place in urban space, which are affected by different social sections, from global to local levels. The complexity of urban issues through the evolution of a city has been changing, and in the contemporary context it took dimensions of high risk and articulated the need for higher levels of strategic thinking.

Urban regeneration can be seen as a dynamic process that includes strategies, actions and collective efforts to develop quality solutions, strategies that can adapt

over time, transform, and change in order to adequately respond to the spatial, economic, social, environmental, political and other challenges. Concerns in theoretical discussions, as well as on a practical level in the field of urban regeneration when it comes to productivity of implementation, point to the need for a review of conventional and development of new methodological research paradigms for sustainable functioning of the urban system.

The physical aspect of the urban regeneration issue is central because of the large number of inadequate structures in cities, non-functional units, contaminated spaces, inadequate infrastructure, all of which occur due to inadequate control and management, as well as the inability to monitor various social and economic changes in the system. Urban planning is also an aspect that results in inadequate physical development; ambitious plans are often not aligned with the general requirements and needs of the environment. In modern developed urban contexts, urban regeneration needs much more than traditional planning; it should include a broader strategy of urban management, investment, social activity and strategic planning (Roberts 2000; Roberts et al. 1993). Roberts (2000) in the context of improving the urban regeneration process draws out three key conclusions:

1. The importance of evaluation in the development of information and improvement of the theory and practice of urban regeneration;
2. Adoption of an integrated and comprehensive approach to urban regeneration;
3. Acceptance of a new initiative for urban regeneration.

This suggests a review of current methodologies for solving urban problems, which are predominantly implemented in disciplinary and interdisciplinary frameworks.

18.4.1 Evolution of Urban Regeneration

In the past half of the century, Western European context has undergone substantial changes concerning the policy for urban development. These changes took place gradually and were reflected through a variety of strategies, approaches, actions, volatility of stakeholders, through ever more widespread integrated approaches to spatial transformations. In this regard, the evolution of the development of spatial perception indicates that the issue of sustainable development began to be seriously treated in the late 1980s of the last century, while the process of urban regeneration has been wholesomely considered only since the 1990s of the last century.

The issue of urban regeneration had an evolutionary domain, from design and interpretation of theoretical discourse to the practical implications that have encouraged new forms of engagement in accordance with the growing complexity of urban problems and needs of the society. In this paper, evolutionary quality of urban regeneration as the most comprehensive process of transformation of cities in the twenty-first century is interpreted as a mechanism of control of urban

complexity, initiated in the 90s of the twentieth century, and continuously present to this day. Some researchers maintain the stance that evolution is exclusively a biological process; thus, the disciplinary approach to answering questions of the civilization is enough. However, the fact that the universe has evolved from an initial state of chaos (unordered complexity) to the present state of the universe (controlled complexity), and for example, many questions of tribal communities before 20,000 years, can only now be explored, in the contemporary sociocultural and technological conditions (Laszlo 1995). On the other hand, some researchers (Klein 2004; Robinson 2008, etc.) treat transdisciplinary as a usual and implied approach to environmental research in the field of sustainable development. Transdisciplinary activity significantly facilitates potential "online" communication technologies that save time and money, but also involve good organization of researchers (Dale et al. 2010).

Meticulous research of the different levels of urban transformations identified a tendency towards higher forms of integration, as well as the need for a more holistic approach to urban policy practices. This is reflected in particular through the variability of factors in the process of urban transformation. Initially these were state and local governments, then intensified cooperation between the public and private sectors, and later the focus was on the role and activities of public and private partnerships.

In the process of urban regeneration as a comprehensive process of urban change, the focus is on the community and higher levels of integrity between the economic, social, physical, environmental and other factors of the urban environment. In particular, the emphasis is on sustainable urban development and the different forms of participation.

18.4.2 Primary Aspects of Sustainable Urban Regeneration

The primary aspects in the development of sustainable urban regeneration are: environmental, physical, social and economic. The importance of each of these aspects is essential and requires an integrated consideration within the spatial interventions. Listed aspects can, through an adequate model of integrated systematic collaboration, develop a platform for sustainable planning, regeneration and development of modern urban spaces.

18.4.2.1 Environmental and Physical Aspects

Visual identity of cities strongly reflects the overall quality of urban life. Environmental degradation due to inadequate use of resources, ecological degradation, functional interruptions, physical marginalization, various urban conflicts and social degradation dominantly reflects the visual identity of an urban space.

Therefore, the examination of the physical dimension of space is a complex process and implies integrity at all levels.

Physical regeneration of cities is the primary aspect of successful urban regeneration and implies, besides the functional-formal dimension, an examination of the traffic and other infrastructure, soil analysis, environmental quality, etc. (Jeffrey and Pounder 2000). Environmental quality implies economic, sociological and ecological balance and is reflected in the relations and visual values of the physical structure. In this regard, it is necessary for the various demands and standards of sustainability that each of these aspects implies to be included in the process of regeneration of the city physical structure, in addition to the functional-formal and aesthetic dimensions. Socio-economic processes are significantly more intense than physical changes, which are why the physical transformation should be based on an understanding and reply to the complex social demands, such as demographic changes, ecological conflicts, economic conditions and others.

Particularly important is the physical regeneration of spaces in fragments of contaminated areas, brownfield regeneration (Breheny 1997; Perović and Kurtović Folić 2012). Limitations of the inherited spatial practices are present in a large extent, which indicates the need for their redefinition and reactivation, through the development of a new research platform with the potential to identify the causes of problems. Information, communication, technical and technological capabilities, overlapping of virtual and real space, have a stimulating impulse for the development platform for transdisciplinary activism to become a universal strategy for sustainable urban development.

In recent times, there have been a number of initiatives towards the development of strategies for improving the urban environment, particularly in the field of urban design. Increasingly complex environmental problems, especially at global level, such as resources, biodiversity, air quality, the ozone layer, global warming, have spurred the need for more complex approaches to the design and development of the built environment. Sustainable development, urban form and urban regeneration involve integrated considerations. Global environmental problems require higher levels of cooperation and participation in the process of urban development. Notions such as compact city (Jenks et al. 1996), elastic city, ecological city are increasingly common, globally highlighting the importance of urban regeneration and the importance of sustainability of physical urban structure. Information and communication technologies greatly facilitate the development of integrated activities and environmentally sustainable strategies form at the strategic level. A strategic approach to urban regeneration implies the incitement of partnerships, coordination and integration of initiatives and continuous commitment.

Degradation of the environment in many urban areas is pronounced, and it manifests itself through inefficient use of raw materials, water, soil and air pollution. In this sense, the development of the physical urban structure presents a multidimensional process in the context of environmental sustainability.

18.4.2.2 Social Aspect

The importance of social activism in the process of urban regeneration is indicated by Lefebvre's interpretation of space as a social product (Lefebvre 1991), Mumford's standpoint of the city as a stage for active life of citizens (Mumford 1968), etc. Lefebvre points to the evolutionary quality of society and its transformation into the urban in the process of industrialization (Lefebvre 2003), which led to a higher level of decision-making in the community. With urbanization, the role of society is emphasized in solving collective problems, but also social disintegration, separation, etc., became more visible. In the twenty-first century, the urban society is dominant, but in parallel with the material, the virtual world is also developing, which technically facilitates, but also complicates the needs and the role of society in a sustainable community.

The social aspect and the role of local communities in the process of urban regeneration cannot be left out and involve the participation of various social groups with the aim of satisfying the needs and quality of regeneration (Jacobs and Dutton 2000). The success of urban regeneration depends on the reactions of the social community to the problems and a more efficient response. Different levels of interest and capacity of expertise in an integrated effort contribute to a better analysis of the problem. Ideas for regeneration by the public and private sectors, as well as various forms of partnerships, can strongly contribute to a sustainable community and visions for improving the current situation. Various forms of community involvement, representation of local interests, involvement of local authorities, public health authority, management structures, non-profit organizations, financial institutions, adequate project planning, management, networking and human resources all play an important role in the implementation of urban regeneration. "Long-term strategy for sustainability of settlements and social rehabilitation is, above all, a developed awareness on the importance of the built environment for human life. This suggests the need for new methods in the planning process that will respond to the complex demands of modern urban life" (Perović 2012, p. 3585).

18.4.2.3 Economic Aspect

Economic regeneration is a primary determinant of the process of urban regeneration (Noon et al. 2000). Economic instability, globalization of markets and production instability directly affect urban processes as a whole and continuity of urban system development. The question of the role of the city in the changing nature of modern economy, which is reflected in various forms of spatial manifestations, is extremely important. Economic regeneration, stimulating economic growth, initiatives and programs of financing urban regeneration, models of economic development, consumerism, are all issues that are being directly reflected on the process of urban regeneration. Regeneration of the economy involves different forms of partnership, integrated activities, innovative strategies, in order to obtain adequate responses to local and global requirements.

The transformation of urban and regional economies, globalized market, and industrial restructuring has caused a decline in the city's systems. In order to improve the environment and sustainable urban development, it is important to increase the competitiveness, employment rate, have a clear strategic concept of an urban vision, rather than a fragmented urban policy (Noon et al. 2000). Development prospects, through an integrated action, can essentially improve the strategic framework of economic regeneration.

The question is how to achieve a sustainable plan or regeneration of settlements in areas with unfavourable economic base, with rising unemployment, present social degradation, and insufficiently productive political, social and cultural sections. The question is whether the economic aspect is primary for a compact and sustainable city development, if experience shows that economic prosperity is precisely the primary cause of: fragmentation, segregation, mono-functionality, and mono-centricity in cities, as confirmed to be dominant throughout the industrial period. It is certain that there is a need for new strategies and methodologies in the planning and management process, where the inactive spatial resources will be the ones to stimulate economic development (Perović 2012, p. 3585).

18.4.3   Integration and Partnership

Integration is a central feature of urban regeneration (Lichfield 1992). Integrated and comprehensive response to the complex challenges of urban regeneration is a long process, involving a wide range of issues. The lack of long-term perspective and strategic vision of urban regeneration (Carter 2000), concentration on small areas rather than a broader perspective in the past, have prevented the integration of different aspects of urban regeneration (Carter 2000; Turok and Shutt 1994). In this respect, the restructuring of conventional approaches and development of conditions for economic, social and environmental regeneration is primary (Healey 1997). Strategic approach should be based on integration and fostering of cooperation of participants. Parkinson (1996) points out aspects where strategic approach to urban regeneration should contain the following criteria:

- Clearly articulated vision and strategy;
- Mechanisms and resources that enable long-term vision;
- The integration of economic, environmental and social strategic priorities for regeneration;
- Identification of users of the strategy;
- Identification of the levels of public, private and community resources;
- The role and contribution of public and private partnerships;
- Horizontal and vertical integration, policies, activities and resources of the partners in the strategy;
- Connection of the policy of regeneration with programs in the areas of housing, education, health, transport, finance, etc.;

- Determining the relationship between short-, medium- and long-term goals;
- Establishment of economic, social and physical conditions, before the intervention, in order to assess changes over time;
- Monitoring of the results and outcomes of the strategy and assessment of its impact.

A complex set of criteria and parameters in the urban regeneration strategy development points to the importance of integrated methodological approach. Research shows that integration in partnership is essential. Multidimensional and complex nature of urban problems requires an integrated, coordinated and multiple strategies that include a wide range of actors (Carter 2000).

Carley (1996) classifies the integration as vertical and horizontal, as a prerequisite for a sustainable recovery. Vertical integration entails networking and cooperation at appropriate spatial levels: national, regional, local, municipal and households. Horizontal integration implies sector links in central and local authorities as well as stakeholders in partnership to solve complex challenges.

Studies from the beginning of the twenty-first century suggest that partnerships have the potential to contribute to a comprehensive approach to complex urban problems and the improvement of strategic goals. Partnerships can provide a strategic framework that encourages cooperation and coordination between public, private and voluntary sectors, as well as the local communities themselves. Partnerships should be flexible, innovative and experimental. Unique general model of partnership is not productive and sufficient (Carter 2000). Clearly potentiating of partnerships in the process of urban regeneration points to identification of shortcomings of previous methodologies when it comes to integrity.

Yau and Chan (2008) develop multi-criteria for assessment of different schemes of urban regeneration projects from different angles and by various professional parties (surveyors, planners, civil engineers and so on.). It was concluded that attitudes are quite different, and therefore, it is necessary to represent a balanced mix of members in the decision-making process, on the quality of a given project.

This once again confirms the view that the collaborative dimension is primary in different stages of the realization of a project of urban regeneration, even when it comes to evaluating the success of the project in the decision-making process.

18.4.4   The Challenges of Urban Regeneration

The central challenge of urban regeneration is to contribute to achieving sustainable development. New models, including economic and technological modernization in the world, are current but their implementation has encountered various obstacles, mainly due to the lack of a high level of cooperation in the process of creating them. The challenges of urban regeneration depend on specific areas, although there are general, key issues, such as: economic restructuring, unemployment, exclusion, soil contamination, inadequate infrastructure, threats to the environment, physical

limitations and others. On the other hand, the problem of insufficient level of cooperation between stakeholders who participate in the realization of this process, as well as decision-makers, but also the lack of representation of various disciplines that should be included. Challenges in the process of urban regeneration which should contribute to improving the quality of life, education, social, economic, cultural and other standards are complex and present throughout all phases of implementation.

18.5 Disciplinary Research in Sustainable Development of the Physical Structure of the City

The role of disciplinary research, from monodisciplinary, multidisciplinary to interdisciplinary, in solving urban problems, is essentially significant but limited in their scope in the context of sustainable development. Integrity here has a primary role, which can be developed until the abolition of boundaries between science and society, which is recognized in science as the highest form of integrity.

18.5.1 Levels of Integrality—From Autonomy to the Abolition of Borders

Within the classification of scientific approaches, i.e. in scientific research, authors distinguish four basic levels of knowledge, i.e. four levels of integrality.

Monodisciplinary, Multidisciplinary, Interdisciplinary, and Transdisciplinary. Each of the existing methodological approaches involves combining different methods and relations in accordance with the problem of research, with appropriate structural and functional characteristics and forms of interaction. Intensive development of scientific disciplines and contributions on the one hand and the complexity of urban issues on the other, and further stimulated by the possibilities offered by modern advanced technology, have prompted the need for higher forms of collaboration and development of new paradigms that are transforming the current dominant disciplinary practice of comprehension and scientific world view. At the beginning of the third millennium, review of the current scientific structure and thinking, it seems that there is an emerging revolution in terms of methodological choices for sustainable scientific achievements and sustainable development of civilization.

18.5.1.1 Monodisciplinary Research

Monodisciplinary research implies autonomous action of a certain discipline in solving a particular problem without cooperation with other disciplines. This

implies independent frameworks of action, its own methodological approach, scientific language, theoretical foundations and technological application.

18.5.1.2 Multidisciplinary Research

Multidisciplinary approach implies action by two or more disciplines in solving a particular problem with a minimum level of cooperation and with independent methodological approaches (members of one discipline turn for help to members of other disciplines in problem-solving). The goal is to stay within the framework of disciplinary research.

18.5.1.3 Interdisciplinary Research

Interdisciplinarity implies action by two or more disciplines with higher levels of cooperation, but with a clear boundary between disciplines and with independent methodological approaches. Interdisciplinarity involves transfer of methods from one discipline to another. Interdisciplinary research is a coordinated interaction between disciplines in order to generate new applications of knowledge. The aim is still to remain within the framework of disciplinary research. Klein (2007) distinguishes between "narrow interdisciplinarity" of disciplines with compatible paradigms and methods, and "broad interdisciplinarity" between disciplines with little compatibility. The interdisciplinary approach has emerged in the evolutionary development of specific scientific disciplines. It is based on the dissemination of knowledge within the specific discipline, using the methodology of other, related fields. An interdisciplinary approach has no tendency for unification, universality, generalization of knowledge. Related disciplines such as the architecture, urbanism and landscape architecture, then art, fields of medicine, ecology, physics, chemistry, biology, psychology, sociology, political sciences, philosophy, religion in an interdisciplinary action can contribute to better identification and understanding of the problems and defining strategies to adequately address them.

Robinson (2008) defines five characteristics of interdisciplinary research in the field of sustainability. Those are:

1. Emphasis on problem-solving;
2. Integration;
3. Interactivity;
4. Reflexivity and
5. Strong forms of cooperation and partnerships.

Widely present in theoretical and practical discourse in the scientific literature is the question of interdisciplinarity for the purpose of promoting and encouraging interdisciplinary research, questions of complexity theory and the role of

interdisciplinarity (Donaldson et al. 2010; Frey 1999; Klein 2001, 2007 as well as barriers to interdisciplinary research (Bauer 1990; Conrad 2002).

In America, in the context of environmental sustainable development, there is great interest in interdisciplinary education programs as well as for the intensification of existing with an emphasis on a higher level of cooperation, involving mainly the fields of architecture, urban design, industrial design, urban planning, landscape architecture, interior architecture. Research shows that in American urban practice, problems are being solved mainly in disciplinary conditions, regardless of the frequently asked questions of environmental and other critical moments. Environmental education programs that include disciplines (architecture, history, theory, criticism, design, computing, historic preservation, landscape architecture, urban and regional planning, civil engineering, civil technology, interior design, graphic design, industrial design, as well as social sciences, humanities, etc.) play an important role in sustainable development.

Jutla (1996) emphasizes the fundamental importance of interdisciplinarity in successful urban design, which should respond to a variety of issues: the diversity of urban forms, social interaction in different spatial structures, impact of different spatial arrangement on the economic interest, and the like. Urban issues are complex and linked to other issues in the urban system, and if treated in isolation through a closed system, it implies unsustainable urban solutions. Also, for example, urban theory can be explored without a relationship with the tradition and culture. Disciplinary treatment of the problem involves its simplification. For a sustainable urbanistic project, for example, the space of interventions must be examined from several aspects: functional, visual, spatial, historical, traffic, social, environmental, through psychological implications, energy efficiency and others.

Cause of inadequate problem solutions is mainly due to the lack of a holistic approach. Interdisciplinary research faces various challenges in implementing. But it is often the case that the interdisciplinary to be treated in science as necessary and sufficiently high level of collaboration which is supported by a large number of researchers. Various mechanisms are so being developed in order to overcome various forms of challenges. However, despite consistent rhetoric that promotes and develops interdisciplinary research, success is not achieved. By contrast, scientists, for example Petts et al. (2008), suggest that instead of treating interdisciplinarity often as a difficult category of research, other types of research should be considered in the context of sustainable development, the ones promoting transdisciplinary methodological approach.

18.5.1.4 The Importance of Collaborative Research Paradigm— Towards Transdisciplinary Research

General issues that are being raised in modern science and society, such as: what is the future of science, art, environment, society, psychology, how much can science influence the society and changes in society, how will the changes in the environment affect the politics and economy or how will changes in health and medicine

influence the culture of lifestyles, suggest new relations in the cooperation between scientific disciplines, as well as between science and social structures.

Contemporary local issues within the urban system are more complex. Recent scientific studies show that solving complex problems in sustainable urban development requires an integrated participation of autonomous disciplines: natural, engineering, humanities, social, medical, environmental sciences, arts, etc., as well as non-academic forms of knowledge, especially from users of space, as well as development policy-makers and all stakeholders of the social community.

Authors (Petts et al. 2008) which explore the limitations of interdisciplinary work in an urban setting point to the need for articulation of the imperative for higher forms of research, highlighting five categories of border problems:

1. Limits of interdisciplinarity in real problems;
2. Epistemological structuring of disciplines;
3. Privileging of certain frameworks and forms of research;
4. Complexity of knowledge transfer and financing;
5. Evaluation system.

Some researchers maintain the standpoint that evolution is exclusively a biological process; thus, the disciplinary approach to answering questions of civilization is enough. However, the fact is that the universe has evolved from an "initial state of chaos" (Laszlo 1995, p. 3) (unordered complexity) to the present state of the universe (controlled complexity), and, for example, many questions of tribal communities before 20,000 years can only now be explored, in the contemporary sociocultural and technological conditions (Laszlo 1995). On the other hand, some researchers (Klein 2004; Robinson 2008) treat transdisciplinarity as a usual and implied approach to environmental research in the field of sustainable development. Transdisciplinary activity is significantly facilitated by potential "online" communication technologies that save time and money, but also imply good organization of researchers (Dale et al. 2010). "Online" communication can contribute to more intensive promotion of transdisciplinary research methodology through various forms of action: in science, education and professional engagement.

18.6 Transdisciplinarity and Transdisciplinary Research

Transdisciplinarity in the highest form involves activity of two or more disciplines through the removal of borders between these and the use of a unique methodological platform for solving a common problem. In addition to disciplines, it implies the inclusion of different forms of knowledge and factors of society who are interested in clarifying and solving complex urban problems. The aim is to overcome the disciplinary framework of research by encouraging integrated knowledge

in a collaborative action between science and society. Authors (Pohl 2007) distinguish four characteristics of transdisciplinarity:

1. Socially relevant issues;
2. Overcoming and integrating disciplinary paradigm;
3. Participatory research and
4. Unity of knowledge.

Transdisciplinary research involves the production of knowledge in order to solve problems and includes according to authors (Pohl and Hirsch Hadorn 2007, p. 20): understanding the complexity of the problem, taking into account the diversity of scientific and social perception of the problem, the connection of abstract knowledge and case-specific knowledge and the development of knowledge and practices promoting what implies common good.

18.7 Conclusion

Sustainable urban regeneration in the twenty-first century requires a collaborative approach in order to solve complex urban problems facing modern civilization. Uncontinuous addressing of inherited issues and challenges facing the global process has imposed the need for strategic forms of collaboration in various spheres of activity and all levels. Autonomous discipline and professions are transformed in integrated knowledge ready to respond to an established issue of sustainable development of cities.

It is imperative to adopt a new methodological platform that can meet the requirements of dynamic spatial and cultural transformations and needs of a metropolitan and consumer society of the twenty-first century. Regeneration of existing urban forms, transformation and planning of new models of the modern city, the formulation of new principles of modern urbanism and their application to the realistic state of the cities are all necessary in modern urban life. Intellectual and organizational skills are essential. Development of an integrated knowledge base, form from a variety of disciplines and forms of participation, which promotes sustainable built environment, can become an essential choice for sustainable urban development.

Selecting transdisciplinary methodology with an emphasis on a transdisciplinary research approach can develop conditions to improve strategic action plans for the development of a sustainable built environment at the local, regional, national, international and transnational level. Transdisciplinary methodology is focused on the tendency to respond to complex demands of urban systems in order to create sustainable solutions for urban planning, urban regeneration and sustainable urban development in the twenty-first century. The research dimension is the primary component in this process.

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