



# SPATIAL STRUCTURE

MEANING, CONFLICT, PROCESS & FORM

RECONSTRUCTION OF BELGRADE

LEARNING FROM OLD JAIPUR

MANAGING PUBLIC SPACES

ISSUE 32

OCTOBER 1989

£1.50 ■

URBAN  
DESIGN  
QUARTERLY

## EDITORIAL

---

Modernism, once the agent for change, now forms the bastion of resistance against change. In an age where the very essence of its philosophy is questioned and often refuted, it still provides the fundamental basis for current intellectual and socio-political thought. Reductionist thinking which tunnels vision into narrow views of city and its parts still pervades the urban design process – later theories developed on the same fundamental basis, but just drawing from another set of abstract clues. "Form" merely replaces "function" as a determinist construct - the partial approach still favouring the holistic view.

Neo-modernism and Neo-classicism. Here again we are up against the poverty of much urbanistic discourse. Two approaches of major consequence but differing action. The first demonstrating the architectural objectification of the urban process through its opportunist pragmatism, the latter as abstract realism – neither addressing the real issues of urbanism: those of meaning, balance and harmony.

The Annual Lecture by Sir Philip Dowson outlining Arup Associates' Paternoster proposals admirably demonstrated the dichotomy of current thought. A High Modernist, drawing on the examples of Phillip Johnson and Mies van der Rohe in their suburban settings, and describing a neo-classical response to St Pauls.

The subject of this issue of the Quarterly is based around understanding the nature of spatial structure; those symbols and devices which give rise to urban form; and the process and dynamics of programming urban space. All consider the relation of social space to physical environment and demand the introduction of more complex processes into the design and management of the urban realm.

In the words of Joseph Rykwert, "The way in which urban space is occupied is much studied, but exclusively in physical terms of occupation and amenity. The psychological space, the cultural, judicial and the religious are not treated as the aspects of the ecological space with whose economy the planner is concerned". The work of Doshi in Jaipur however, is based on the geometry derived from the nine-square "mandala" form, the ancient diagram which determines the principles of Hindu architecture, both sacred and secular. This issue includes the Vidyadhar Nagar, the Jaipur new town reflecting Doshi's conviction that Indian modernisation must avoid alienation by reinvigorating communal life and institutions. It remains to be seen whether Vidyadhar will be built, but the theories behind it have relevance far beyond this particular corner of Rajasthan, not only for India but for the rest of the world.

Kelvin Campbell

# CONTENTS

## ISSUE 32 SEPTEMBER 1989

### SPATIAL STRUCTURE : MEANING, CONFLICT, PROCESS AND FORM

#### Material for publication or review should be addressed to:

The Editor  
**Urban Design Quarterly**  
26 Park Road  
Abingdon  
Oxon OX14 1DS  
Tel: Work - 0908 692692  
Home - 0235 26094

#### General enquiries to:

**The Urban Design Group**  
c/o Arnold Linden  
Chairman  
17 Hatton Street  
London NW8 8PL  
Tel: 01 723 7772

#### All membership enquiries and notification of change of address to:

Ruth Schamroth  
17 Hatton St  
London NW8 8PL  
Tel: 01723 7772

#### Treasurer:

Ann Dunton  
13 Garthorne Road  
Forest Hill  
London SE23 1EP

#### Urban Design Group Committee 88/89:

John Worthington	President
Arnold Linden	Chairman
Lawrence Revill	Vice Chairman
Ruth Schamroth	Membership Secretary
Ann Dunton	Honorary Treasurer
Ian Bentley	Regional Affairs
John Biggs	Honorary Editor
John Billingham	
Kelvin Campbell	
Tim Catchpole	
Philip Cave	
Stephen Gleave	
Sebastian Loew	
Adair Roche	
Francis Tibbalds	
Elizabeth Young	

- Editorial by Kelvin Campbell
- Urban Design Group News 2
- Gender Bias and Spatial Structure 3  
The Subordination of Women by Ian Bentley and Helen Teague
- Past and Present: An Amplitude of Ideas 6  
Urban Reconstruction for Belgrade by Dejan Ecimovic
- City and Symbol 9  
Learning from Old Jaipur by Balkrishna Doshi and Muktirajsinhji Chauhan
- Structure and Tradition 14  
Vidyadhar Nagar New Town, Jaipur by Balkrishna Doshi
- Urban Ecology and Spatial Structure 17  
Providing an Essential Medium for Growth and Change by Kelvin Campbell
- Managing Downtown Public Spaces 20  
by Stephen Davies
- Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Urban Design Group - 14 June 1989 23
- Election of Executive Committee Members and Officers for 1989/90
- Membership Secretary's Report
- Treasurer's Report

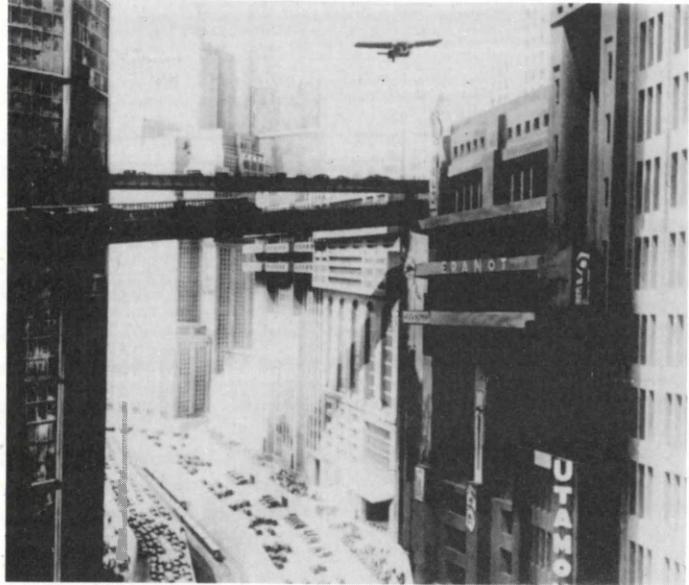
Guest Editor Kelvin Campbell  
Layout Grahame Edwards & Kelvin Campbell  
Printing Polytechnic of Central London  
Publisher Urban Design Group  
ISBN 0266-6480

Cover: Vidyadhar Nagar Poster by Balkrishna Doshi.

£1.50 or free to Urban Design Group Members (Subscription £10.00)  
The Urban Design Group is not responsible for the views expressed or statements made by the individuals writing or reporting in this journal.

# URBAN DESIGN GROUP NEWS

## AUTUMN PROGRAMME 1989



### TRAFFIC CHAOS

Can we design an escape route?

Three significant views of the present plight of urban traffic are being presented by the following acknowledged radicals in the area:

**Wednesday 27 September**

John Adams 'How Much Prosperity Can London Take'.

John Adams is a lecturer in the Department of Geography, University College, London.

**Wednesday 11 October**

Tim Pharoah 'Traffic Calming: Design Studies'.

Tim Pharoah is a senior lecturer in Planning and Development at the Polytechnic of the South Bank.

**Wednesday 15 November**

John Roberts 'The Use of our Streets'.

John Roberts is a consultant and acknowledged expert on pedestrian movement.

The meetings will be held at **18.00 for 18.15** at the Building Centre, Store Street, London WC1, where refreshments are available before the lecture.

For further details please contact Philip Cave on 01 829 8340.

These lectures are by way of introduction and scene setting to the UDG Annual Conference 1989.

## ANNUAL CONFERENCE 1989

Monday and Tuesday, 4 and 5 December

It is the intention of the organisers that the Conference will be concerned with the designing of some order out of the present transport chaos in the UK, Europe and elsewhere.

It is expected that the Conference will include papers on road pricing and constraint measures, traffic calming proposals, the London Assessment Studies, the London Rail Study and experiences from other urban areas in introducing alternative forms of public transport.

Workshops and discussion periods will form part of the conference programme.

## URBAN DESIGN SOURCEBOOK

The Group is proposing to publish an Urban Design Sourcebook in 1990, subject to obtaining sufficient financial support from practices and educational bodies.

The sourcebook would contain the following:

- a) History of the Group.
- b) The Agenda for Urban Design.
- c) List of Practices providing an Urban Design specialism.
- d) List of educational bodies offering Urban Design or related courses and a description of course content.
- e) List of members.
- f) Index to Urban Design Quarterly.

The listing of a practice would need to include the contact for any urban design enquiry. The cost of inclusion of a practice has been fixed at £40.

Letters have been sent to those in the membership list who are known to be associated with a particular practice but if anyone who has not received such a letter wishes to be listed as a practice, then they should contact John Billingham, Editor of the Quarterly. John Billingham and Basil Constantatos are the two members who are currently progressing the Sourcebook which it is hoped could be published in Spring 1990.

## CONFERENCE AND VISIT 1990

Dates for 1990 include a weekend conference to be held in Glasgow and the next Eastern Region organised tour to Europe.

The Glasgow event will be held over a weekend in late March or April and will examine the ways in which the city has been changing over recent years. The conference coincides with Glasgow's designation in 1990 as the European City of Culture.

The Eastern Region visit in 1990 is to be made to the Hanseatic Towns of the Baltic and will take place in May. The tour is being arranged by the usual organiser, Alan Stones, and further details will appear in the next issue of the Quarterly.

# GENDER BIAS AND SPATIAL STRUCTURE

## THE SUBORDINATION OF WOMEN

**"Women produce children, women are mothers and wives, women do the cooking, mending, sewing and washing; they take care of men and are subordinate to male authority; they are largely excluded from high status occupations and from positions of power. These generalisations apply, to some degree, to practically every known human society". (Haralambos, 1985, 369).**

Many and varied are the reasons which have been suggested for this universal subordination of women. They range from the biological explanations of Tiger and Fox (1972) and Murdock (1949), the functionalist position of Talcott Parsons (1959), and the psychological "mother-child bond" arguments of Bowlby (1953); to the explanations of Engels (1972), Oakley (1974), Bettelheim (1969), Friedl (1975) and Ortner (1974), which in different ways all stress the idea that the subordination of women is socially constructed rather than "natural" in origin. There is no space to cover these arguments here (Haralambos (1985) has a useful brief review) but we are ourselves inclined to the "social construction" view.

In particular, we feel that Oakley's work effectively disposes of the cruder versions of biological determinism, and makes it quite clear that, at least to an important extent, social rather than biological factors are at work in the subordination of women in modern industrial societies.

The various writers who argue that the subordination is socially constructed stress the importance of elements such as economic, legal and ideological factors in its construction. To these, from our perspective as urban designers, we would add the effects of spatial structure. But if spatial structure is indeed a factor in the subordination of women, how does it come to be so?

### The production of spatial structure

Subordination through the medium of spatial structure, if it exists at all, can only be exercised by those who have power to determine spatial structure – he (usually) who pays the piper calls the tune. In other societies, at other times, such power might be exercised by priests, kings or artists. In ours, it is exercised primarily by capital in its various forms (Harvey, 1985a, 1985b).

The built environment is produced by capital primarily for economic reasons – either to make a direct profit, or to support the political economy which makes profit possible. This means that if the built environment were in fact structured so as to subordinate women, this would not be because capital is in some sense against the interests of women per se. Such a situation of spatial subordination, if it existed, would only come about as a by-product of capital's interests in the roles both of the built

environment and of women in the economy. A historical sketch of the development of these roles may therefore help us to understand the relationships between capital, women and space.

### Capital, women and space

In her important book *Housewife*, Ann Oakley (1974) has traced the changing status of women in British society from the eve of the industrial revolution until the 1970's. In what follows, we draw heavily on Oakley's work.

In the pre-industrial situation, the family was the basic unit of production. Most production was of agricultural products and textiles, and women were directly involved in both. Most housework was carried out by children, and there was no "housewife" role as we understand it today.

At the take-off period of capitalism, during the early years of the industrial revolution, the factory replaced the family as the unit of production. Using primitive machinery in fairly labour-intensive processes, the demand of capitalists was initially for large numbers of workers, and women and children worked with men in the factories as they had done on the farms. Soon, however, the availability of increasingly sophisticated machinery led to increased productivity and reduced the need for sheer numbers of workers – it became important, for profitability, to reduce the size of the workforce.

First to go, because of their relatively low work capacity, were the children; whose employment was restricted by a series of Factory Acts from 1819 onwards. As between men and women, there was no such obvious disparity in productive capacity, for woman's lesser physical strength was often compensated for, in the context of machine work, by her greater dexterity. Indeed Marx, seeing women for this reason as potentially more productive than men, thought that they might eventually take over more and more jobs.

As we all know, he was proved wrong, and it was women who were increasingly banished from the workplace – as early as 1841, committees of male factory workers called for "the gradual withdrawal of all female labour from the factory" (quoted in Haralambos, 1985, 380). As Hacker (1972) puts it:

*Men were quick to perceive them as a rival group and make use of economic, legal and ideological weapons to eliminate or reduce their competition. They excluded women from the trade unions, made contracts with employers to prevent their hiring women, passed laws restricting the employment of married women, caricatured the working woman, and carried on ceaseless propaganda to return women to the home and keep them there.*

By 1851, 1 in 4 married women were still employed, but by 1911 this figure had fallen to 1 in 10.

As we have seen, there is no special ration-

ale, so far as their productivity in concerned, for the fact that it was **women** who were expelled from workplace to home – rather the reverse, in fact. It was not capital, but pre-capitalist ideologies of subordination which made sure that the workers concerned were women. However, once expelled, the specific housewife role into which women were socialised, and its spatial location within the single family home, was a construction which was certainly advantageous to capital; and it is probably no coincidence that massive ideological support for it came particularly from the upper and middle classes. As Queen Victoria put it – "let woman be what God intended, a helpmate for man, but with totally different duties and vocations" (quoted in Hudson, 1970, 46).

**The invention of the housewife, and her confinement to the single family home, worked in the interests of capital in various ways. First of all, she was expected to do the housework, look after the children and teach them the attitudes necessary to fit them for their future role as workers, all for free.**

As Harrison (1973) argues, with caveats by Molyneux (1979), all this work was necessary to the maintenance of the current and future labour force, and it would otherwise have had to be paid for by the capitalist on the open market, no doubt at greater cost. Further, the fact that this housework was carried out on an individual rather than a socialised basis – many separate cooking ranges, pots and pans and so forth, rather than one neighbourhood restaurant, for example – meant a maximised demand, from the massive working class population, for the very goods which the capitalists were producing; with a consequent potential for increased profits.

This privatisation of women's lives, so advantageous to capital, involved their virtual exclusion from the public realm. For example, the Reform Bill of 1832 made their exclusion from political citizenship explicit for the first time; whilst they were also excluded as far as possible from the public physical space of the expanding industrial city. The ideological exclusion from street life is strongly expressed in this quotation from the Saturday Review, from 1865: "No woman can or ought to know very much of the mass of meanness and wickedness and misery that is loose, in the wide world. She could not learn it without losing the bloom and freshness which it is her mission in life to preserve". (quoted in Hudson, 1970, 53–54). For the woman in public space, unless she had good reason to be there, there was a presumption of unsavoury intent – ponder the different implications, already current during the nineteenth century, of the phrases "man in the street" and "woman of the streets".

**These political, ideological and legal devices for excluding women from public life (and therefore from public space) amounted to a highly effective strategy of 'divide and rule' – so effective that there was no need to use the structure of public space itself as a subordinating device.**

Indeed, paradoxically for women, with the introduction of by-law control during the latter part of the nineteenth century the streets in new housing areas mostly became more permeable, and safer to be in.

With the first world war, attitudes to women and work underwent a radical change. With male workers at the front, many women were encouraged to work in the munitions factories, and to take part in other aspects of the war effort (Marwick 1977). The taste of freedom this introduced into their lives, with their own earnings to spend, was compounded by the increased sense of gender solidarity which came through women working together rather than in isolation. When the war ended, women were not so easy to put back in their boxes.

At the level of formal political and legal rights, women during the inter-war period made significant advances. For example, women over thirty gained the right to vote in 1918, and this was extended to women over twenty-one in 1929. During the same period family planning clinics, and from 1936 the Abortion Law Reform Association, began to give women greater control and choice in the matter of child-bearing. All this ran counter to long-established male ideologies of women's subordinate position, and it was also potentially disruptive of both the housewife role and the atomised individual family which together so benefitted capital.

Even so, the majority of married women were still home-centred housewives, still with little of the sense of gender solidarity which, as Morgan (1975) suggests, would have in practice to be one prerequisite for achieving a more liberated position. And during the interwar period, the spatial structures of new housing areas were given new forms which made the development of this gender solidarity more difficult to achieve.

**The rapidly developing suburbs, with their low densities, distanced from city centre communal facilities and with few such facilities nearby, offered few opportunities for meetings with more than the odd neighbour. The working class estates of flats nearer the city centre, whilst they were more likely to have communal facilities and natural meeting points at a feasible distance from the home, were increasingly designed in a manner which limited the likelihood of chance encounters within the housing area itself, where most women were likely to spend most of their time.**

Hillier and Hanson (1985), for example, show the redevelopment of a Georgian area of perimeter blocks at Somers Town, London; replaced during the interwar period by freestanding blocks of flats, with few entrances directly off public space, and with the public space itself windswept and relatively unsurveilled. Often such schemes were introverted in layout, turning inwards away from the surrounding city, with no through-routes, and offering few chances of contact with other women living nearby.

**In both suburban and inner-city situations, then, the spatial structure of new interwar solidarity which might have enabled women to take fuller advantage of the potential of the legal and political reforms which they had won.**

This was certainly not a conscious plot to isolate women one from another. The (almost always male) designers of such places such as the White City estate had no such conscious intention; but their concepts of 'good design' in housing layouts were underpinned by ideologies of family life which in practice led to isolating layouts. Stressing the value of privacy for the individual home, and paradoxically enough, 'community' in the estate as a whole, often led in practice to introverted layouts focussed on internal courtyard gardens, and forming enclosures apart from the surrounding city. The isolating impact of these layouts on housewives were, of course, far more significant than their effects on men, who spent far less of their time in the places concerned, and in any case had a wider range of social contacts through work.

Viewed through the woman's end of the telescope, such gender-biased ideologies of 'good design' represented a sort of 'ideological displacement'. In Victorian times, ideologies of women's subordination had been open and explicit, as when the Saturday Review, in 1859, remarked that "Married life is a woman's profession, and to this life her training, that of dependence – is modelled". (Quoted in Haralambos, 1985, p.380). By the interwar period, certainly in the liberal middle-class circles from which sprang most designers of council housing estates, such ideologies were no longer respectable. They were replaced by others whose overt claim to provide benefits (privacy say, or community) for estate dwellers masked their isolating effects on women's lives. In sum, there occurred an ideological shift – from ideologies which subordinated women directly, to ideologies which supported spatial structures which themselves supported the subordination of women.

Parallel to the construction of these concepts of good design, there developed new ways in which space itself was conceived by designers. During the nineteenth century a Baron Haussman, say, reorganising the streets of Paris, had been quite clear about the political purpose of the spatial structure he was creating. By the interwar years in Britain, this awareness of the political nature of space had largely been replaced, for designers, by the depoliticised concept of space as an art medium; following such influences as Camillo Sitte's *The Art of Building Cities*, the American 'City Beautiful' movement and the later (but in this respect parallel) works of continental architects such as le Corbusier. The effect of all this was to make it extremely difficult even for the most enlightened designers to focus on the political implication of the spatial structures they were designing. These were seen as art; and political considerations, as everyone knew, were irrelevant to the judgement of artistic quality.

The second world war, like the first (and for similar reasons) saw an increase in the work opportunities open to women, whilst the im-

provement in their legal and political rights continued in the post-war period, at least until the early 1980's, with such measures as the Abortion Act (1967), the Equal Pay Act (1970), and the Sex Discrimination Act (1975). However, as Oakley (1974) shows, the home-based housewife role was still the norm for mature married women, and the development of the necessary sense of gender solidarity to overcome the limitations of this role was made more difficult, particularly for working class women, by further developments in council estate design which took place during the post-war period.

These changes, starting in the 1950's but gathering pace during the '60's and '70's (precisely the period during which women's formal rights improved) had three main characteristics: estates became ever more poorly integrated into their surroundings, the internal spaces within the estate became ever more poorly integrated with one another, and the individual public spaces became ever more dangerous.

The briefest examination of the plans of many 1960's and '70's estates, such as Marquess Road (Hillier and Hanson 1984), Mozart (Hillier 1985), Aylesbury (Greste 1987) or Angel Town (Chappell 1988) shows how poorly they are linked to their surrounding areas. Rarely is it possible to get a clear view into the estate from outside – almost never can one see far enough to feel that the public space network might lead anywhere other than to the dwellings of the estate itself. Once within it, the spatial structure of the estate is often confusing to visitors – another disincentive to using it as a route to anywhere else. The result is that only people who live on the estate are to be found in its public spaces.

**The consequent relatively low frequency of human encounters in the estate's public spaces is compounded by the forms of the individual spaces. Frequently these are complex and contorted in plan, with many changes of direction, so that even the few people who may be present in a given area are often obscured from each other's sight round some corner or another.**

The result of all this is dramatic. Hillier and Hanson, comparing the Marquess Road estate with nineteenth century Barnsbury – an area of roughly equivalent density, and with a roughly similar sort of location relative to surrounding facilities and transport links – found that the number of encounters in the public spaces of Barnsbury in the middle of the night was greater than that at Marquess Road during peak daytime periods.

All this adds up to a situation where the individual housewife, when in public space, is likely to find herself alone. Increasingly, from the 1960's onwards, this has become a potentially dangerous situation. It is made worse because many public spaces are not overlooked from the nearby buildings, either because the main rooms of these are turned away from the public space, or because they are separated from it by areas of landscaping, or both. The consequent lack of informal surveillance of the

public space heightens its potential danger. Even where no actual danger exists, women have learned to interpret spaces like these as menacing, and have consequently learned to avoid using them unless strictly necessary. The isolating effects of such a spatial system are obvious.

Again, this sort of spatial structure was legitimised, at the time of its design, by professional ideologies which claimed that the system offered positive benefits to all. "Community" once again led to inwardly-focussed layouts divorced from their surroundings; the "conflicts" of through traffic made it seem positive to restrict the access of outsiders; it was 'picturesque' and 'interesting' to avoid streets with long clear views; "flowing space" and "design in the round", without 'dishonest' distinctions between 'front' and 'back' led to ill-defined and confusing public space, in practice often bordered by blank garden walls; whilst "privacy" led to a public realm without informal surveillance from adjoining buildings.

**Viewed in this light, it is difficult to think of any buzz-word of 1960's and '70's design, apart from strictly technological ones, which did not support woman-isolating spatial structures in one way or another.**

## CONCLUSION

Generally, the broad outline of this rough sketch of the relationship between capital, women and space are depressing from women's point of view, but with a certain potential for optimism nonetheless. Broadly, what we have seen is the development of an inverse relationship between political and legal rights on the one hand, and spatial structure on the other. As formal rights of various sorts are gained, so their potential for women's liberation is reduced through the restructuring of space.

Thus far, all is gloom. But there is a ray of light; for it is capital, not men, that controls the production of spatial structure. And there seems no reason why capital should be in favour of using spatial structure to subordinate women per se.

Certainly the one-family home, preferably in a suburban location, is central to the interests of capital because of its effect in encouraging the consumption of such commodities as motor cars, lawnmowers and household equipment of all kinds. But there is no reason, from capital's point of view, why it should be women rather than men who spend most of their time in it.

Very likely the unpaid domestic labour which housewives currently perform is productive for capital. But it makes no difference to capital whether this work is performed by women or by men. Indeed the waste of talent brought about by the assignment of all but the most intelligent and resourceful women (no doubt some of them too) to domestic labour must be counter-productive.

**Certainly there seems no reason why isolating spatial layouts are in capital's interests either, since they are difficult and expensive to police, generating costs which ultimately have to be taxed out of profits.**

Indeed, the current rapid absorption of concepts like Responsive Environments into planning practice (with, for example, Hackney Borough Council incorporating many R.E. ideas into its local planning policies) can at one level be understood as an attempt to reduce the costs of urban government. For the most part these new, non-isolating ideas are not being adopted to counter the subordination of women; but if our analysis is even partly correct, they should work in women's interests nonetheless.

There is, however, a sting in the tail of this account. The inverse relationship between women's formal rights and the effects of spatial politics seems still to hold, but now it is reversed: precisely as the spatial politics become more liberal, the formal rights come under attack; with the regression towards 'Victorian values' exalting traditional domestic virtues; with Clause 29 muzzling radical experiments (such as political lesbianism) to challenge patriarchal norms of social organisation; with the Alton Bill proposing to reduce women's rights over their own bodies. Clearly a more liberating spatial structure by itself is not enough. But every little helps.

Ian Bentley  
Helen Teague

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Harvey, D **The Urbanisation of Capital**, Oxford - Blackwell, 1985, b.
- Hillier, W and Hanson, J **The Social Logic of Space**, Cambridge - CUP, 1984
- Hudson, K **The Place of Women in Society**, London - Ginn, 1970
- Marwick, A **Women at War 1914-1918**, London - Macmillan, 1977
- Matrix, **Making Space - Women in the Man-Made Environment**, London - Pluto Press, 1984
- Molyneux, M "Beyond the Domestic Labour Debate" in **New Left Review**, no.116, July/August, 1979
- Morgan, D J H **Social Theory and the Family**, London - Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975
- Murdock, G P **Social Structure**, New York - Macmillan, 1949
- Oakley, A **Housewife**, London - Allen Lane, 1974
- Ortner, S B "Is Female to Nature as Nature is to Culture?" in Rosaldo M Z and Lamphere, L, Stanford - Stanford University Press, 1974
- Parsons, T "The Social Structure of the Family" in ANSHEN, R N (ed) **The Family - Its Functions and Destiny**, New York - Harper and Row, 1959
- Sitte, C **The Art of Building Cities**, New York - Reinhold, 1945
- Tiger, L and Fox, R **The Imperial Animal**, London - Secker and Warburg, 1972
- Friedl, E **Women and Men - An Anthropological View**, New York - Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975
- Greste, J **The Aylesbury Estate**, unpublished MA dissertation, Oxford - JCUD, 1987
- Hacker, H M "Women as a Minority Group" in Glazer-Malbin, N and Waehler, H Y (eds), **Woman in a Man-Made World**, Chicago - Rand McNally, 1972
- Haralambos, M **Sociology - Themes and Perspectives**, London - Bell and Hyman, 1985
- Harrison, J "The Political Economy of Housework" in **Bulletin of the Conference of Socialist Economists**, Winter, 1973
- Harvey, D **Consciousness and the Urban Experience**, Oxford - Blackwell, 1985

# PAST AND PRESENT: AN AMPLITUDE OF IDEAS

## CRITIQUE ON URBAN RECONSTRUCTION PROPOSAL FOR BELGRADE

Recently, in a catalogue published to coincide with the XVIII Triennial (Milano), it has been pointed out that "taking its cue from the past, examining some of today's problems and putting forward some solutions for the future, the exhibition ('World cities and the future of the metropolis') mirrors the profound and often dramatic changes that are affecting what could, until the end of the last century, be conceived under the term 'cities'". The difference between rural settlements and industrial or post-industrial urban models, between constantly expanding megalopoli and cities focussed on the re-use and renewal of the territory, now make almost any kind of generalisation impossible. Problems become compartmentalised and segmented, while the disciplines related to the description and design of the city themselves become fragmented and seek input to help come to terms with a colossal phenomenon: for the first time in the history of mankind we are approaching a situation where there are fewer people living in the countryside than in the cities" (1).

Similar sets of problems, but on a comparatively smaller scale, understandably conditioned by the context of local cultural and economic background, were considered by 'Re-urbanised Belgrade', the study of the urban transformation model undertaken by Milos Perovic (2). Initially, the very nucleus of this study should be related to a previously proposed 'theme park', which was incorporated into a large-scale urban reconstruction scheme. Reporting on this project, the designer has noted that "when considering possible sites for the 'Third Millennium Cultural Centre of Belgrade', a Centre with a variety of cultural activities to be located in the metropolitan area of Belgrade, the Sava Amphitheatre and the spaces on the opposite bank of the river Sava in the new town, present themselves as the almost inevitable choice. These valuable spaces in the very centre of the town, filled today with the chaos of railway installations, decaying and unsanitary housing, vacant lots belonging to no-one, neglected and degraded by carelessness make in

the map of Belgrade the impression of a town whose very heart has been plucked out by careless and unsystematic planning" (3).

This accurate observation reveals certain aspects of Belgrade, which as actual metropolitan area, has been chronologically composed out of three towns: Old Belgrade, now having the status of the 'city'; then on the opposite bank of the Danube its twin urban structure of Zemun; and in between the two, New Belgrade – planned in the post World War II period and erected on modernistic principles. However, the history of three-polis structuralisation has its own genealogy, leading, as proven by archaeological excavations and preserved documents, right down to prehistory.

The earliest known document referring to Slavic toponym 'Beograd' (literally: White City'), was signed by Pope John VII in his letter of 16th April 878, delivered to a Bulgarian prince. Now covered by urban fabric of contemporary Belgrade, the most ancient trace of urban settlement discovered was attributed to a Celtic tribe Scordisci (about 298 BC), whose capital was referred to as 'Singidunum'. Later on it was taken by the Romans, and due to systematic archaeological excavations it was proven that Singidunum was a prosperous commune during emperor Hadrian's reign (117–138). Partially because of its strategically attractive location, between 378 and 829 Singidunum occasionally changed hands among Goths, Avaric hordes, highly civilised Byzantines and neighbouring Bulgarians. It is believed that pagan Slavic tribes constantly fought against Byzantines, but being exposed to Byzantine culture finally converted to Christianity, and settled here in the VII Century, thereby transforming Roman/Byzantine Singidunum into Slavic Beograd. Thus bordering the still powerful Byzantine empire, the Slavic kingdom of Serbia's capital was located in the near-geographic centre of the state, while Beograd managed the status of a lesser important, remote provincial town. It was King Dragutin who shortly after his abdication chose Belgrade as a royal residence, thus making it the King-

dom's cultural metropolis. After the Angora battle of 1402, the despot Stefan Lazarevic had finally promoted Belgrade into the capital city, which regrettably fell to the Turks in 1521.

During the XVIIth and XVIIIth Century, as an Ottoman frontier castle surrounded by typically oriental, irregular civil settlement, Belgrade was of particular interest to Austro-Hungarian aspirations. Belgrade was arsoned and torn down in the Austro-Hungarian Ottoman wars, and after repeated uprisings against the Turks in the XIXth Century was finally liberated, becoming the capital to the Duchy of Serbia. Initially the capital to a small duchy, Belgrade was first promoted to the capital of the Kingdom of Serbia, then to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and later, after WWII, to the capital of a new state, that of socialist Yugoslavia.

### New Town: the status of the idea

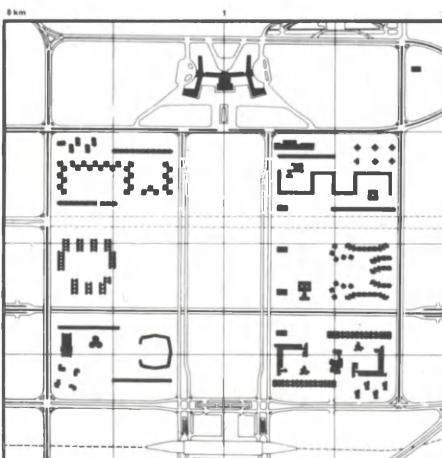
Immediately after WWII it was decided that the vast, uninhabited division between the two cities, Belgrade and Zemun, should be 'filled in' by means of a new urban structure. By providing urgently needed housing schemes this structure was also conceived as a connection between the two, therefore integrating them into a single urban whole. From the very beginning however, in fact from its pre-conceptual stage, the structure was highly symbolically charged. At the time it was believed that the new structure should represent the very substance of Revolution itself, and by implication it should represent the whole spectre of derived values. Among others, these derivations were harbouring what was considered to be the **socialistic idea of town**, an idea capable of radiating the overall intentions of a new society.

Materialisation of the socialist idea of a town was accepted exclusively in the form of modern models, well known to, and constantly supported by, local modern architects.

Already inaugurated in the pre-war period, modern ideas represented by different modern models of a town were, incidentally, employed elsewhere after World War II, ie. not necessarily in socialistic societies. Obviously, modern models were shared as inheritance relative to universal architectural culture, and in absence of a synchronically produced alternative, or even countermodels, these were applied regardless of the political/ideological metastructure which was to incorporate them. It is the historians/theoreticians of the city and the sociologists of architectural culture's task to denote and explain this complex cultural phenomenon; the very same model(s) endlessly reproduced by means of twin-like replicas was/were not only globally believed to represent the most progressive urbanistic concepts, but, paradoxically, it was this very model(s) which was/were in different cultural/political contexts charged with such opposite, let alone ideologically incompatible values.

The project for Saine-Die reconstruction (1945) slightly predates the similar project for New Belgrade, which is however contemporary to Corbusier's definitive plan for Chandigarh (1951).

The geometrically near-rigid street web, as well as a central axis leading from the Capital to



Comparison of the urban tissue of historic Belgrade with the plan for New Belgrade



**Top : Town Centre of Belgrade  
Below : Proposals for reconstruction**

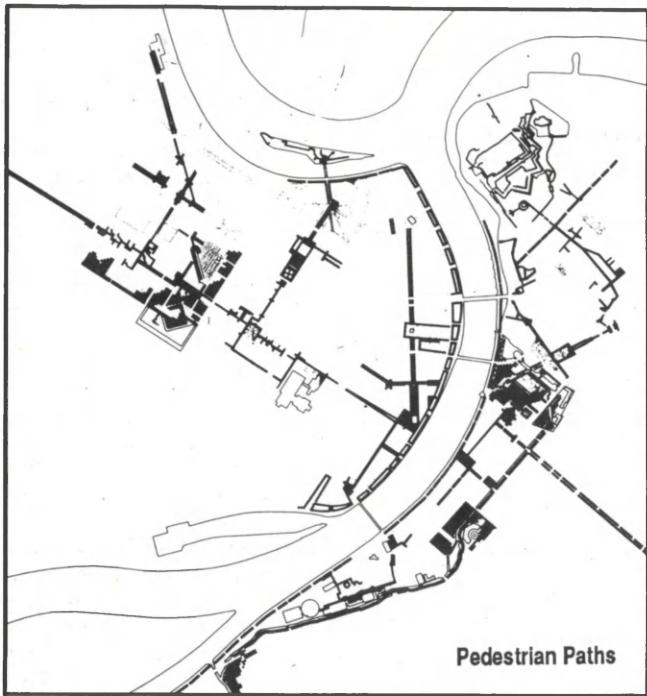
otherwise an insignificant point in Chandigarh, have their counterparts in an almost mirror-image of New Belgrade's urbanistic scheme. However, the difference between the two is quite evident in microscale. Primarily notable is the importance given to New Belgrade's central axis which was to connect the New Parliament to the North, with a huge railway station to the South. Provided by urbanistic composition these focal points were linked by an elongated centrally positioned 'square' whose opposite ends were imagined, presumably as future urban 'locuses'.

On macroscale, the difference between the two was preconditioned by New Belgrade's geographic location. While Chandigarh was a completely new town, New Belgrade was conceptualised as an autonomous intermediary structure, but also, in a given situation, as a link between two urban structures both exposing, in terms of their respective layouts and forms more than significant particularities. The urban structure of Zemun clearly reflects Austro-Hungarian (ie. occidental) urbanistic principles, while the social logic of space that shaped Belgrade's urban fabric was oriental in its nature. Relative to Belgrade this statement could be immediately illustrated, for instance, by the absence of a square which is, as an urban type, inherent to the European city. The very notion, morphologic/semantic metastructure and meaning of European squares were, and still are, completely alien both to Islamic culture and its urbanism. By inheriting an oriental layout, Serbian Belgrade – in spite of referring to European architectural (stylistic) formations – has never managed to develop and articulate other, typically European, urban attributes.

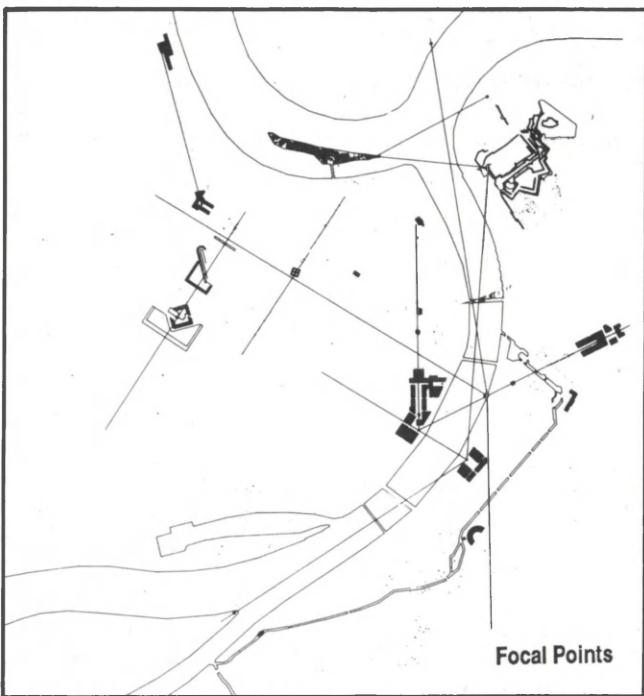
### **3 Interlude to urban transformation**

Meanwhile, during the '60's and early '70's, almost the entire structure of New Belgrade was completed according to the original (ie. early '50's) plans.

Referring to New Belgrade's failures, indirectly to modern models in general, the designer of a proposed reconstruction model has pointed out that "the urban matrix of New Belgrade formed with great delay in relation to its model (the model of the town of the future as advocated by the planners vanguard of the 1920s), was meant to set the pattern for the future development of Belgrade ...." (4). Indeed, by being the capital, New Belgrade set the pattern for numerous smaller reconstructions elsewhere, but its own urban fabric even in the early eighties was still incomplete. Apart from housing schemes, the site of its proposed city-centre stood on, and still is, an undeveloped void. On the other hand, the infrastructure both on the surface and its underground equivalent were considered as a valuable resource in relation to future development, and on top of everything, virtually all urban plots in Belgrade's and Zemun's city-centres were already occupied. Therefore, tearing down entire, still perfectly habitable and otherwise absolutely usable blocks, would be highly uneconomic. Semi-developed New Belgrade's urban territory, its over-designed infrastructure capacity and optimal, central, geographic location were



Pedestrian Paths



Focal Points

obvious opportunity, but additional credibility to the 'Reurbanised Belgrade' proposal, have been provided by shifts within Postmodern discourse.

#### Reconstruction and new/ancient designing tools

Now an accepted totality under the notion of 'Project for reconstruction of European city' has been, within European Postmodern discourse, gradually both articulated and elaborated. However, tracing its very initiate point should be left to historians to establish a type of critical approach which will, by means of evaluative instruments employed, single out in the form of a crucial point either Rowe/Coetters 'Collage City' (1978) or 'Roma Interotta' competition (1979); either Leon Krier's 'La Villette' entry (1976-1977) or Rodrigo Perez de Arce's 'Urban Transformations' study (1977-1978); either Rob Krier's 'Stadtraum' (1975) or consistent editorial support of similar projects by, say 'Lotus International'.

Those already mentioned and numerous other examples, were, in the climate of Postmodern discourse, leading to a monumental culmination. Taking into account complex, multi-poetic metastructure of Interbau (Berlin), which within discourse signify its hardly disreputable apex, 'Project for reconstruction of European city' presents itself as a totality, as a sum of pluralistic but interconnected positions within a single, collective intellectual project. Having been observed in this cultural context, Perovic's project for reconstruction of Belgrade manages to transmit a set of collectively shared points of departure.

His target, obviously in accordance with discourse's strategy, was the reconstruction of a modern urban scheme. The reconstruction itself proposes the city as a collage of fragments, which by accommodating a whole spectre of miniature 'real' utopias rejects the archaic ideal of total, Utopia-achieved.

And finally, designing instruments, if com-

pared to methods demonstrated by other fellow participants in the discourse, also, reveal a regression to ancient values. The ontology of Perovic's designing approach is vitally conditioned by urban fabric's semantic metastructure, which is well argued by principles identified by urban geography. Therefore, by approaching urban phenomenon in terms of precessuality rather than formal, untransformable structure, his designing poetics rely on existence and meanings of a net of urban loci. Indeed, urban-designing methods employed by Perovic may be associated with those introduced by Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590) for Rome. Sixtus's initial aim was to connect a set of holy places of pilgrimage, otherwise not an easily accessible set of locations within Roman 'abitato' and 'disabitato' areas. In effect, he did not only provide the shortest and most rational pilgrim's routes, but also, by successfully articulating chaotic Roman urban fabric - let

alone by promoting exceptional Roman vistas - both his idea and designing principles were transformed into treasured urbanism's heritage. In the history of urbanistic discipline the Roman example was followed by baroque Turin, Paris and Berlin, whose respective layouts were modelled after the 'type' inaugurated by Sixtus.

Perovic's own comment on the chosen design strategy, extrapolates the fact that "... the traditional method of the organisation of urban fabric, which gave excellent results in the past (eg. Sir Christopher Wren's plan for the reconstruction of London after the Great Fire, the transformation of medieval Rome into a baroque town under Sixtus V, or the even earlier example of Hadrian's Villa), consists in the formation of a new spatial order based on a small number of carefully selected focal points. These points are organisational cores, the basic spatial points of reference and concentrate in themselves the central activities grouped around squares or large public parks. They are combined into larger systems by means of pedestrian trajectories, along which subsidiary com-

positional elements are located in a sequential series of accents ...." (5).

The very option of a modernistic scheme being superimposed by an historic, in this particular example, an eminently baroque layout, is within the territory of Postmodern discourse quite a legitimate proposition. In retrospective analysis, a conceptual clash of this sort is nothing but another sequence in the European city's repeated history. The difference is that in the case, at least potentially, the result may provide Belgrade's cityscape with missing urban attributes. Therefore, in objective critical evaluation, the proposal's target appears to be two-fold: whilst transforming a modernistic city into a 'traditional' town (which is in one of its constitutional parts founded by oriental urbanistic principles), the transformed should simultaneously be awarded by European, occidental and, as it is believed, be more accustomed to local cultural context and urban attributes. But, taking into account all its advantages, would not this proposal's application - repeating Perovic's own arguments targeted toward delayed modernistic ideas materialisation - incorporate another, this time even more delayed, late-late baroque set of urban concepts.

#### Dejan Ecimovic

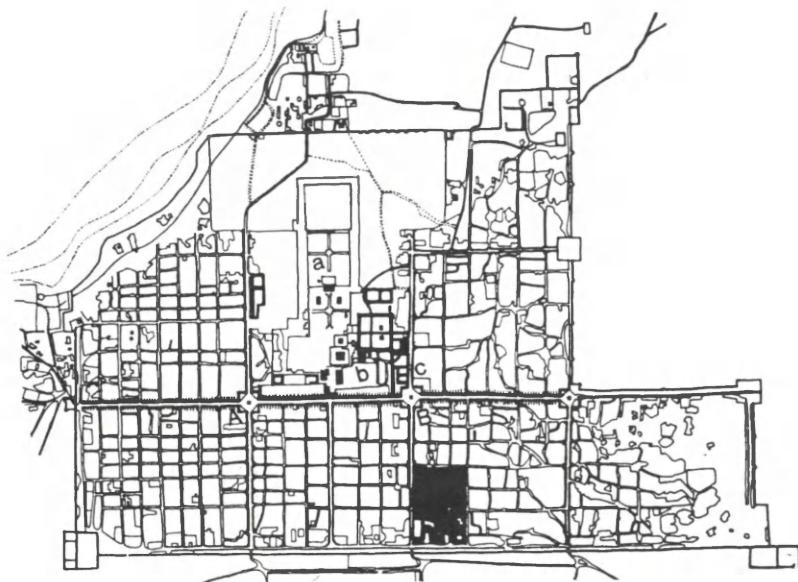
Dejan Ecimovic is an architect with the "Komgrap Project" Design Department, Beograd, Yugoslavia.

#### NOTES

1. "World cities and nature of the metropolis", Catalogue of XVII Triennial di Milano, 1988.
2. Perovic, Milos, "Reurbanised Belgrade", Lotus International No. 51/1986, "The European City: the science of division".
3. op. cit
4. op. cit
5. op. cit

# CITY AND SYMBOL

## LEARNING FROM OLD JAIPUR



Old Jaipur

**The walled city of Jaipur strongly represents an approach to planning concerns at all scales of habitat which is assured of a timeless quality. Perhaps the right solution for all times to come for the region. Concerns for optimal use of man and material resources, an urban fabric which is energy conscious, flexibility and growth within an overall framework, harmonious urbanism and a humane pedestrian scale are achievements of this city worthy of emulating with humility and necessary reinterpretation for contemporary needs.**

Vidyadhar Nagar is conceived as a reflection of its parent city, Jaipur. Jaipur, the city, which invokes popularity amongst scholars as well as laymen. Its unique conception, execution and that it is still a thriving well preserved city after two hundred and fifty eight years, makes it an excellent example for understanding the architectural and planning traditions in our contexts.

Planning for Vidyadhar Nagar in proximity of such an environment becomes a challenging task aimed at judiciously combining the lessons from the traditions to the contemporary era. Added to this challenge is the role Vidyadhar Nagar is expected to play in the fast developing north-western sector of the Jaipur city. Like old Jaipur which functions as the hub of activities for the subsequent developments to its South, Vidyadhar Nagar is expected to lay a similar role in the south-western sector. In built environmental terms, this implies that besides the activity dependence, the urban character of Vidyadhar Nagar must attain a quality which

the inhabitants as well as daily and occasional visitors can be proud of. Being named after the architect planner of old Jaipur, Vidyadhar Nagar should be a fitting tribute to the ingenuity of Vidyadhar Bhattacharya, whose visionary plan integrating basic elements of planning with philosophical value oriented lifestyles is valid even today.

With this aim, the planning team has undertaken several studies of old Jaipur at varying scales of habitat. The emphasis in these studies has been to understand planning and architecture of the old city.

### Historical Background

King Sawai Jai Singh (1700–1743), the founder of Jaipur ascended the throne of Amber (situated about 8km north of old Jaipur) at the age of 13. Using a judicious mixture of strategem and statesmanship he brought prosperity to his kingdom through strong links with the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb and control over the local, smaller principalities.

In these prosperous and peaceful circumstances, it was but natural that he would want a new capital city. Amber, dating back to 10th century, was sited on a hilly terrain with strong fortification to meet the demands of a kingdom in process of establishing itself. Its site precluded the potential for expansion necessitated by the prosperous condition of early 18th century. Being a learned man, well-versed in many fields of sciences and arts, Sawai Jai Singh would naturally aspire that his capital reflect his wider consciousness. This might have strength-

ened his desire for a new capital city.

He was ably assisted for fulfilling this ambition by his architect, Vidyadhar Bhattacharya, great grandson of the priest of the King's temple at Amber. Vidyadhar had successfully undertaken construction of important structures for the King before the founding of the city on November 17 1727.

Besides Vidyadhar's skills, Jai Singh's pursuit of astronomy, arts and particularly study of ancient scriptures seemed to be the major inspiration behind the conception of the plan of old Jaipur. His interest in astronomy was exhaustive, and he had obtained a thorough knowledge of its principles. He was fully familiar with astronomical methods of Hindus, Muslims and Europeans and seemed to have closely followed the Muslim astronomer Ulegh-beq. His library included works like Ptolemy's *Almagest*, which he had his assistant translate into Sanskrit from Arabic. Finding the ancient astronomical tables defective, he took up the task of preparing new ones. For the purpose of gathering new observations, he set up a series of observatories in the five cities: Benares, Mathura, Ujjain, Delhi and Jaipur. Besides his interest in astronomy, Jai Singh was thoroughly familiar with Hindu scriptures, particularly related to '*Vastu-Shastra*' and fine arts. It is natural that when such a scholarly sensitive King decided to build for himself a new capital city, his vision would be equally expansive in conception.

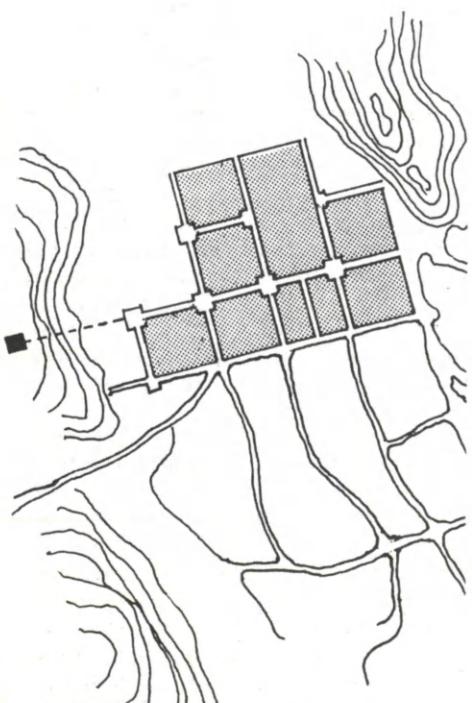
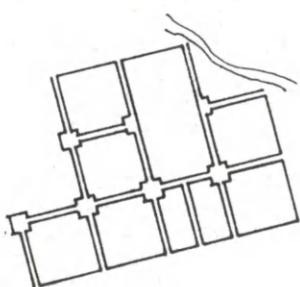
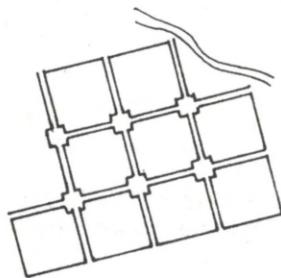
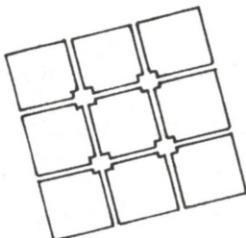
Records indicate that Jai Singh took special care to invite groups of various traders and craftsmen to assure a success of the new city he was founding. Being conscious of the social and economic interdependence and the hierarchy prevalent in a tradition bound society, Jai Singh planned different zones of the city in conformity with the *Vastu-Shastra*. Brahmins thus were allocated areas in the north, Kshatriyas in the east, Vaishyas in the south and Sudras (artisans) in the west. This arrangement, as can be observed, strengthened the economic base of Jaipur. The major roads, which were designed along with commercial facilities by the State were the first structures to be constructed in the new city.

### The Concept and its Application

Many scholars have attributed the very basic concept plan of old Jaipur as being a *Prastara*, a type mentioned in *Mansara*, one of the ancient treatises on Hindu town planning. The physical interpretation of the basic *Prastara* scheme in the final plan of old Jaipur is obvious.

British historian, George Mitchell has observed that any study of cities and symbolism in Asia must inevitably focus on Jaipur. According to him, it is not only the best preserved example in India of a town laid out according to traditional Hindu theory, but embodies ideas that may have travelled to India by way of the Islamic invasion and which are pre-Islamic in origin.

These ideas are concerned with linking the city with the heavens, either by re-creating the structure of the universe in the form of a sacred mandala or by incorporating into the city the means by which the heavens may be observed and movement of stars measured. Interest-



Nine Square Plan :  
Evolution of Jaipur City

ingly, the central position in a *mandala* is occupied by *Brahma*, which could be readily interpreted as the position of the king in the case of monarchy. While at Jaipur, locating both the palace complex and an observatory to study the heavens, *Brahmand*, further strengthens the symbolic case sought to be made of re-creating a city in the image of the universe.

George Mitchell cites the example of a town, Koy-Krylgan Kala Khwarazm (now in USSR), built in 400 BC in what he calls near-Eastern tradition. This town was essentially an observatory city. According to Mitchell, even though this region was linked to India through trade, a stronger link for exchange of ideas must have existed. The fact being that in the 15th century, Ulegh-beg's observatory at Samarquant in Transoxiana was situated close to Khwarazm. As we already know, Jai Singh was well acquainted with the work of Ulegh-beg and presumably the concept of an observatory city might have influenced him greatly. This was further strengthened by his desire to create a city symbolically expressive of universe through a *mandala* and according to the ancient Indian tenets of town planning.

#### Vastu-purusha Mandala

According to ancient texts

*"A long time ago something existed that was not defined by name or known in its form. It blocked the sky and the earth. When the gods saw it they seized it and pressed it upon the ground, face downward. Brahma had it occupied by the gods to hold it down and called it 'Vastu-purusha'. Thus an existence which did not follow any principle is defined by Brahma who forces it to assume and retain a certain form, mandala with the aid of gods presiding over it."*

With the central location presided by *Brahma*, the inner and outer rings of the *Mandala* were occupied by 44 other Vedic Gods. In Indian symbolism, a square represents a celestial world and with the gods appropriately sited over the *Mandala*, eg. Sun God to the east, the *Vastu-purusha mandala* assumes great significance to town planning and architecture.

*"The Vastu-purusha mandala is an image of the laws governing the cosmos, to which men are just as subject as in the earth in which they build. In their activity as builders, men order their environment in the same way as once in the past Brahma forced the undefined purusha into a geometric form. For the architect, building is an act of bringing disordered existence into conformity with basic laws that govern it. This can only be achieved by making each monument, from the hermit's retreat to the layout of a city, follow exactly the magic diagram of the Vastu-purusha mandala"* (Volwahsen, 1973).

#### Prastara

*Mansara's* description of *Prastara* plan is noted by Prabhakar Begde as a town which is either square or oblong in form. It is so divided as to form the mystic figures of *Paramasayika man-*

*dala* or *manduka mandala*. *Paramasayika* and *manduka mandalas* are the most commonly adopted divisions of the basic *mandala* square. These divisions number 81 in *Paramasayika* and 64 in the case of *manduka*. Within the boundaries of the *Vastu-purusha mandala*, a *prastara* town is divided into four, nine or sixteen major wards by an appropriate number of roads which run east-west and north-south. Within the wards, roads are again planned on a chessboard pattern and the spacing of the roads is determined by the sizes of plots in the subdivisions. Wards with larger plots are inhabited by people of higher ranks, while the wards with smaller plots are inhabited by people of lower ranks.

Almost all published material on ancient Indian town planning refers to the distribution of the different castes-classes within the overall framework of the *Vastu-purusha mandala* by assigning them specific quarters with respect to the cardinal points. Locating the seat of religious or political power at the centre is commonly accepted.

Analysis of the walled city of Jaipur suggests that the *prastara* concepts for town plan as described in *Mansara* has been adopted and further evolved in planning of the city.

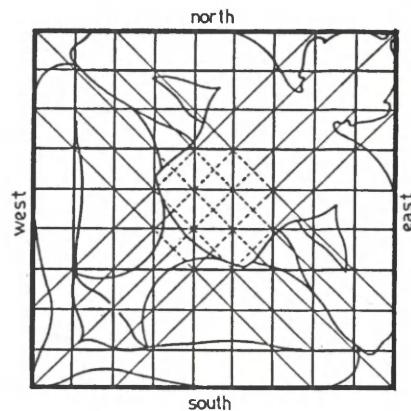
#### Siting

The siting of old Jaipur is in the valley formed by hills to the north and east. The old capital of Jai Singh, Amber, was located in the northern hills overlooking the valley. The southern boundary must have been determined by the ancient trade route Delhi-Agra-Ajmer, which was also used by the Mughal emperors for their pilgrimage.

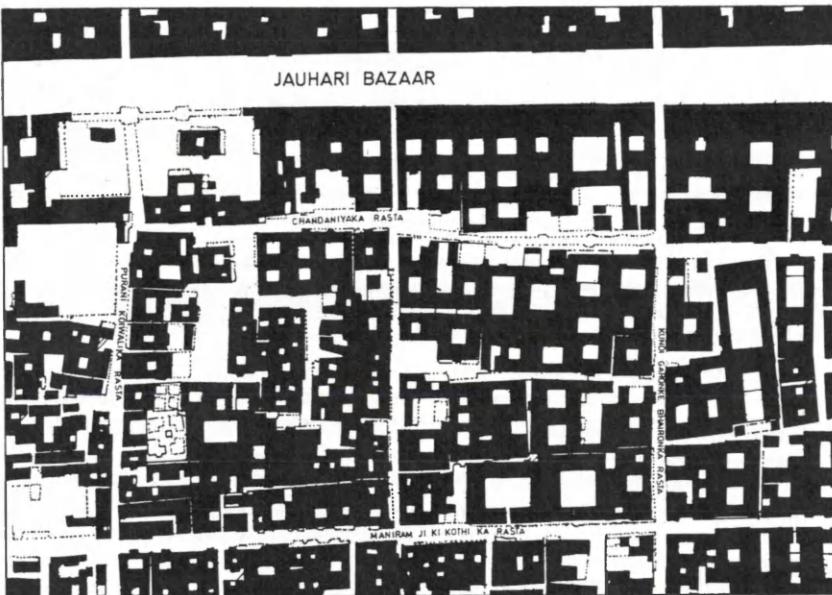
Alternately, it has been speculated that the basic *prastara* plan was adopted for a system of nine squares (residential sectors) or six of them as an orthogonal cluster. Presence of a single major east-west road would naturally imply a six square version. However, the most commonly accepted interpretation of *prastara* plan is the sequence postulated by Kulbhushan Jain, which envisages an orthogonal cluster of nine squares with two major roads running east-west and north-south. Constrained by the southern boundary of the Agra-Ajmer road, the north-western square of this orthogonal cluster of nine squares would have fallen off the hill of Nahargadh. This square, therefore, was placed adjoining the south-eastern sector. The central square, in addition to the observatory, accommodated the palace and its gardens, administrative offices, etc. which required a larger area and hence was merged with the square on its north.

Thus, of the two major east-west roads required for the perfect nine square cluster, only one remained. Several scholars have mentioned that a ridge ran east-west at the site and the major road came to be situated along the ridge which also established a direct axial link to the ancient Sun temple of Galtaji in the eastern hill range. This axis occurs at 15° deviation to the cardinal directions, having several advantages. The significant ones being:

- a) Persons moving in the morning and evening hours do not face the low angle sun directly;



Top : The Vastu Purush Mandala  
Left : Figureground plan of Typical Cluster



b) It allows the early morning sun in winter which is welcome and rightly avoids the evening sun in summer on buildings:

c) The angle is conducive to the predominant wind direction for flushing the streets.

It may, however, be noted based on our detailed studies that 30°–35° clockwise deviation from the cardinal direction at Jaipur allows maximum advantages for the above planning consideration in an orthogonal urban fabric. This might have been known by the king and his architect, but use of the ridge occurring along the middle of the site to facilitate the surface drainage must have been a major consideration.

Essentially the city's structure could be described as a grid iron resulting from the orthogonal clustering of square sectors along *prastar* pattern. The major east-west road from Surajpol to Chandpol, and three north-west roads divide the city into 8 district sectors (known as '*chowkris*'). One of them, where the palace precincts including administrative offices and the observatory occur, is twice the average sector area. The sector to the south of the place was divided by introducing a north-south road in the late 19th century.

#### Road Network

The road network at Jaipur is well thought out and follows definite hierarchy. The major east-west Surajpol–Chandpol road and the north-south roads which from the sector boundaries could be termed as Rajmarg since all of them lead to gates in the fort walls in conformity with the *prastar* norms. These roads measure 33 mts. wide. Next, there is the network of 16.5 mts. wide which run north-south in each sector linking the internal areas of the sectors to the major activity spine formed by the Surajpol–Chandpol road. An orthogonal grid of 8.25 mts. and 4.0 mts. road in the *prastara* chessboard pattern further divides sectors into *mohallas*, the smaller residential clusters.

The frequency of sub-sector roads is ob-

served to reflect the individual plot sizes within a sector. In the south-eastern sector, which was allocated to the traders and *Khsatriyas*, the frequency is much lesser, while in the western sectors where the artisans and craftsmen inhabited, the individual plot sizes are smaller and the frequency of the sub-sector roads is greater.

Extreme consideration is observed to have been given to the major roads and their intersections in planning of the town. The city has played a dominant role as a major trading centre for the region. The commercial uses along the major roads, Rajmarg, as well as the treatment of intersections which become large gathering spaces have contributed significantly to the imageability and growth of the city.

#### Public Places

Given the period of its founding, it is not surprising that the city would lack the amenities which are commonly accepted today. Being a monarch the palace precinct became the hub of major public activities. This precinct, suitably, occupies two of the city sectors and has large squares and appropriate structures to deal with the various administrative functions. The most distinguishing feature in the entire urban fabric of old Jaipur is the *chaupar*, which occur at the intersections of the east-west road by the three north-south roads. Creating an open square, thrice the width of the major roads at the intersections, the city gained three such squares measuring about 100 x 100 mts. Considering that the city was planned for about 60,000 persons, these squares could definitely be considered adequate enough for public gatherings on festive occasions. It is necessary to recall that motorised movement did not exist during the period, and until 40 years ago, must have formed a unique urban experience, enhanced by the controlled facade treatment enveloping it.

Besides these three *chaupars*, large and small pockets of open spaces occur within each of the sector's constituent *mohallas*. These usually

served groups of houses that clustered around them. It has been observed that when such open spaces in the residential *mohallas* occur within easy access from the major roads, they are being used for commercial activities.

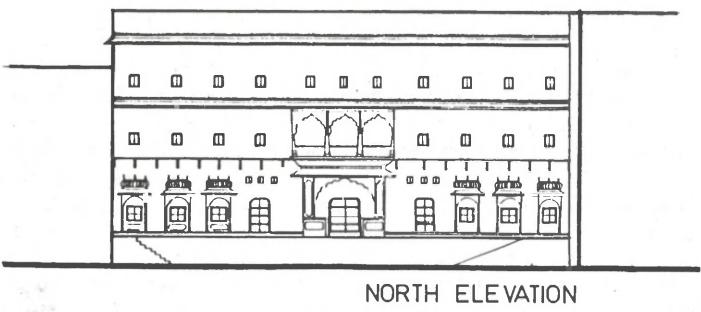
The location and treatment of temples received special attention in the old city. At all the gates in the fort walls, as well as the *chaupars*, large temples were located. Records indicate that temples which already existed on the site when the town was laid out, were incorporated within the plan. Thus, one may find a few temples right in the middle of major roads.

The temples on the major roads are the only structures allowed to break the otherwise uniform facades along these roads. This was done by allowing a single flight of steps leading from the roads to the main floor of the temple, which invariably occurs at a much higher level.

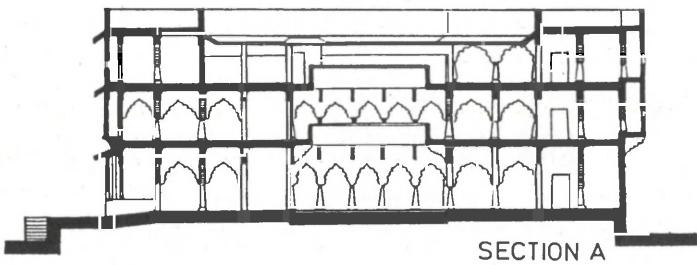
Such an architectural consideration makes the temples stand out as distinguished landmarks in the entire urban character of old Jaipur.

It may be worth mentioning here that in the 18th century, formal education as we know it today did not exist. Only a small segment of the society had any education and that too on religious scriptures. Thus one finds at Jaipur several large temples having 2 to 3 courts in successions (courts measuring as large as 25 x 25 mts), surrounded by wings deep enough to accommodate teaching areas. Indeed, these structures are presently used for formal schooling. The courts are observed to be used as outdoor classrooms as well as for games like basketball, badminton and such like.

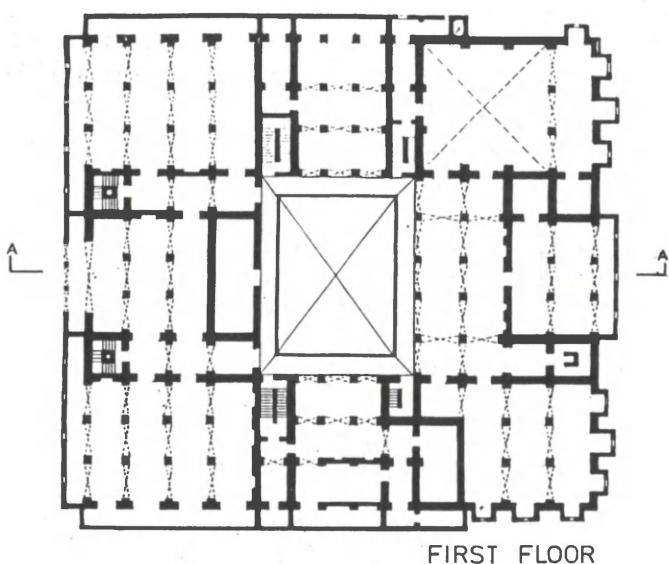
As discussed earlier, the facades along the major roads throughout the city were designed and constructed by the State to ensure aesthetic control. Thus one finds a continuous shopping arcade along the road with residential structures rising behind it. Yet another method of facade control employed was in maintaining a uniformity in colour. The major roads were abutted by building facades with pinkish stone (later terracotta wash was used), a phenomenon



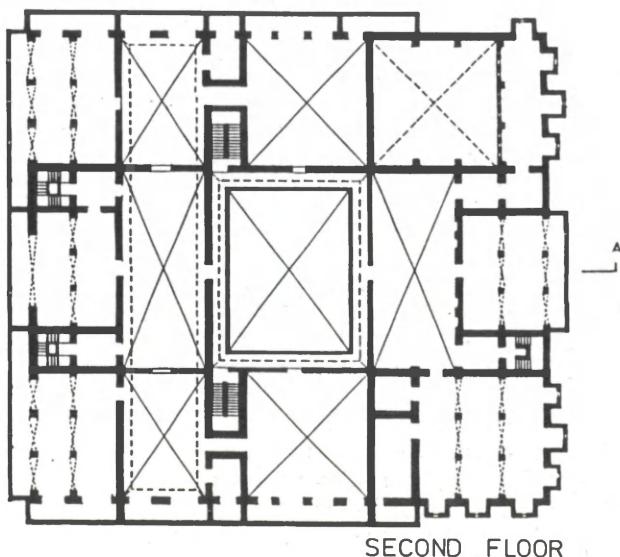
NORTH ELEVATION



SECTION A



FIRST FLOOR



SECOND FLOOR

that earned Old Jaipur its name of the Pink City.

#### Response to Climate and Resource

The design of the old city of Jaipur responds very well to the hot climate. The close-knit urban structure reduces the surface area of the built-form in relation to its volume. The radiation absorbed from sun therefore decreases significantly. The houses are attached to each other in groups in order to maximise the common walls which are not exposed to elements. Even the spaces between the buildings within the sectors are narrow so as to exclude the sun. The external shaded spaces can thus become the extensions of the built-form which the public can use. The climatic constraints thus create intimate external spaces which also relate well to the human scale. At the urban level, the spaces between the built-form as well as the open spaces within buildings give a sieve-like structure to the overall fabric. Thus, whilst individual dwellings may not be well cross-ventilated, the urban mass as a whole becomes porous for cooling at nights due to large surface areas radiating the heat absorbed. In any case, the proportions of the courts ensure that during the day, direct radiations on the horizontal surface is minimised by shadows.

A typical Old Jaipur house sited within the close-knit town fabric is observed to be in complete harmony with the hot dry climatic conditions of the region. The plan organisation is basically introvert, around a court, and the treatment of facades and openings indicates a sensitive response to climate. This introvert character very well suited the lifestyle of the people of that period.

At the dwelling level, one sees all the features which one would expect to see in a hot climate. The walls are thick and have a high thermal resistance. Minimum openings are provided in the external walls to prevent the hot summer winds entering the house. Larger windows with wooden shutters could have helped exclude the hot summer winds with the added advantage of permitting cross ventilation when opened at nights. However, the scarcity of timber must have ruled out this night option. The method used for cooling the houses is a passive circulation of air rather than direct ventilation. Invariably, the small windows are further protected by overhangs known as *Chajjas*. Indeed, on the east-west streets even small *chajjas* can protect most of the external wall surfaces from direct solar radiation. The roofs, which receive considerable solar radiation are heavily insulated by the layers of *surkhi* embedded with stone chips which overlay the stone roofing planks.

To achieve passive cooling, courts are provided in all the houses. The courts work by trapping cool layers of air at night. This trapped air is prevented from heating during the daytime by limiting the courts' plan dimensions in relation to their heights. It is observed that in larger houses, rather than providing an equally large court, a series of smaller courts is provided

**Left : House dimensional studies**

## RESIDENTIAL CHARACTER

### Mohallas

As discussed earlier, the typical Old Jaipur sector size of 800 x 800 mts. is ideally suited to predominantly pedestrian modes. In absolute terms, this makes the inhabitant at the centre of the sector only 300 mts. away from the commercial activities along the major roads, which is about 5 minutes of walking distance.

Individual *mohallas* within the grid of sub-sector roads, are found to be varying between 160 mts x 160 mts to 110 mts x 110 mts in size in different sectors inhabited by people of different ranks, and varying residential plot sizes. Observations have indicated that such *mohallas* typically accommodate about 40 to 50 residential plots. This number is highly conducive in making the *mohalla* a cohesive social and cultural sub-group. Since the inhabitants of *mohallas* invariably belong to a single caste, sub-caste and pursue the same trades, the social cohesion would become stronger.

This implies that apart from sharing common facilities like drinking water wells, workshop areas etc., their religious practices and festivals including the presiding deity in the *mohallas* temple would be similar. All such factors contribute to strengthening their community ties.

### Observations

The studies carried out by the team at various scales from sector to individual house plan of the old city of Jaipur generated a number of observations which were felt to be a part of the principles that must have been adopted from the *Vastu Shastra* in the planning of the city. These observations can be described under four major heads which broadly reflect the aims that were intended to be achieved through the city's planning.

### Environmental Concern

The planning of the old city reflects an excellent response to the hot dry climate of the region, which is prone to dust-storms in summer. The close-knit fabric of the city and the introvert character of the built environment help to keep out the harsh climate. The orientation of major and minor roads are such that according to the context, the streets get varying amounts of shade. By locating the major axial road, running east-west along the ridge, the city's layout takes advantage of the natural topography for drainage. It is a well-known fact that the old city was the only area that was not affected during the 1981 floods in Jaipur. Since water and vegetation were scarce, wells and tanks were treated with importance and trees were planted at such locations that they also served as social meeting places. Rainwater was collected in tanks and was used throughout the year. At the dwelling level, the use of court, shading devices and minimum exposure of the walls to direct radiation helped to achieve thermal comfort.

## Efficiency

Efficiency is interpreted as the use of all available resources for the ease and convenience in the activities of the government, business and individuals. Unlike several planned cities and capitals in India, the decision taken by Jai Singh to invite different social groups representing various trades and crafts proved to be beneficial, since it provided the city with an economic base and ensured its survival and growth. Treating all the communities with equal importance helped in promoting efficient interaction in terms of business, trade and communal harmony. Trade was particularly given an impetus by the State which executed the major bazaars and institutions.

The special treatment accorded to temples is noteworthy. Temples did not only enshrine a deity but also served as institutions of learning, and generated a sense of community in socio-cultural terms.

In terms of the city plan, the average size of a sector,, is found to be highly suitable to facilitate pedestrian dominated movement.

Given this size, the maximum distance a person would walk to reach any major commercial or transport mode would be about 400 to 500 metres. which is approximately a five minute walk. This not only enhances safety but also attributes a human scale to the city. At the cluster and residential level, the organisation o

community spaces and street access are planned so as to promote social interaction and also increase the level of privacy for its residents.

The building materials used are those which were available locally and utilised the skills of the local craftsman, thus promoting their trade and expertise.

## Flexibility

A remarkable feature of the basic grid-iron structure adopted from *Prastar* plan in Jaipur is that it allows growth and change on a gradual basis. It is open ended but not endless. Shifting the north-western falling in the hilly site to the south-eastern corner, (Topkhana Hazuri Chaukri), is itself demonstrative of this potential of a grid-iron. Also, in a contemporary sense, the plan is extremely democratic in character. The city structure, due to its orthogonal geometry does not stress a particular spot or activity area.

Within the grid, however, despite a similar pattern, the clustering of houses and street network respond to the needs of the people and are not rigidly fixed.

## Imageability

The low key character of the entire urban experience is regarded as a significant aspect of old Jaipur. Moving along the major road network, and at the *chaupars*, one is not confronted by imposing edifices like the administrative offices, palaces, memorials and such structures. Despite being founded by a king, there is no expression of his authority or imposition on the lives of the people, which reflects highly on his sensitivity and humane attitude. This character is highlighted by the fact that the axial roads do

not terminate at any major public edifices. Visually the openness of the plan is strengthened by long perspectives along the roads which offer views of the temples in the distant hills.

The visual harmony and urban character along axial roads was achieved by executing the *bazaars* and abutting structures and applying facade controls. The vivid images created of the old city are a result of all these factors intermingling with the rich culture and lifestyle of the people, to create a strong identity and character to which the residents and visitors relate and respond strongly.

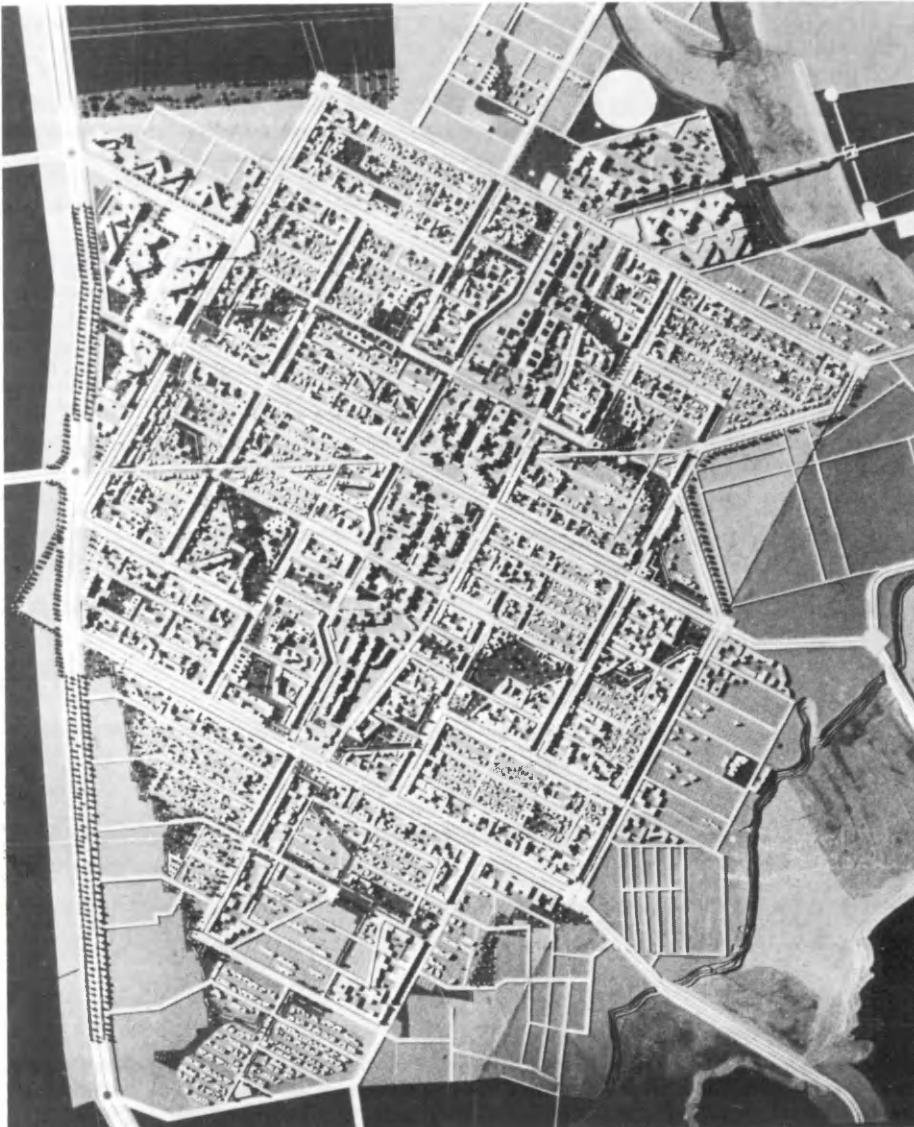
## Urbanism – Old Jaipur

One of the most significant aspects of Old Jaipur's conception and execution is that no effort has been spared to realise both the abstract as well as physical objectives that Jai Singh and Vidyadhar Bhattacharya shared as a vision. This thoroughness is amply evident in Old Jaipur where, whether one is moving along the major roads or within the residential areas, the total urban environment exhibits a well thought out and cohesive character.

**Balkrishna Doshi & MuktiRajsinghji Chauhan**

# STRUCTURE AND TRADITION

VIDYADHAR NAGAR NEW TOWN, JAIPUR



Vidyadhar Nagar has been conceived with as much concern as Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh and his architect, Vidyadhar Bhattacharya, expressed through the unique conception of walled city of Jaipur in 1727. Vidyadhar Nagar, certainly is not sought to be a replica in the mundane sense for the simple reason that Vidyadhar Nagar comes into being in the 1980s. To that extent, the planning efforts for Vidyadhar Nagar take cognizance of the overwhelming changes that have occurred in more than 250 years since the founding of Jaipur.

## Harmonious Balance

Total harmony with the macro and micro natural and human system; passive sympathetic response to local climatic conditions to attain comfortable living, working and leisure related environments; judicious use of natural resources for building activity are the tangible attributes of this **concern** expressed in the walled city of Jaipur.

## Flexibility

The adoption of the *prastara* plan configuration which generates a democratic urban experience along routes of movement and the major civic spaces; allocation of functions according to the tenets of *vasu-purush mandala* which give life to the city are the intangible attributes of this **concern**. The *prastara* configuration has also allowed the flexibility, to add and grow within the main structure to suit increasing and changing needs for decades to come.

## Lessons from Traditions

In planning for Vidyadhar Nagar, the basic premise is that the above **concerns** embodied in Jaipur of 1727 should be gainfully interpreted for the present times. As strongly exemplified by Jaipur over the last 250 years, these **concerns** are expected to lend an enduring quality to Vidyadhar Nagar.

## THE TRADITIONS

### Resource and Energy Conservation

Walled city of Jaipur is a classic example of cities characterised by an innate response to the local resources and climate. Its built-form is adopted to nature's ever changing seasons. The close knit urban fabric reduces buildings' exposure to sun's radiation and cold winter winds resulting in temperate conditions inside built-in environment. The close-knit fabric also reduces walking distances and puts most activities as pedestrian oriented clusters. The use of traditional building materials and techniques have allowed user participation and lent a character in harmony with the regional climatic and resource conditions.

### Demonstration and Controls

It is important to note that the basic frame-work i.e. the major road network, and the main 'bazaars' with its public spaces, *chaupars*, the structure which brought into focus all the city's constituent elements into being, were actually constructed at the time of founding. This must have had a high demonstrative impact and guiding influence when the people started building activities. Such a single decision, to construct the main architectural and public structures, not only gave people a vision of what the whole city would be like, but also showed architectural details which could be followed to create harmonious urban experience. This is indeed a significant decision on part of Jai Singh and Vidyadhar which alone could have assured the rise of legacy that the walled city has become.

## THE PRESENT

### Segregated Zones and Commuting

In contrast, new cities planned along the Western models require enormous energies for activity-transport needs due to segregation of the work and living zones.

### Ills of Sprawl and Community

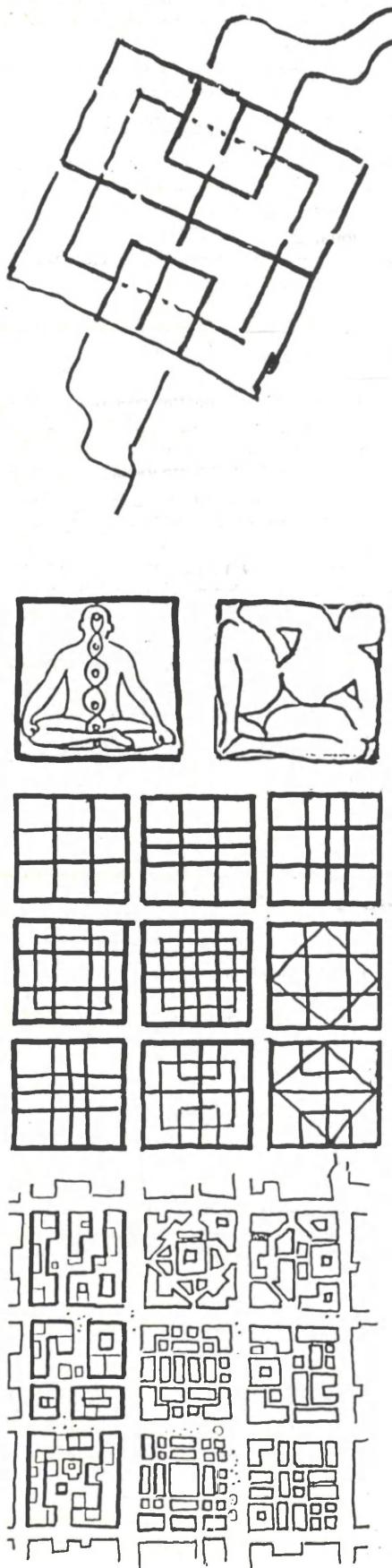
In the process, such developments use enormous resources of all kinds. The sprawl uses up the most precious resource – the land. Activity transport needs consume vast resources right from irreplaceable fossil fuels to increased distances the people have to commute or walk – causing great losses of human energies and time.

### Conspicuous Energy Consumption

Free standing buildings in such cities consume vast energies to offset heat gained through radiation, and cold through exposure to winter winds. Such buildings rely heavily on active systems like fans, air-conditioning etc. to attain a comfortable living and work environment.

### Goals for Vidyadhar Nagar

The planning effort for Vidyadhar Nagar is based on the lesson learnt from traditional town



Variations on a 9 square grid

planning in India epitomised by Jaipur, and its adaptation for the contemporary needs. Among others, this includes the societally recognised public facilities for civic activities, basic amenities and services to suit the present standards of living.

#### A Model Balanced Habitat Environment

This project has been viewed to become a model for future urban planning efforts in the region. Essentially, the effort is directed evolving an urban form, which is both rooted and responsive to the local resources, climate and contemporary socio-economic conditions and the traditional values and beliefs.

#### The Approach

Knowing that the resources are finite and energy saved is cheaper than energy generated, a city should be consciously designed to judiciously use the natural resources, recycle waste and save human energies.

To that goal, the new town of Vidyadhar Nagar attempts to incorporate the spirit of Jaipur plan and the principles of environmental and energy consciousness.

#### Resource – Conservation and Recycling

Loss of the forest cover leading to devastating flash-floods as experienced at Jaipur in 1981, depletion of underground water resources and desertification cause irreparable damage to the flora and fauna of which mankind is an integral part. Since wasteful consumption of resources has endangered the ecology of the region, our approach towards planning of Vidyadhar Nagar is in the judicious use of natural resources, recycling waste materials and conservation of human energies.

#### Use of Renewable Energy Based Systems

This new city is intended to give its inhabitants and visitors, a glimpse of the man-made objects designed to harness wind, water, solar and human energies. And these objects will complement Jai Singh's deep rooted belief that, "Man must constantly look at the heavens to understand and order life on earth".

The objects in his town will not be static, but will be in constant motion as they harness and recycle hitherto unknown sources of energy, and round-the-clock produced energies for the activities of its citizens.

Here, these new energies will make the desert bloom, and create once again a green city of forests, gardens, waterpools, and become a demonstration for urban agricultural practices.

Like old Jaipur, this city will be humane, based on man as the measure, so that inhabitants experience intimacy and come together. It will offer its people opportunities to flourish, and allow flexibility to reshape theirs and the city's destiny to respond to the changing needs of the society in times to come.

#### Planning Studies

To realise the above goals, several studies comprehensively aimed at exploring the various facets of planning were undertaken. Individually, these studies were geared to establish planning ideals in various aspects, which could be considered in evolving a planning strategy. The process of evolving the planning strategy takes cognizance of priorities among these various aspects. This then was used to take planning decisions, and their implications in the Master Plan for Vidyadhar Nagar.

#### Site and Ecology

Foremost, among these studies, is the one related to ecology and geology of the macro-region of the site. This was of significant concern to the Planning Team in view of the extensive damage caused by the 1981 flash-floods along Amanisha Nallah which forms the eastern border of the site and the fact, geologically speaking, that the site is unstable. Loss of the forest cover at Nahargadh Hills essential to stabilise soil and for recharging the underground water reservoirs, was also a major concern to the Team. If unattended, this could pose a serious threat to the site. Studies and proposals by various concerned agencies in this regard were analysed to determine imperative actions.

#### Orientation – Climate

Another study concerns the orientation of the major arterial road structure. This decision area was viewed importantly because of several far reaching implications for the project. Orientation and the consequent sun-radiation on buildings, tunnelling of the wind along major roads and the induced cross ventilation in buildings, comfort conditions on street in terms of glare, shadow etc. are crucial factors in an urban fabric. And this study was aimed at generating planning decisions to optimise the adverse conditions in different seasons, both inside and outside, from comfort point of view.

#### Others

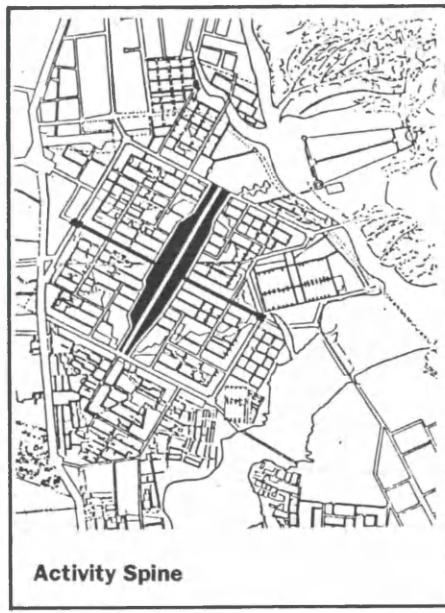
Besides the above two, individual studies were also undertaken in the areas:

- 1) Commercial districts
- 2) Open spaces like parks, playground etc
- 3) Survey of households
- 4) Studies of industries around the site and,
- 5) Studies of built-form characteristics of the walled city of Jaipur.

Findings from all the studies were culled together to precisely chalk-out the planning proposals for Vidyadhar Nagar.

#### PLAN PROPOSALS

The proposed plan of Vidyadhar Nagar is a judicious amalgamation of the traditional town planning principles, contemporary needs and the contextual realities imminent from the de-



tailed planning studies. The plan proposals do not confine themselves to the site, but incorporate the needs of the entire northwestern Jaipur. The major elements of the plan are briefly described here under.

#### Afforestation – Energy Plantation

Denudation of the forest cover on the hill slopes has caused in recent past devastating floods along Amanisha Nallah at Jaipur. In order to ensure safety for the whole city and the site, afforestation on the hill slopes and fuel-wood plantation at the foot of the hill is proposed to be immediately undertaken. This will help to stabilise the topsoil as well as provide necessary firewood for the local inhabitants (which in turn will prevent further deforestation).

#### Optimal Use of Scarce and Natural Resources

The waste-water recovered from the project area is proposed to be partially treated, and used for irrigating energy plantation and fodder cultivation across the Amanisha Nallah. The surplus is channelized to Vidyadhar Nagar as a series of water bodies following the natural drop in the contours. At Vidyadhar Nagar, this will be used for watering gardens, running fountains and feeding the reflecting pools. Besides stabilising the top-soil and generating 'lush green' areas, this will cool and humidify the hot-dry summer winds. Bio-gas generation is envisaged to supplement the energy needs of the population in hamlets around the site. Demonstrative housing using solar and wind energy for domestic purposes will also be undertaken.

#### Regional Activity

The amenities and services in Vidyadhar Nagar are designed to serve the needs of 3 to 4 lakhs people likely to reside in the north-west region of Jaipur metropolitan area. A regional activity centre, with essential services like a full-fledged

hospital, inter-city bus terminus, wholesale grain and vegetable markets, fire station etc. is proposed along Sikar Road boundary of the site. An educational/institutional complex is proposed within Vidyadhar Nagar and linked to a large recreational sports complex across the Amanisha Nallah.

#### Linkages

Vidyadhar Nagar is visualized as an integral part of the city of Jaipur. A new is proposed through extension of Nirwan Marg which would bring Jai Singh's Jaipur within 3km of Vidyadhar Nagar. With adequate urban design controls, this link would enable an extension of the old Jaipur street character along the Nirwan Marg from Chandpole gate to Vidyadhar Nagar.

#### Activity Spine and Pedestrian Access

Vidyadhar Nagar is designed as a centrally oriented town with a pedestrian activity spine along which all the major commercial and public offices will be located. This activity spine provides high accessibility to the residents as it is within walking distance from residential developments. This will save considerable time and energy in commutation for daily needs.

### RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT

#### An Energy Conscious Built Form

The residential development consists of building about 15,000 new housing units to serve the needs of every income group of the society. Most of these housing units will be in the form of group housing to ensure efficient use of land. The residential built-form will be compact, high density, low rise structure with courtyards and wind scoops for achieving thermal comforts through passive means.

#### Pedestrian Network and Activity Locations

Within each residential sector, the amenities and services like schools, health centres, playground etc. will be located along the linear open spaces.

With a view to generate intense civic and yet productive activities, it is proposed to locate craftsman and craft centres which Jaipur is so famous for, along this pedestrian spine. This could also include informal marketing activities. This will generate an integration of residence – activity needs – leisure spaces.

#### System of Open Spaces

Open spaces are often described as the 'lungs of a city'. The system of open spaces designed in Vidyadhar Nagar ranges from a large recreation park serving the entire city, which gradually recedes to a courtyard in the individual dwelling units. The transgression, from the macro to micro scale, is achieved through a network of linear open spaces all over the city, which become pedestrian links to the major activities as well as leisure spaces wherever suitably enlarged.

Nagar is an adaptation of implicit orthogonality in the traditional '*prastar*' plan. The orientation of major streets at 30° north of east has been arrived at after extensive studies. This orientation would minimise radiation on building facades, avoid direct sun during peak hours and permit flushing of streets with winds in hot seasons. A central avenue together with other arterial roads of 30m width, from the major circulation pattern of the town.

**Balkrishna Doshi**

# URBAN ECOLOGY AND SPATIAL STRUCTURE:

## PROVIDING AN ESSENTIAL MEDIUM FOR GROWTH AND CHANGE

It is now well recognised that the modern city has proved unsatisfactory in application because it destroyed the elements of the city – street, block, discrete public space and differentiated private place. But the underlying Modernist philosophy has not been displaced in proposals for urban redevelopment in Britain today. The mental process accompanying this still results in the architectural objectification of urbanism; the design of the public realm continuing to be evaluated as a composition of distinct rational elements. In reinstating the catalogue of urban elements however, the block, for example, has been substituted for the "site" without a critical re-evaluation of the spatial framework which must accompany it. (1)

Even those analytical processes which are intended to rationally determine urban form are surprisingly anti-urban. Methodology still separates activities and uses, making each part more manageable and comprehensible for development packaging; the results lending themselves more to the interpretation of the architectural component than of complex urban elements. The functional programme as a determinant is invariably too inflexible because it fixes identities and relationships in precise building form thus limiting responsive action by restricting growth and change, alternatives and adaptation- the essential ingredients in an ecological process.

In addition, modernism's prejudice against the existing city is implicitly retained. Although the traditional city with its "real" streets is vaguely advocated, it continues to be seen as a problem rather than a solution.

### What does it want to be?

The new "flexible approach" to planning is now constantly referred to as a solution to the planning dilemma but other than offering a diluted laissez faire response to market forces, the determinist constructs still prevail. Following a similar reductionist thought process however, "form" has merely taken the place of "functional" as a determinant in a continuing partial approach to the problem. Little is offered in the way of providing a robust and adaptable mode of city building, capable of guiding growth and change in such a way, that the preconditions for high quality environments are optimised at the outset.

Environments of this quality cannot be created by the unthinking application of standardised rules or universal theories. What is required is a new synoptic consciousness about urbanity and its potentials, and the application of those ideas which release these potentials and which free the creative ingenuity of man. "In adopting a holistic view of the city, one recognises the necessary complexity of man, his life, and the role of the environment in his life; which recognises too, the complex processes of interdependence and reinforcement which constitute the essence of urbanity". (2)

This view requires a synoptic understanding which does not imply knowing everything about man and his environment, but of what should be left to the ingenuity of the individual and what should be provided to stimulate that ingenuity. It is a synopticism based on rationality but which is imbued with a consciousness recognising not only 'what is' but 'what does it want to be'.

### What structures?

Aldo van Eyck refers to the need for a "new configurative discipline" to solve the problems of exponential growth and change in cities today. (3) Problems which cannot be solved with the urban design techniques we are using today. An understanding therefore, needs to be developed about the nature, scale and dynamics of spatial structure in relation to context, in order to meet this challenge.

The false choice between the current crude models of urban planning - namely, between abstract idealism and opportunist pragmatism suggest that an organic urban strategy, must of necessity, be incremental and hierarchically structured. The success of any incremental transformation will be dependent on the creation of a significant hierarchical order. Such an order may be established through the application of a viable geometry that possesses certain concrete qualities. (4)

The geometry of grid, point and line has long been advocated as providing the necessary framework for urban variety. In the present system dominated by pseudo-scientific planning constructs the proposal for streetgrids flies full in the face of established "hierarchy of roads" policy. However, our most successful models for planned growth are those where the positive qualities of the grid have been exploited in combination with squares, mews and boulevards.

To dispel many of the myths propagated by the Garden City movement, Paul Groth refers to the following articles of 'pro-grid creed of faith'. (5)

**Article 1:** The grid can be a symbol of positive and human values. The streetgrid historically has been a common symbol not for greed but for rational urban life symbolising the achievement of relative egalitarianism.

**Article 2:** Viable human settlements with a proper sense of community can thrive on a grid streetplan as well as any other form and, for the newcomer, the comprehensibility of the grid can be a source of security.

**Article 3:** Streetgrids do not necessarily create mechanical monotony in urban design and may, in fact, be the best possible provision for organic growth in a city's future. Further, the grid has adapted itself well to long periods of growth and change.

**Article 4:** The grid allows but does not cause high density. Street grids are indeed the most efficient forms of compact settlement, but the decision to build compactly should be seen as policy not as a result of street form.

It is the processes of change – design, initial settlement, social specialisation, accretion and traffic management – that give the grids their subtle but real variety. Although only one of many formal and social contexts in which urban architecture can take place, the grid is nonetheless the most robust and adaptable form of physical structure.

### What generates urban form?

What is now demanded, in addition to a "new configurative discipline", is the introduction of more complex processes into the design and management of the urban realm. In the words of Giurgola: "The problem of designing a city is different in nature to that of designing a building. To the sequence of box buildings we must oppose the plastic complexities of an architectural organism capable of generating urban fabric, or more simply, providing an alternative to monotony ..... In the past, patrons or civic leaders encouraged the rapid construction of only essential parts of the city: squares, harbours, acropolises and the like were created as pivots to the subsequent distribution (sic infill) of operative and residential areas. These last grew voluntarily confused, thus retaining the secret of their private life. As a consequence they were highly habitable". (5)

The "new configurative discipline" and the "architectural organism capable of generating urban fabric" are both enabling mechanisms which give structure to the city, providing the necessary framework of public action which will generate private reaction. These gestures in the public domain need to be fundamental and, coupled with a clear public direction, recognise that a framework of well considered constraints provides the medium for creative design. The city of Isfahan is a classic example of this process at work.

This process cannot be completely rationalised or determined by analysis: its intention is, by means of synthesis, to create an environment which will always contain aspects of accident and disorder within its framework. It is not necessary to determine where to locate the pub, or how much retail space is required to sustain the local community. A successful urban fabric needs no functional programme. In fact, diversity within a complex multi-use texture becomes the ideal substitute for functional space. Alternative responses are then influenced by proximity of location or variety of place.

### Posterngate Ideas Competition

The programme called for ideas for the redevelopment of a 52 hectare derelict site on the River Tyne, adjacent to the main railway station in Newcastle for the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation.

The proposals had their roots in the belief that uniqueness of place is reflected against the backdrop of a clearly defined urban order. This

order, in turn, provides the necessary framework for urban variety and provides the palette for the "city of a thousand designers". (6) This order is valid as an objective precisely because it becomes a mosaic for problem solving.

While the underlying strategy is to extend and elaborate the configurations and density of the existing city, there is a recognition of its implicit complexity and unpredictability. The knitting together of existing and new fields of urban texture requires the deployment of a range of self-conscious design choices – the use of continuous urban space; the overlapping of fields of influence at edges to promote an interdependence between old and new, conscious of the continuities beyond.

The specific problem of the site is not entirely generic. It requires not only the extension of a sympathetic texture, but the introduction of a series of major public spaces at a metropolitan scale. This is justified by the area's history, relative location and its compounded transportation connections. These include the proximity to the Newcastle Central station, the confluence of the main vehicular access routes to the south and west and the location of the main bus terminus within the competition area.

The primary urban structure is therefore seen to operate at this scale through the provi-

sion of three main public spaces. These are declared as those "architectural organisms capable of generating urban fabric" and include:

- The Gateway Circus with its flanking "gatepost" buildings establish the dramatic sense of arrival to the city via the New Redheugh Bridge and the realigned Scotswood Road "boulevard". This space provides the pivotal focus of the scheme and will function as a major point of reference in the city.
- The Station Square seeks to formalise the existing space by means of its southern enclosure. Of the scale of Trafalgar Square, this space provides the venue for the main bus terminus and interchange between road and rail.
- The Waterfront Piazza provides a social and cultural focus on the River Tyne, functioning as a major event on the continuous public route along the waterfront.

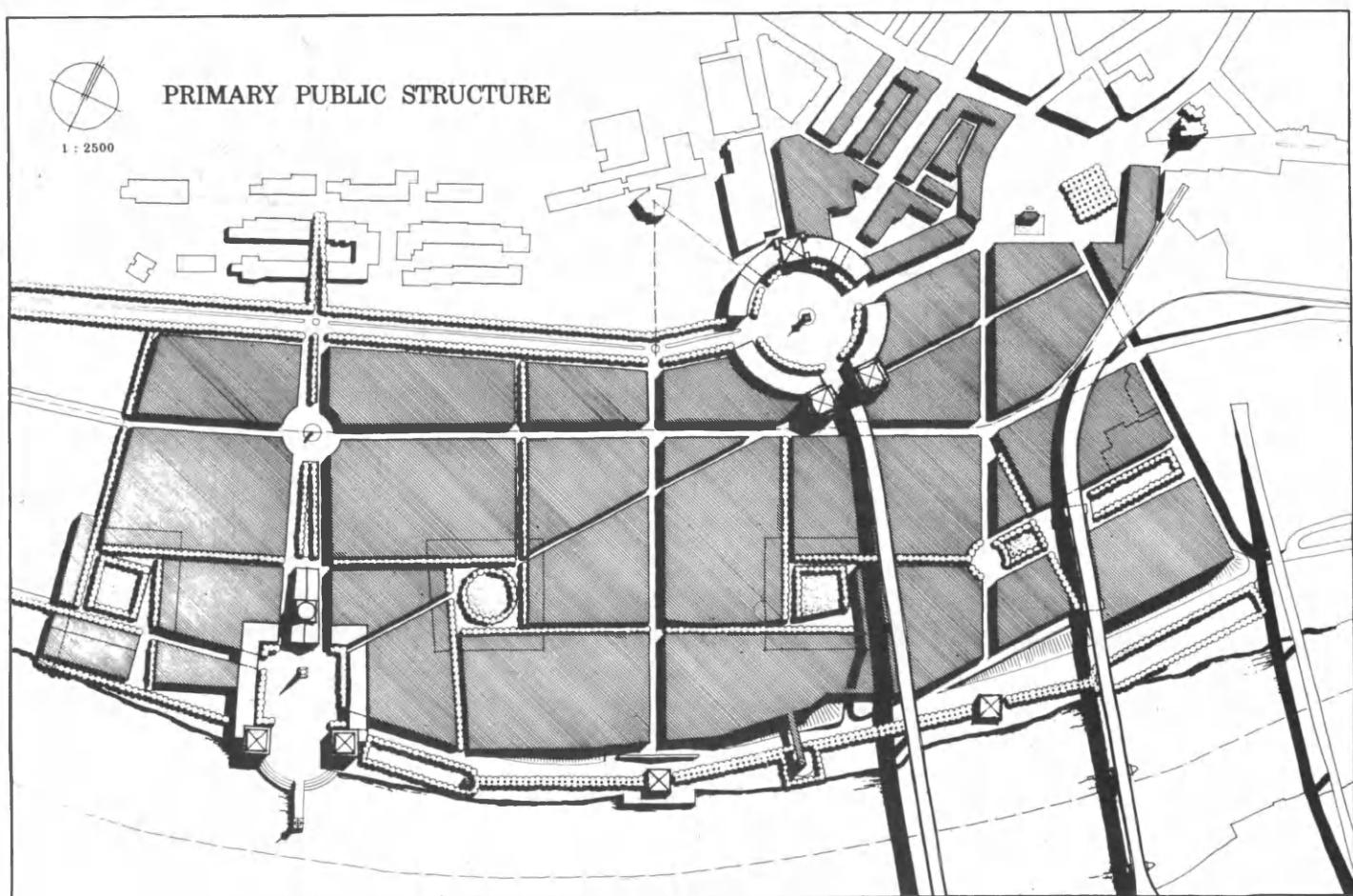
Although its design depends on the invention of a new context, the construction of an urban

texture establishes a variety of places in continuous proximity, provides simultaneously for both autonomous elements and collective patterns.

At the local area scale, the tactic adopted in establishing a secondary public structure has been an alignment of a grid over the site with a colliding route linking the three main points. Being a universal solution however, the resultant geometry ultimately depends on its modification by context – response to retained site features, roads and topography.

A system of interlinking public spaces has been introduced to provide amenity at the community level. A characteristic of this system is its indirectness as opposed to the rigid order of the grid. The proposal for the extension of the Metro rail system along Station Road establishes a spine of maximum access and opportunity for a variety of commercial, retail and other activities in particular to locate along this route. Through the co-ordination of movement modes a hierarchy of accessibility is created at stops and at cross routes. Consequently the provision of framework which promotes responsive action is proposed to optimise the spinoffs of location and movement flows.

At the scale of the city block, the matter of further sub-division of land and its subsequent



NEWCASTLE - UPON - TYNE

## POSTERNGATE

RIBA IDEAS COMPETITION

SHEET 1 of 3

PLANNING ISSUES

release is seen to be of prime importance. Implicit in this approach is the notion that not everything needs to be predetermined and there is scope for the energies of the "thousand designers" to be mobilised. The following guidelines for further action were offered:

- The location of further key buildings which define significant public spaces at the local area scale, and give rise to urban form;
- The release of smaller parcels of land to promote a finer grain of development, facilitating growth and change in a coherent and timeless way;
- The controlling through public direction of the continuous lining of the block, with development within defined limits.
- The reduction of control over the development of the soft centres of the blocks, releasing the potential for inner growth and increased densities over time;
- The promotion of a highly permeable network of squares and arcades in association with this inner growth.

Every physical form will support multiple uses or interpretations. Form has a certain degree of autonomy. What is advanced is a form of urban ecology, not emphasising the city in relation to nature or its region, although this is obviously present and important. Rather to stress the balance between individuals, groups and societies and their physical environment, in particular in relation to their social space.

Environments of this kind will have the capacity to promote and accommodate future economic, social, political and technological change. They will maximise the opportunities that the inner city offers to all inhabitants both existing and in the future. (7)

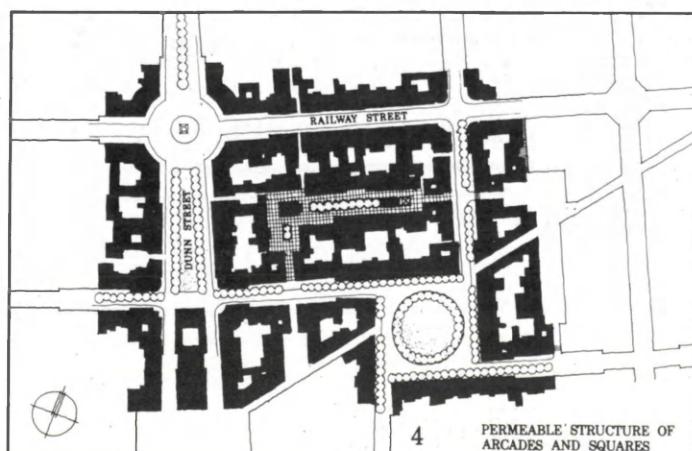
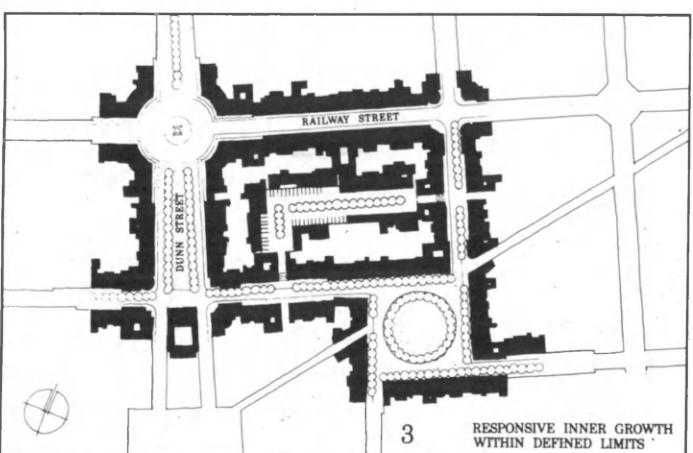
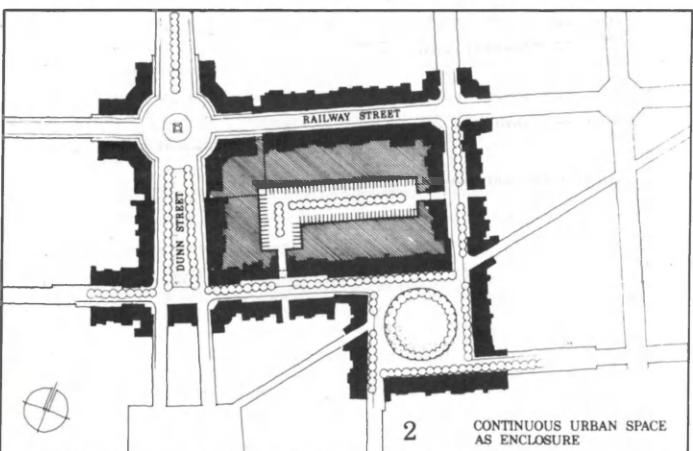
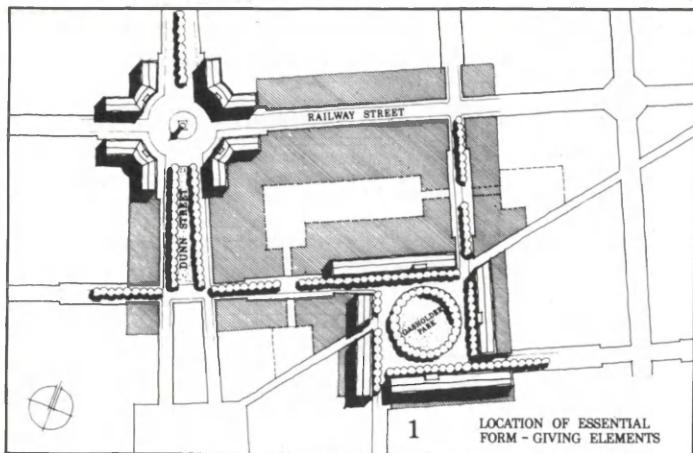
**By Kelvin Campbell**

The author is a principal in Urban Initiatives, an urban design, development, planning and management collaborative.

He was awarded second prize for his submission to the Posterngate Ideas Competition.

## REFERENCES

1. Petersen, Steven - **Les Halles Competition**, AR Sept 1981
2. Uyttenbogaardt, R - **Housing, A Comparative Evaluation**, UPRU
3. Groth, Paul - **Streetgrids as Frameworks for Urban Variety**, Harvard Review Vol 2 1981
4. van Eyck, Aldo - **Team 10 Primer**, edited by Alison Smithson, Perth 1966
5. Giurgola, Romaldo **Reflections on Building and the City**, Yale Perspecta, 9/10
6. Mumford, Lewis - **The City in History**



# MANAGING DOWNTOWN PUBLIC SPACES



**Good management of public spaces can do more to get people downtown to shop and play than large-scale urban design schemes.**

Public spaces – streets, sidewalks, parks, and plazas – are where the quality of life in cities is often measured. Are there interesting things to do at lunchtime? Are there relaxing places to sit in the sun? Can you pick up a sandwich and eat it outside? Are the sidewalks clean and well maintained? Do you feel safe? For 5 years Project for Public Spaces, a non-profit corporation of designers and social scientists, based in New York City has posed such questions in cities across the country. We've been trying to determine what people do in downtown public spaces, why they do it, and what they would like to do. We've documented that many simple needs – to sit, feel safe, be entertained – have been neglected too long in many downtowns.

Our ideas of how cities can best provide the kinds of public spaces that people will use have changed over the years. Early on, we focused primarily on finding ways to design spaces better. But we now recognise that management is often more important and can accomplish more, and faster, than any new design schemes. Many cities have discovered the hard way that just creating a new pedestrian mall, for example, is not enough – brick sidewalks and flowering trees cannot in themselves revitalise a downtown. Good design remains crucial, of course, but is only one ingredient of success. Cities should first take a comprehensive look at

their downtown areas and consider small-scale management improvements. They can then undertake major development projects, if necessary, over the longer term.

We also now realise that cities alone cannot improve their downtowns. Many aspects of an improvement programme are simply not a municipality's responsibility, and even those that are cannot always get the full attention they deserve because of limited resources. The private sector needs to take a more active role in most cities, becoming more self-reliant and less dependent on the public sector. Businesses must organise creatively to assume increased responsibility for managing downtown public spaces in partnership with the public sector.

Recognising the need for more public information on how the private sector can get involved in managing public spaces, Project for Public Spaces surveyed 200 private sector downtown organisations in cities of all sizes across the nation. This "search for excellence" led us to identify four management ingredients essential to successful public spaces:

- Someone is responsible for making sure that the space works well for the people who use it.
- The details of cleaning, repair, safety, and security are taken care of daily.
- The public space is exciting, active, and geared to spontaneous socialising.

- Someone watches over the public space consistently, making sure that any changes in its design or management are made in response to people's needs or patterns of use, which inevitably change over time.

## Supplementing City Services

City governments have traditionally provided many services to downtowns, ranging from trash pickup to police enforcement to traffic control. However, these services have declined in recent years as many cities have faced over-extended budgets. The changing face of many downtowns over the last 20 years adds to the problem: new types of public spaces have been created for which city governments are unprepared to provide services. Plazas, "vest-pocket" parks, pedestrian malls, transit malls (streets free of vehicles except buses), arcades, widened sidewalks, and the like require more labour-intensive maintenance because they use such materials as brick and wood, and because they contain numerous benches, bus shelters, and other amenities. New designs may also create hidden niches and under-used areas that require special attention to ensure their safety. Because of these needs, downtown organisations must step in to supplement the services provided by the city. We have identified three areas in which such organisations can provide services: maintenance, security, and transportation management.

## Maintenance

Our surveys of pedestrians and merchants in many downtowns reveal almost universal complaints about the appearance of downtown streets. Of course, people have different standards for the cleanliness of public spaces. For instance, we have found that office workers who spend little time walking around tended to be more critical of the downtown's appearance than the shoppers and other people surveyed on the street. Still, improved maintenance operations *can* produce highly visible and satisfying results. People will notice the difference.

Downtown organisations have responded to maintenance problems with a wide variety of programmes and strategies. The programmes range from low-cost, almost voluntary efforts to sophisticated, high-budget operations. They tackle such jobs as sweeping, washing and repairing streets and sidewalks; repairing street furniture; caring for plantings; removing snow; picking up garbage; replacing signs; and general beautification projects that include commissioning wall murals and painting over graffiti.

## Security

While downtown security programmes must deal with actual crime problems (primarily burglary and shoplifting), people's *perception* of crime and safety is more often the issue. Empty, unlit areas, the presence of "undesirables", and the lack of people who seem to be "official" help exaggerate the public's fears about the safety of downtowns. Those fears

affect people's decisions about where to shop, work and locate businesses. Unfortunately, many cities have tried to improve security by making their downtowns into fortresses, with buildings oriented towards the interior instead of the street, and with tight control over access. Such designs may indeed prevent burglary and make people feel safe once they are inside. But the buildings are counterproductive in the long run because they discourage activity in the surrounding public spaces, creating staging areas for crime.

Downtown organisations can take an important first step in developing effective security plans by analysing the design features of buildings and public areas that contribute to problems. For example, a joint committee of city planners, merchants, and building owners should make a thorough inventory of the unsafe or inactive areas of the downtown district where crimes occur. Solutions may require only minimal changes in design or management, such as trimming a hedge surrounding a park to increase visibility and make the park seem less isolated.

Another, more positive strategy to improve security involves "programming" public spaces. For example, classical or jazz concerts in a downtown park will attract office workers and displace unwanted activities such as loitering and drug dealing. The events can be strategically planned to generate activity in areas that are often vacant, and to generate activity at inactive times of the day – for example, during mid-afternoon, after 5pm, and on Saturdays.

Exxon Park in New York's Rockefeller Centre is one of the best examples of successful "activity programming". In 1978, this vest-pocket park went largely unused by local office workers and had become a centre for drug dealing. Project for Public Spaces redesigned the park for the building's owners and developed a management plan, adding new seating, a cafe and vendors. We increased the visibility of the park from the street and instituted regularly scheduled events and entertainment. Today surveys show that use of the park has increased threefold, with more elderly and female users, and drug dealing has been eliminated.

Downtown organisations can also organise information campaigns to educate merchants about crime-prevention techniques, and laypeople about precautions they can take to avoid becoming victims.

While such programmes help discourage criminals, it often remains necessary to beef up police patrols. In cities that cannot afford to provide more officers, some downtown organisations have directly subsidised the police department, while others have opted to hire off-duty officers or private security guards. Many cities have found that increasing the number of officers on foot patrol works best; they contribute greatly to people's perception of safety. In a controlled experiment in Newark, NJ, for example, the Police Foundation found that residents of areas where the police switched from car patrol to foot patrol felt more secure than residents of other areas. They also developed a better opinion of the police, and officers walking beats had higher morale, greater job satisfaction, and a more favourable attitude towards citizens.

## Transportation

In many cities, transportation problems often seem insurmountable. There never seems to be enough parking, and streets are too narrow to handle the flow of traffic, yet maintaining an effective public-transit system is difficult and expensive. Most downtown organisations lack the staff, money, and expertise to improve transportation systems directly, but this doesn't mean they can't become involved in seeking and implementing solutions. Indeed, organisations are well placed to look broadly at all transportation problems and potentials, and they can bring together the traffic engineers, transit operators, and particularly, corporations and merchants whose success so hinges on improving people's access to the downtown area. The organisations can best help with such programmes as downtown shuttle buses, ride sharing, pedestrian and transit malls, parking management, and incentives for using public transit.

## The City as Marketplace

Drawing people downtown to shop is a central concern in most cities. In developing management strategies to improve the retail environment, cities can usefully look for clues from the competition – suburban malls. Managers of shopping centres have long understood how to create safe, clean, comfortable and lively places that attract people. However, downtowns should not merely be transformed into shopping-mall clones. Rather, they should offer an alternative that accentuates the excitement of the urban experience.

Examples of unique, exciting downtown retail areas include Pike Street Market in Seattle, the Cannery in San Francisco, Fanueil Hall in Boston, and Harborplace in Baltimore. Admittedly, all these areas have the advantage of being privately managed, but they have certain qualities in common. All offer a wide selection of events and things for browsers to look at and do, including food vendors and performers, as well as places for people to sit and watch. The managements of these areas have also made conscious design decisions to concentrate people and activities in certain areas, creating the feeling of being in a marketplace.

The excitement of a marketplace depends on what takes place in an area's streets, plazas, and sidewalks. Many "new" strategies to create this excitement are really based on restoring what used to happen in cities – bringing back pushcarts, suggesting that restaurants put tables and chairs outside, encouraging street performers, recreating the traditional farmers' markets, and scheduling special events and shows at times when people are looking for something to do outside.

Of course, many downtown organisations do sponsor special events – parades, street fairs, sidewalk sales, ethnic festivals. But these are often held just for their own value rather than to achieve specific objectives. Programming of activities can become a management tool to bring people to places that are otherwise underused, attract people who might not ordinarily come downtown at certain times, or simply

provide surprises for people on routine shopping trips. Ideally, a diverse selection of events should be choreographed throughout the year: an extravaganza or two using every available public space, regularly scheduled programmes in parks and plazas, and daily street entertainers and performers.

Street vending can also contribute enormously to the vitality and prosperity of downtown. Yet in many cities attempts have been made to restrict or ban "peddlers". Merchants often complain that vendors draw customers away, or even scare them away, from their stores. City officials express concern about the sale of illicit goods, sidewalk congestion, and liability issues. However, experience in several cities, such as Chicago, Boston, and New Orleans, shows that vendors can actually provide a range of benefits for merchants, shoppers and the city itself – if the vending is controlled.

One of the primary benefits of vending is that it draws people. The personality of the vendors, the uniqueness of their carts and wares, and the activity generated can all help create a distinctive character and lively ambience downtown. Experience shows that rather than drawing business away from nearby stores, vending has a positive impact on downtown businesses, partly because downtown shops often do not carry the items vendors sell. Vendors can also help maintain the area around their carts, give directions or information, and provide a security presence on the street. Moreover, vendors provide revenue to a city that can be earmarked for other downtown programmes.

Instead of trying to eliminate vending, then, downtown organisations can encourage city officials to develop appropriate regulations. Several of the most successful vending programmes limit sellers to specific blocks of the downtown area and assign them fixed locations, with merchants participating in the siting process. Allocating vending sites usually turns out to be less problematic than many people expect. The vendors themselves understand the difficulties posed by too many carts in one space, and often welcome the formalisation of what are usually ad hoc siting agreements. Regulations should also cover the goods that vendors can sell to minimise competition with adjacent merchants. The types of goods that cities have found to be the most acceptable to merchants, vendors, and shoppers include flowers, fresh fruits and vegetables, crafts, sundries, and foodstuffs.

Some cities include a few other types of regulations in their vending ordinances. They often regulate the size and design of carts to minimise potential for sidewalk congestion. Food vendors are generally required to have trash-disposal bags attached to their carts, and to make arrangements for disposing of this trash at the end of the day. Grand Junction, Colo., even requires that vendors clean up the area within 25 feet of their cart. Most cities also limit vending to daylight hours. However, we feel this "safe period" could be expanded to include off-peak times, such as nights when stores stay open.

Too many regulations may be just as bad as too few, however. Over-regulation discourages the wide variety of goods that can add

unique colour and character to a downtown. Indeed, downtown organisations would do well to actively seek people who will design imaginative pushcarts and sell diverse products. Such encouragement sometimes yields rewards that go beyond the moment: the opportunity to operate vending carts has helped to propel a growing number of entrepreneurs into retail businesses of their own.

### Co-ordinating Management and Design

Management of public space works best when the design of buildings and the spaces themselves takes into account their impact on people. Although it's obvious that major new buildings permanently alter a city's skyline, it may not be as obvious that they have similar impact at street level. However, it is at street level that buildings must come to terms with their surroundings. Unfortunately, most new developments do not realise the full potential of their public spaces (see "Small Space is Beautiful" by William H Whyte, July 1982, page 36). Plazas, for example, often become nothing but windswept expanses of concrete. New buildings with blank walls or parking garages at ground level, rather than shops that open onto the street, may reduce the business of nearby stores. Our research shows that people walk faster past such locations: sidewalks become thoroughfares rather than places to stroll, socialise, and window shop.

Downtown organisations can help prevent such urban disasters by reviewing the designs of proposed new developments and large-scale renovation projects. The review process should

consider how to integrate new developments into the functional fabric of the city. Design reviews seek to avoid problems *before* construction begins and help developers understand the potential of a site and how it relates to the rest of the downtown.

In cities that have official design-review boards, someone from the downtown organisation may be able to become a member. In cities without official boards, downtown organisations can form voluntary programmes. City governments, of course, maintain the legal responsibility for controlling development, primarily through zoning. However, many downtown organisations have commissioned planning studies to identify the kinds of development that are desirable or needed. Information from such studies is often incorporated into a city's zoning ordinances or master plans.

For example, Denver's downtown organisation, the Denver Partnership, studied plans for the city's new Sixteenth Street Mall, working with property owners, developers, merchants, and advocates of historic preservation. The result was an "incentive" zoning system that the city council approved unanimously. Under this system a developer could receive, say, six extra square feet of office space for every square foot of pedestrian-oriented retail space built.

This approach, in which downtown organisations work closely with developers from the earliest planning stages, has many advantages. Developers can save time, and therefore money, in gaining official approval for their plans. Downtown organisations have the opportunity to suggest, based on what they've learned from

experience as well as studies, specific design features that would help integrate the development into the community. The success of this cooperative process ultimately depends on the persuasiveness of the downtown organisation, the receptivity of the developer and the architect, and the amount of political pressure that can be brought to bear on the situation.

If voluntary design reviews are begun too late in the planning process or carried out with obstruction rather than cooperation in mind, the process will falter. The city will be the loser. But as downtowns enter a new period of growth, their private sector organisations should also realise that they are no longer in a beggar's position where they must accept *any* kind of development. They can help shape the form and future of the city's most vital resource – its vibrant, active downtown.

**By Stephen Davies**  
Project for Public Spaces INC

Stephen Davies is vice president of Project for Public Spaces, Inc., a New York based organisation that develops improvement plans for downtowns in the United States and Canada. This article is adapted from "Managing Downtown Public Spaces", a handbook prepared by Project for Public Spaces and published by the American Planning Association. In the UK, PPS collaborates with David Lock Associates.

Reprinted with permission from Technology Review copyright 1985.



**TENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE  
URBAN DESIGN GROUP held on 14 June, 1989  
at RICS, WESTMINSTER CENTRE, LONDON, SW1**

**Chairman's Report for the Year 1988/89**

This second term of office gives me the opportunity to present my third annual report to the Tenth AGM of the Urban Design Group. Except for the Urban Design Group's Initiative mentioned later, there have been no new departures. Nevertheless, it is with pleasure that I have to report that all the Group's existing activities over the past year have been on a more extensive scale than that of 1987/88.

The sub committee basis of the Executive Committee's work has begun to get underway, particularly with the Annual Conference and Regional Affairs Sub Committees led by Sebastian Loew and John Biggs respectively.

However, some members of the Executive Committee have continued almost singlehanded to expand their area of the activities, notably John Billingham with the Urban Design Quarterly and Gary Young with the Lecture Programme.

As anticipated at last year's AGM, the special and unique event of the year has been the Urban Design Group's Initiative in promoting suggestions for the National Urban Design Centre. These suggestions have received generous coverage throughout the professional press as has our retiring President, Terry Farrell.

Before Gary Young resigned he had organised a Spring Programme of lectures under the general title of 'Eastern European Urban Design' which gave us three most unusual views of the practice of urban design from a part of Europe usually associated solely with Housing. A summary of the lecture by Bruno Flierl from East Germany appears in the April 1989 Urban Design Quarterly.

Following Gary Young's resignation, the lecture programme has been prepared and directed by Elizabeth Young, her first Programme was concerned with Urban Regeneration. Starting with a reassessment of G.E.A.R. by Isobelle Young this lecture was followed by an exposition by Richard Cass of how Urban Funding plus Landscape can result in effective urban regeneration. The year's lecture series was closed by Judy Hillman talking on her book a 'New Look for London'.

This last lecture referred back to the Annual Conference, 'A Vision for London', held at the Building Centre in December 1988. Thoroughly organised and efficiently led by Sebastian Loew, the sub committee gave over 60 delegates an historic, present and future view of London, it was unique and in its timing very appropriate for it coincided with the publication of the London Planning Advisory Committee Strategic Advice to the Minister of the Environment. Special mention must be made of three of the speakers to the Conference. The 'living history' contributions by Arthur Ling and Ted Hollamby were totally absorbing and the 'real time' contribution at the conference dinner by David Lock was the most stimulating and enjoyable of events.

Regional Affairs have been more active than ever. Under John Biggs' careful help, Alan Stones has taken people to 'Towns of Southern Bohemia', Roger Jenness and Paul Stock have shown an interested group of delegates the 'Small Country Town', John himself and Roger Jenness allowed a sun drenched group to do 'Urban Design Beside the Seaside'. We need more regional support for the activities and this is earnestly endorsed by the Executive Committee.

The rise and rise of urban design education continues in all parts of the UK. The publication in the quarterly of a list of courses and contacts has proved very valuable. My office receives calls from the professional institutions and from individuals in various parts of the country and abroad about courses in Urban Design. The projected conference on Urban Design Education has yet to take place but it is now being urgently pursued.

The raised profile, the increased publicity and the sheer amount of work the group and its members undertake in the year has attracted more new members. Some 125 new members have joined since last year. They come both from the UK and overseas.

Urban Design advice and guidance has been sought from various quarters of the world, as to how to set up an Urban Design Group. These requests have mainly come from the Pacific area, and one was followed by a visit

from Jan Martin from Melbourne, Australia.

The editorship by John Billingham of the Quarterly has been a self evident continuing success. The quality of the product, content and form has had the welcomed support of DEGW technology (Lawrence Revill included) and this has been influential in the quality of the appearance of the final document. The use of guest editors at the right and proper time has been continued and Sebastian Loew's work with Quarterly issue no.30 is very much appreciated.

In an endeavour to spread the valuable and unique qualities of the Urban Design Quarterly, Kelvin Campbell has prepared and has had mailed worldwide, via the RIBA Education Department, a subscription form to the libraries of all the Schools of Architecture.

Naturally, there has been a cost involved in the improvements that are taking place in the Quarterly and in the extension of the other aspects of the Group's work. Some of these costs have been offset by the financial support we have received from: Woodhouse (London) Ltd (the Regional Conference), London Docklands Development Corporation, Ideal Homes (Southern), Wiggins Group, Bovis Construction, D.W. Windsor Ltd. (the Annual Conference) and Clifton Nurseries (the Annual Lecture 1988).

Reductions in our housekeeping expenses are always in the Executive Committee's minds. However, the use of the Building Centre for the Seasonal Lecture programme and of the Civil Engineers Institute's Lecture Hall for the AGM and Annual Lecture in 1988 must be paid for.

Regrettably, careful economies and sponsors support will not be enough. This is in spite of the efforts of Adair Roche and others in finding those sponsors who are willing to help us.

There must be a push to increase the awareness of the public at large of the existence of the Urban Design Group and for them to become members.

To this end the April 1989 edition of the RIBA Journal included an article on the origins of the Urban Design Group and further publicity followed an interesting article by Kathy Stansfield in Building Refurbishment of March 1989.

1988/89 cannot be set aside without mention of the past President of the RTPI. During Francis Tibbalds term of office at 26 Portland Place, the Group knew it had an Institutional ally who was rigorous, forthright and demanding of the role of urban design in the improvement of the total environment and the quality of urban life. Without doubt the Urban Design Group which he never failed to mention where he could, has benefitted from his most stimulating year as the leader of the Planning Profession in the UK.

The Urban Design Group's year for 1989/90 has already begun. The Annual Lecture is in place, so is the planning of the next Annual Conference in December 1989 on Urban Design and Traffic, with the intention to make the proceedings of the Conference a submission to the International Union of Architects Conference in May 1990 in Montreal, the Autumn Programme is in train and Glasgow is to be the location of the next Regional Conference. Moreover, all next years Quartlies are planned.

None of these activities could have taken place without the unselfish and largely unrecognised work of the Members of the Executive Committee. Nor could the year have happened without the contribution of the guest speakers. In addition, the Urban Design Group is grateful to the Building Centre, Portsmouth Polytechnic and the Polytechnic of Central London for the facilities and support they have provided.

I must also, on behalf of the Group, publicly recognise the support received from Terry Farrell and the staff of Terry Farrell's office as well as the staff of my own office throughout the year.

With a new President and a shift of the centre of gravity of the Group towards the east, the coming year will prove, I am sure, to be just as stimulating and demanding as the one passed.

**Arnold Linden**

## ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND OFFICERS FOR 1989/90

The Annual General Meeting will remember that the Chairmanship of the Executive Committee was agreed to run for a second term of two years and thus there is a further year for the present Chairman to serve.

The Executive Committee of the Urban Design Group regrettably received the following resignations from the Committee during the course of the year 1988/89:

Ben Fereday  
Helen Harker  
Gary Young

Stephen Gleave withdrew for a part of the year whilst Ian Bentley had asked to share his committee work and attendance with other colleagues at Oxford Polytechnic.

Very fortunately during the year the Executive Committee gained the following new members:

Kelvin Campbell: who has been assisting Ruth Schamroth, the Membership Secretary.

Tim Catchpole: who has been assisting with the Programme and with the organisation of the Annual Conference 1989.

Since Ben Fereday's resignation, Ann Dunton, who had been the Committee Secretary, has held the role of Honorary Treasurer. Following Gary Young's and Helen Harker's resignation, Elizabeth Young has been organising the Seasonal Programme of Lectures. The Committee has been very pleased that these tasks have been taken on so willingly.

The Annual General Meeting for 1988/89 sees the end of a period of office of the current President of the Urban Design Group, Terry Farrell, OBE. It is with regret that his period of office must now close. The high profile that was expected of Terry's period of office has been duly delivered. National and international notice being taken of the Urban Design Group, especially because of the Urban Design Group Initiative that Terry Farrell, Sue Farrell and his practice organised and which has so successfully been brought to an interim conclusion with the six highly published interventions proposed for the Marylebone Road frontage of the Polytechnic of Central London.

All has not yet been heard of this initiative. Terry has agreed following his retirement from office to continue the development of the concept of a National Urban Design Centre. The Group is very grateful to him for the work he has done on its behalf during the whole of his four presidential years. The Annual General Meeting is asked to confirm our most sincere thanks.

One president goes and long live the President! For the next period of office as President, John Worthington, a director of DEGW, has generously agreed to serve. The Annual General Meeting is asked to confirm John as President for the two years 1989/90 and 1990/91.

As required by the Constitution, the whole of the Executive Committee stands down at the end of the year.

The following committee members no longer wish to stand:

Despina Katsikakis  
Leonard Harris  
Ian Bentley

The remainder of the committee:

John Biggs  
Sebastian Loew  
Arnold Linden  
Lawrence Revill  
Adair Roche  
Ruth Schamroth  
Elizabeth Young

Stephen Gleave  
John Billingham  
Kelvin Campbell  
Philip Cave  
Tim Catchpole  
Ann Dunton  
Francis Tibbalds

offer themselves for re-election.

We have received one further nomination, Andrew Farrall, for the Executive Committee. If there are no further nominations it will be agreed that the above Committee Members and Andrew Farrall are elected. The matter of officers now arises. Although the committee usually agrees the roles amongst themselves, the following officers are proposed and they are required to be confirmed by the Annual General Meeting:

Arnold Linden  
Lawrence Revill  
Ann Dunton  
Andrew Farrall  
John Billingham

Chair  
Vice Chair  
Honorary Treasurer  
Secretary  
Honorary Editor

In the Constitution the Group Secretary and Membership Secretary are identified as a single task. Fortunately, Ruth Schamroth is willing to carry on with Kelvin Campbell's assistance the task of Membership Secretary and the committee ask the AGM to agree to this arrangement to continue for the coming year.

**Arnold Linden**

## MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY'S REPORT

This year has seen the Urban Design Group's membership grow to 630. Of these there are 31 complimentary members and 125 new members. We believe that membership will continue to grow rapidly in the next year. Our new renewal/subscription forms will help to identify different types of membership (i.e. corporate, personal, student, etc.). A software package is also being prepared which will be able to identify and target special interest groups within the Urban Design Group.

Unfortunately, we had to remove 53 names from our lists in February 1989 for failure to pay their subscriptions over a 2 1/2 year period of constant reminders. There were also 5 retirements from membership.

**Ruth Schamroth**

**TREASURER'S REPORT**  
**28 FEBRUARY 1987 TO 28 MARCH 1988**

This year's Financial Report takes account of a full thirteen months from 28 February 1987 to 28 March 1988. For the purposes of financial comparisons with last year's accounts, it should be remembered the latter accounted for a ten month period only. Direct comparison of accounts elements cannot accurately be made, therefore, with those recorded for 1986-1987. Areas of growth and change in the Group's activities will, nevertheless, emerge clearly.

By simple comparison with last year's accounts, the significant differences from this year's figures follow:

**Greater receipts** - This has followed naturally from the subscription increase of £4 approved at last year's AGM, and from the Group's continued growth of membership both in the UK and overseas.

**Greater payments** - These reflect not only the Group's greater output of published material, but also its endeavours in organising Urban Design related conferences, lectures, series and talks.

The main receipts into the account were due to members subscriptions which amounted to £4,369, an increase of some £2,174 in actual revenue on last year. It should be noted that had all subscriptions received been the sums currently set out, this figure would have been greater. Indeed, costs were incurred in the despatch of subscription reminder letters.

Sales of the Quarterly brought in some £53, up £10 more than last year, and interest on deposits brought in a further £264, about £91, largely owing to accounting periods, up on last year. Present deposits are, however, some £560 down on those held this time last year. The need to draw on deposits has come about for several reasons. Firstly, to sponsor the group's contribution to the UIA Brighton Conference, secondly to reduce the impact of losses sustained after the Newcastle Conference. Deposits were also required to offset the deficit of May 1987 and to cover the take-up period prior to the increased subscription revenue arriving through June/July 1987.

The main payments out of the account were as usual concerned with the printing and distribution of the Quarterly and sundry membership information and general administration. This amounted to some £4,420. This is a significant increase on last year's figure of £938, even allowing for the shorter accounting period of the latter. Much of this difference must be attributed to the increasing activity of the Group. This is reflected in the greater costs of Quarterlies, increased word-processing requirements, higher postal rates, and the extra administration of a greater events programme than previously.

During the year a number of special events were organised. These were intended to be self-financing with the exception of the UIA Programme. The latter was ear-marked as a deficit item, and included transcription and exhibition costs, resulted in payments of £568.50. This cost was borne partly from the Group's deposits, which are maintained for such events.

Regrettably, the costs incurred over the Newcastle Conference amount to some £313. However, again this can be set against the profits from the recent Manchester Weekend which realised some £780.

Excluding the Eastern Region visit the total receipts in 1987-88 for the above period amounted to £7,274, and total payment to £7,316, resulting in a deficit of £41.79. As a rider to this, note should be taken of the expenses for this AGM, not accounted here which amount to some £279.44.

**ANNUAL ACCOUNTS**  
**28 MARCH 1988 to 28 FEBRUARY 1989**

Opening Balance at 28 March 1988		£3,816.18	
RECEIPTS	£	PAYMENTS	£
Subscriptions	5,293.90	Printing	2,719.14
Quarterly Sales	5.15	Gen.Typing & Admin.	1,453.85
Salford Regional	872.06	Word Processing	236.31
Forum	1,055.50		
Charities Deposit	230.00	Postage	578.99
Interest		Address Labels	241.40
		Stationery	95.19
		Bank Charges	39.08
		Events Costs gen.,	1005.50
		Regional Forum Costs	1,000.41
		Speakers' Expenses	161.64
		Materials	3.84
TOTAL RECEIPTS	7,456.61	TOTAL PAYMENTS	7,535.35
		DEFICIT FOR YEAR	78.74
			7,456.61
		CLOSING BALANCE	£3,737.44
		AT 28.2.89	

On 17 October, £1,000 was deposited in the Charities Deposit Fund and earned the above interest. The deposit is included in the closing balance.

**ANNUAL ACCOUNTS**  
**1 MARCH to 31 MAY 1989**

Opening Balance at 1 March 1989		£3,737.44	
INCOME	£	EXPENDITURE	£
Subscriptions	260.00	Printing	259.00
Quarterly Sales	16.50	Gen.Typing & Admin.	1,594.40
Portsmouth/	1,666.50	Postage	537.40
So'ton Weekend Forum			
Charities Deposit	53.24	Stationery	142.51
Fund Interest			
Eastern Region	5,893.35	Bank Charges	14.69
Annual Conference	1,879.35	Events Costs	170.91
		Portsmouth/So'ton	1,154.23
		Weekend Forum	
		Speakers' Expenses	35.00
		Eastern Region	5,753.35
TOTAL RECEIPTS	£9,768.94	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	£9,661.60
		CREDIT	107.34
			£9,768.94

CLOSING BALANCE £3,844.78  
 AT 31 MAY 1989

On the 8 February 1989, £1,000.00 was drawn from the Charities Deposit Fund. The deposit from the Charities Deposit Fund is included in the opening balance.

URBAN  
DESIGN  
GROUP

# Traffic Chaos

## Coronary or Bypass?

The 1989 Annual Conference  
of the  
Urban Design Group

4th and 5th December, 1989  
at the  
Institute of Contemporary Arts  
The Mall, London SW1

In the past decade traffic congestion has increased beyond saturation point.

- car ownership has increased 10%
- the average speed of emergency vehicles has halved
- public transport subsidies down 60%
- serious overcrowding on trains
- decreased staff surveillance equals more crime

Within the past year the London Assessment Studies have put forward four options for major new road building leading to widespread protest. Can order emerge from this chaos?

This year's Annual Conference will give all the professions a chance to survey the chaos and to propose a new order. The two day programme will provide an historical perspective of congestion and a review of new initiatives - they are ripping up the motorways in the USA, calming traffic in Germany, road pricing in SE Asia while "telecommuting" makes working from home a real alternative.

On the first day we will visit the South Bank area of London to assess the transport implications of major new development, the Waterloo Channel Tunnel Terminal in particular. The designers will explain how their schemes will handle the interaction between trains, busses, taxis and pedestrians and their expected impact on the surrounding infrastructure.

The Conference will include a Dinner at the Architectural Association, following the success of last years event.

This Conference is appropriate for continual professional development.

for further information

contact

Tim Catchpole  
01 627 9649

Arnold Linden  
01 723 7772

Lawrence Revill  
01 239 7777