CHANGING CITIES

City of London Shape and Role
Port of Spain Urban Design Issues
Tokyo Suburban Area Workshop
Plus Practice Profiles of Anthony Meats
Camp 5 & Shepheard Epstein & Hunter
and talks by Ando De Carlo & Rogers

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URBAN DESIGN QUARTERLY

BOARD OF PATRONS

The UDG agreed at its Annual General Meeting this year to move from having a single president to establishing a BOARD OF PATRONS, people whose enthusiasm for design excellence and improvement of our built environment matched that of the Group.

Patrons will help raise the profile of Urban Design and provide a guiding hand to the Group. The Board members reflect the broad multiprofessional constituency of the Urban Design Group and are:-

Alan Baxter
Honor Chapman
Sir Philip Dowson
Terry Farrell
Peter Hall
Simon Jenkins
Jane Priestman
John Worthington

ALAN BAXTER

The founding partner of Alan Baxter and Associates, Engineers. Current projects include the Royal Opera House and the re-development of 800 flats for Waltham Forest. He acts as consultant on transport and urban issues to LBs of Westminster and Islington. He is lead consultant for Leon Krier's master plan for Poundbury. He is Engineer to St.Pauls, Tower of London, Hampton Court and the Palace of Westminster.

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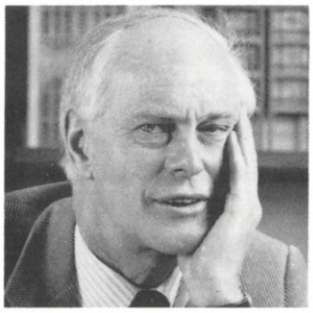
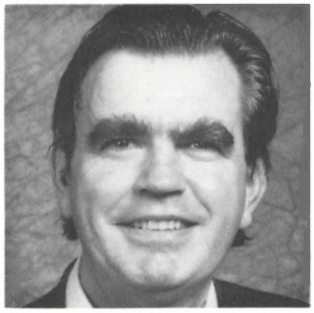


SIR PHILIP DOWSON CBE

A founder architectural partner of Arup Associates and consultant to Ove Arup Partnership. He is a member of the Royal Fine Arts Commission and Trustee of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. His work has included universities; museums; buildings for music, the arts and the sciences. Notable urban developments include Broadgate and Stockley Park. In 1981 he received the Gold Medal for Architecture.

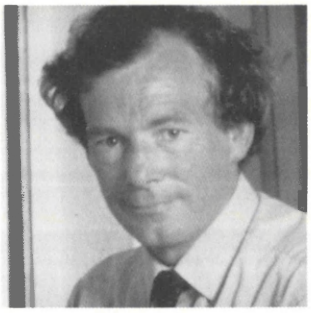


TERRY FARRELL OBE

Chairman of the architects practice Terry Farrell & Company, has particular expertise in urban design and planning. He has won many awards, lectured world-wide and published numerous articles on his work. Recent projects include Charing Cross, Alban Gate and Vauxhall Cross.He is a commissioner for English Heritage, a member of the Royal Parks Review group and a Past President of the UDG.

PETER HALL

Professor of School of Planning at the Bartlett and previously at Berkeley. He has acted as consultant on a number of projects including M11 Corridor Study and Peterborough and Mid-Wales New Towns. Currently he is Editor of 'Regional Studies', with numerous publications to his credit including Cities of Tomorrow and London 2001. He was special adviser to the Secretary of State for Environment in 1991-2.



SIMON JENKINS

A columnist for the Times. He has had a varied journalist career, with the Times as Editor 1990-92, the Economist, Sunday Times, Evening Standard and Country Life. In the past he has been a member of the British Rail and LRT Boards, South Bank Board and is currently a member of a number of environment related committees.

JANE PRIESTMAN OBE

An independent Design Consultant with current projects in Japan, Hong Kong and UK. She was Director of Architecture and Design for the BR Board 1986-91 when she was responsible for Waterloo International Terminal, Stanstead Rail Interchange and Liverpool Street Station Development. Before that she was Design/General Manager for BAA. With her wide experience in design she lectures throughout Europe, USA and Japan.

JOHN WORTHINGTON

Chairman of DEGW Scotland and Director and Professor of the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies at the University of York and Past President of the UDG. He has advised the Welsh and Scottish Development Agencies and was involved in early research for Stockley Park and Trafalgar House Business Parks. Recently has advised on urban planning and re-vitalisation projects in Berlin, Paris and Madrid.

EDITORIAL

The topic that connects together three contributions to this issue is that of 'Changing Cities' as shown in the City of London, Port of Spain and the Tama suburbs of Tokyo and reinforced by Spiro Kostof's book 'The City Assembled' which is reviewed.
Spiro Kostof urges that where process and conservation are in conflict that 'process must have the final word', that 'cities are live changing things not hard artifacts in need of prettification and calculated revision', no doubt a view emphasised by his experiences in the United States.
The paper on the City of London examines the complex network of streets and open spaces to see how these have changed and whether they give a clue to define underlying principles - seen as part of the process - which could be maintained in new development patterns.
The Port of Spain case study analyses how the city has changed as areas of infill have been added to the bay, an example of technology making and then breaking the traditional waterfront. An appropriate connection between the city and the water has been lost but new opportunities exist to redress the balance and resolve the need for road capacity with cross pedestrian access and waterfront facilities.
The northern Tama suburbs of Tokyo have grown exceptionally fast since 1960 without the benefit of any plan and what has resulted is areas of high density development along the rail tracks and outside this a chequerboard pattern of housing and small plots of agricultural land. Left unchecked that open land will gradually give way to more housing unless a system is devised to retain the open land for agriculture or open space and its development value acquired or transferred to points of desired growth for example alongside rail stations.
In each of these cases these are issues which require positive action to provide a better quality of life - in many cases beyond the expectations of existing legislation - and demand an urban design approach to ensure that the right decisions are taken for the benefit of future generations.

John Billingham

PROGRAMME

Lectures & Events

15th/16th October Annual Conference Bristol Subject: Design Briefing Speakers include Terry Farrell, John Punter and Les Sparks. Cost including overnight accommodation is £99. Day rates and concessions also available. For further details contact UDG office or Emma Collier 0272 656261 x3074

20th October 'Micheldever Station Market Town Why, When & how?' Bill Bromwich, Eagle Star

18th November RIBA/RTPI/UDG Forum 'London can work' to be held at the RIBA. Further details available from Noel Hill 071 435 2462 or Giles Dolphin 070 872 4515

8th December Open Forum & Christmas Party

All events will be held at the London Exchange 10 Cowcross St. London EC1 unless otherwise noted. Events start at 6.30pm and admission is normally £2 for members and concessions and £3 for non-members.

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URBAN DESIGN GROUP Chairman: Jon Rowland Tel: 071-388-2421. **ENQUIRIES and CHANGE OF ADDRESS:** 140A The Broadway, Didcot Oxon OX11 8RJ. Tel 0235 815907 Fax. 0235 819606
EDITOR John Billingham. **LAYOUT** John Billingham. **EDITORIAL GROUP** John Billingham, Kelvin Campbell, Roger Evans, Francesca Morrison, Bob Jarvis, Tim Catchpole, Tony Lloyd-Jones, Alan Simpson.
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REPORTS ON LECTURES AT THE UDG AND RIBA
TWO UDG LECTURES REVIEWED BY TONY LLOYD-JONES
Culture Shock in the Czech Republic

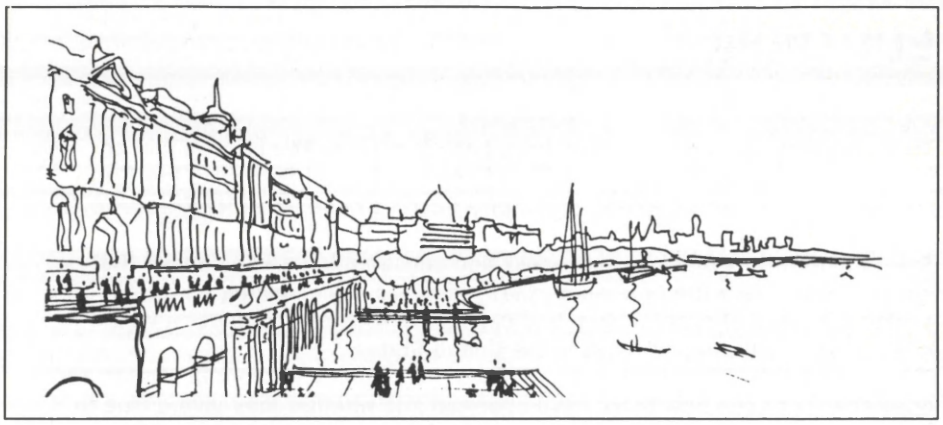
Karel Maier from the Technical University in Prague described the tribulations of a beleaguered urban planning profession in the Czech Republic at a June UDG meeting. Thwarted under the centralized authoritarianism of soviet-style communism, the urge to carry out '60s style physical planning continues to be frustrated in the post-communist, market-obsessed '90s in which there is little place for planning of any kind.

Prior to the 1989 revolution, urban planning was simply an appendage to centralized economic planning. The state decided where productive activities were to be located and determined their physical characteristics. Few demands were placed on urban planners. According to Maier they simply followed orders and 'led an easy life'. There were no private landowners rights, and no local involvement in investment decisions and hence no requirement for development control as such.

The state exercised the most rigid form of zoning. Around half of the population of Prague, 450,000 people, were housed in vast monofunctional housing estates on the outskirts of the city, built largely during the 1970s. These 'neighbourhood units', lacking anything more than the most basic shopping facilities, depended on an effective public transport system including a metro to connect them to centralized services and workplaces. Such housing was the product of decision-making dominated by state bureaucrats and monopolistic contractors. Housing policy had the single aim of maximizing output. Since there was no feedback mechanism from what was happening on the ground to the decision makers, the contractors largely served their own interests.

After the revolution, the state planning structure was dismantled and a new local government structure was set up in 1990 which has been reinforced in subsequent years. As state regulation was progressively abolished, the newly empowered local authorities prioritized local urban plans as a tool for dealing with the burgeoning private sector and the growing power of private landowners. Unfortunately for the urban planners, any kind of planning carries with it a bad odour in the contemporary Czech Republic.

Against this background, urban planners and designers in the Czech Republic have to face up to the acute urban problems created by the recent political and economic reforms. The demands of private property investment, particularly the dominant short-term profit-orientated foreign investment, threaten the wonderful architectural heritage, not only of Prague but of of all Czech towns.The historic fabric is ill-suited to many of the needs of the new large-scale investors and commercial development threatens to destroy the mixed-use character of the urban core.



The catalogue of problems, as described by Maier, had a familiar ring. The population of old Prague is relatively poor and elderly. As housing rents are still regulated private landlords tend to neglect their properties. There is discussion of gradual deregulation when the economic upturn comes with inevitable damaging social consequences. Commercial rents have been deregulated with dramatic rises forcing out small shops and local businesses. Since 1989, the tourists have flooded in. Big Brother may have gone but even Franz Kafka has become big business. There is a huge demand for hotel space, casinos and luxury goods shops. There are increasing problems of traffic congestion with the growth of private car ownership and the Czech planners appear to be still at the stage of accommodating this by providing more parking spaces wherever possible.

Architecturally-trained, Czech urban planners retain a dominant interest in physical planning and urban design concerns. Competitions are used to determine the urban design requirements of prominent city sites. The physical masterplan for Prague has evolved over decades. Recently it has become less prescriptive allocating ever larger tracts of land to 'development zones' but the power struggle between the municipal authority and the outlying districts means that even on a strategic level, the planners have little influence. In general, despite theoretically strong legal powers to control development, the real power of the planners to resist commercial pressures and retain as much residential land use in the historic core as possible is strictly circumscribed by their political unpopularity.

It is of little surprise that Czech urban planners are undergoing a more profound kind of culture shock than many of their compatriots. It is as though the whole history of post-war town planning in the UK has been compressed into a period of just 4 years.

CITIES OF TOMORROW

Sir Richard Rogers illustrated his lecture to the Urban Design Group in July with a series of images that darted across continents taking in, among other places, London and New York, Paris and Florence, Barcelona and Berlin, Tokyo and Shanghai. It demonstrated both the global scope of his personal vision of the new urbanism and the huge geographical range of the urban design work undertaken by his practice. Many projects previously reviewed as architectural setpieces were here presented within the urban context within which they were conceived.

The major theme of the talk was the crisis in the public domain and the need to reassert the significance of public places in the centres of our cities. This was set in the broader context of a concern with a built environment that is ecologically responsive and sustainable. The juxtaposition of the highly engineered design solutions for which the Richard Rogers Partnership is best known with an strong and growing interest in 'green' issues gave the lecture its particular slant.

Rogers opened with simultaneous images of Greenwich and New York's Central Park - the soft edges of Greenwich Park bound by the characteristically European formal axes and vistas contrasting with New York's 'fantastic' piece of public domain drawing its power from its sheer scale and the way that it is contained, like a huge green box, within the hard edge of the city.

London, we were reminded,had few if any notable public spaces added this century and the experience of existing public places, such as Trafalgar Square,have been eroded by traffic . Rogers' proposed solution is the pedestrianization of the web of public routes linking Trafalgar Square, Piccadilly Circus and Leicester Square to the Thames.

Although generally lacking buildings of any great architectural merit, Trafalgar Square free of traffic could be realized, in Rogers' proposal, as an urban concourse of imposing proportions. It was within this context, we were shown, that Rogers' unsuccessful competition entry for the extension to the National Gallery was conceived, its modernist tower forming a triangular relationship with the spire of St Martin in the Fields and Nelson's Column.

Where Northumberland Avenue meets the river, Rogers proposes to replace the 'monstrosity' of the Hungerford railway bridge with a modern bridge that provides a proper pedestrian link to the South Bank and a new landmark within the great public space formed by the sweeping curve of the River Thames. The final element in this project is a series of islands augmenting the relationship of the South Bank to the river.

On the north side of the river, the Thames, the focus of life for the capital for most of its history, has been cut off by roads and the solution here would be to lose the Embankment traffic beneath a terraced park that brings the contemporary heart of the city to the water's edge. A study of Florence drew on the same theme, proposing to recover the historical relationship of the city to the river and repair the damage done by a road widening scheme.

The Pompidou Centre, familiar to us as a classic high-tech architectural statement uncompromisingly inserted into the historic fabric of Paris, was presented within the context of a broader urban design intention. The popular success of the square in front of the Pompidou Centre is evident but the current car-free zone was originally intended as part of a much larger system of pedestrianized streets and places. The dramatic suspended architectural form of a projected exhibition centre in Tokyo was explained in the same way by the designers' intention to create a small public space at pavement level slipping beneath the building.

An image of Buckminster Fuller's city-wide dome and a Korean project for standardized prefabricated stacked housing units for mass production was a reminder of Rogers' continuing commitment to the technological 'fix'.

A major theme of the latter part of the lecture was sustainability within this engineering context. Buildings, Rogers reminded us, consumed 50% of global energy use, and transport another 25%. The Rogers Partnership are working on various projects where the form of the building and the adaptable fabric of the building envelope are designed to minimize energy use. In Rogers view, buildings of the future will be 'chameleons' with double or triple skins of special environmentally-responsive glass.

Two final projects took up the theme of the green city. Rogers' competition entry for the Potsdamerplatz area in Berlin was based on pedestrianization of the existing street and an extension of the existing Tiergarten park. In Shanghai, a project for a new city of 500,000 focuses on 6 centres spaced at mile intervals around a huge circular central park and linked by a transit system. In some ways Shanghai is already a model of a green city with 7 million bicycles. Unfortunately, according to Sir Richard, local officials are keen to get rid of them to make way for a 'modern' fully motorized city and the Chinese appear unlikely to be able to make the leap into Rogers' visionary city of the 21st century without repeating many of our mistakes on the way.

TWO LECTURES AT THE RIBA REVIEWED BY FRANCESCA MORRISON

Giancarlo de Carlo

On one of those formal but somehow lack-lustre occasions which the RIBA seems to be able to produce so effortlessly, the well-known Italian architect, Giancarlo De Carlo received the Institute's Gold Medal on 15 June. The evening commenced with the awarding of this year's honorary fellowships by outgoing President Richard MacCormac. By the time this ceremony had taken place and both Colin St John Wilson and Richard MacCormac had completed their speeches on De Carlo and his work, the audience was becoming noticeably restless and impatient to hear from the Gold Medallist himself.

When it was finally his turn to speak, the audience was not disappointed. De Carlo instantly injected life and vigour into the evening with his animated advocacy of a new way of thinking for architects and urbanists. To solve social problems, to generate new thoughts, to create deeper understanding and open up greater possibilities for architecture and urban design De Carlo believes that the accepted stable, hierarchical, specialised way of looking at the world has to be questioned and changed. Architects' ideas of technology are still vested in the 19th century, he said. Because engineers and architects exclude unstable values from their equations, the means become the end and inflexible buildings which are incapable of adapting to change, result. De Carlo's radical antidote to this stricture, is that we change our way of thinking about structures and gravity. To discard the belief that forces descend vertically and penetrate the ground until they are all absorbed, would create a new freedom of thinking which would help us to find the solutions for the complex problems which exist in the world today.

Hi-tech

De Carlo is scornful of Hi-tech as a means of solving problems and giving expression to human aspirations. It is merely 'applied decoration'. On the contrary, contemporary technology, which is characterised by a 'lightness', has more associations with the world of craft than Hi-tech. We must "remember that architecture is the most ancient and significant means of communication, but"he said "it' s ability to express human passions has been lost by the rise of experts and specialisations".

From the present state of confusion however De Carlo sees promising signs emerging. He believes we are rapidly reaching the point from which there will be a return to a generally forgotten set of responsibilities. To respect human needs and the diversity of places, to make our motivations clear and understand the consequences of our projects, and to keep alive abilities and the idea of pleasure are the essential requirements for an architecture which can transform society.

While De Carlo dislikes Post-Modernism, ("its lack of depth, dignity and eloquence and its lazy revivals"), he believes it should not be entirely dismissed. It created an "explosion of eclectisism and a surplus of creative energy", (particularly in those who were against it), which has now taken us past the post-modern generation and also, he hopes, past the return to the closed compositional systems of Classicism. But it is now time for a new architectural language and understanding.

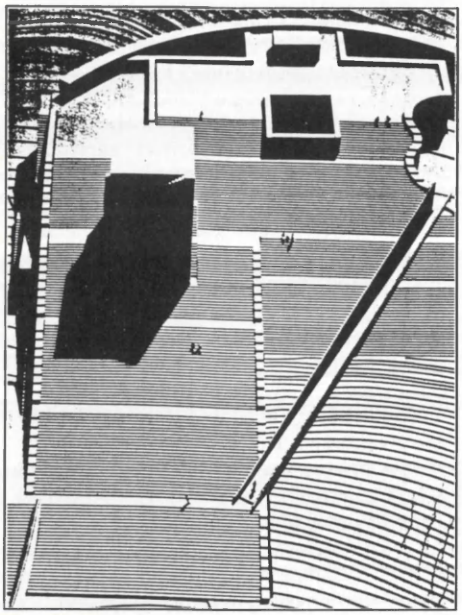
This language will have to be capable of expressing a "multiplicity of meaning and more varied responses to different situations and conditions". It will give rise to an architectural technology which will be able to accept all possible behaviours of materials. The soft ingredients;light, air, water, silence, the plant universe, will finally be recognised as the basic framework components of a widespread physical structure. The capacity of 'space' to become 'place' in terms of human experience will be the measure of architectural quality in the world that De Carlo envisages.

He certainly doesn't agree with the notion that architecture is dead, as many have proclaimed over recent years. They are wrong, he said, for unless mankind disappears completely, architecture cannot die. Change is the mode of mankind's existence. The changes this century have been profound and rapid; agriculture has virtually disappeared, industry has abandoned factories, the tertiary sector is not what it was thought to be and political systems have declined or become defunct.

During this century, also, the physical environment has deteriorated and everything now needs to be rethought, redesigned, rebuilt or restored. Infrastructures must be replanned and rebuilt to sustain patterns of development which are more humane than the present ones.This is a process, De Carlo believes, which will involve"the rediscovery of the patient collective patterns of the past".

The richness and humanity of De Carlo's ideas and his ability to transform 'space' into 'place' were demonstrated in the buildings he showed. From the light-filled narrow street in Terni where his steelworkers housing is adorned with flower-filled hanging concrete balconies to the work he has carried out in the Renaissance hilltop city of Urbino, which has been rescued and revitalised by his series of co-ordinated interventions over the years, his commitment to a culturally responsible environment was evident.

Giancarlo De Carlo spoke with passion, integrity and optimism. It was a rare pleasure to hear the beliefs and ideas of a man who has, throughout his long career as an architect, promoted and practised an architecture based on the reality of culture rather than an abstract 'ism'. The audience, inspired and stimulated, left with his final words ringing in their ears. "I believe the counterfeits will end and architecture will become once more the most direct and authentic record of human events".



TADAO ANDO

With no requirement for the prolonged formalities of the Gold Medal evening, Tadao Ando's lecture at the RIBA on 29 June was by contrast a much more lively affair. The house was full, sold out weeks in advance, and audience anticipation was high. The presentation of an honorary fellowship to the Japanese architect, which was thankfully short, was followed by a warm introduction by Sir Richard Rogers who described Ando's work as a fusion between East and West. "It is a synthesis of simple natural materials creating a totality of harmonious forms", Sir Richard said, and Ando himself "is the personification of the architect as poet".

Sir Richard described Ando's somewhat unusual design process. Untrained in the formal sense he conceives his projects, the whole and the parts, in a matter of minutes, but these moments of inspiration are preceded by a lengthy period of absorption of the problem in which no studies or models are made. After they have been produced, however, if the client doesn't like the design, Ando is likely to give it up. He believes interaction with the client will dilute the concept. For Ando, architecture is beauty, not a machine, Sir Richard said and the Chapel of the Light in Osaka, a simple concrete box 6.2m x 18m, penetrated by one free-standing wall and the brilliant slot of light which enters from above the altar is a "pure piece of magic, a small beautiful masterpiece".

Tadao Ando first came to London in 1965, and walking around the city again that day, 28 years later, reaffirmed to him the importance of architecture and the impact it has on society. But, he said, conditions are changing so dramatically we have to start afresh and rethink the relationship between architecture and society to create a new way of life. We need to look at how we can incorporate tradition, history, time, place and locality, and create a theme to work out how best to express humanity through architecture.

This lecture was to be about dreams and the pursuit of potentiality and possibilities. From the time 20 years ago when he suggested to the Osaka City Council that the roofs of the buildings in an area in the centre of the city which was completely devoid of green space, should be covered with trees, he has continued to allow his dreams to guide his thinking and his architecture. The Council considered Ando's idea "crazy", so, as an alternative, he proposed the creation of museums and galleries at the tops of the buildings, all linked by a series of stairways and bridges in the air-space between them. When this idea was rejected Ando decided to turn to smaller sites to realise his dreams.

PROCESS

To illustrate the process of achieving these dreams Ando showed a selection of works which ranged from the extraordinary buildings on tiny sites, where opaque, slab-solid exterior concrete walls enclose interior spaces which are surprisingly volatile and transparent, to the larger-scale works which are dynamically and geometrically composed to create a specific contrast and a special relationship between the natural landscape and the architecture.

The smallest project completed recently is built on a mere 24 sq m site, yet it includes a picture gallery and a studio as well as living and sleeping areas. Ando's concept derived from the idea of a Japanese Tea House where the "physical space is small, but the spiritual space enormous". In this building a tiny physical area is turned into a seemingly endless volume of subtle visual transitions and physical transformations by means of a vertiginous open staircase which reaches up through the tall central space to form a series of galleries and circulation areas.

LAYERING

An early project was a house for a family on a 30 sq m corner site. When the family outgrew the house Ando bought it and over the years it has become a testing ground to "practise his thinking". First he turned it into studios, adding them on layer by layer. Then, to use the space under the ground, he demolished the whole building and created a new one which is now the office of his architectural practice. Here Ando sits at the bottom of the book-lined five storey open volume from where he can be in visual and aural contact with the activities of his staff.

However romantic his talk of dreams may sound, Ando's approach to his work is that of a intellectual. "Architects must have complete freedom to think ", he says, and the austere purity and perfect harmonies of his work reveal the depth and stringency of his thinking. In the middle of Kyoto, Times I and II, a small group of shops are poised on the edge of a shallow stream on a tiny sliver of a site. Three floors high, topped by a vaulted roof and made of concrete blocks, granite and steel the building relates to the river in numerous ways creating complex visual extensions of spaces which merge into an intricate circulation pattern.

A similar process to the adding of layers in the 24 sq m site has taken place in the Rokko housing projects, at the foot of Rokko Mountains in Kobe. These, at Ando's insistence, climb up a 60 degree hill rather than sit on the lower flat land as the client suggested. The first phase was relatively modest in size and took five years to design and build. In 1983 Ando persuaded the client to go ahead with a second phase on a site four times larger and further up the hill. This stage took five years to plan and five years to construct. Now he has planned a further group of houses on a site three times as large as the second and even further up the hill. He couldn't predict when they would be completed.

There is a powerful and purposeful ordering in the Rokko projects. By creating a gridded geometry of exposed concrete units and carefully arranging them around a central pedestrian route the buildings are in sharp contrast to the natural landscape. But Ando's intention is to heighten the appreciation of being in the landscape through the ways in which it is hidden or revealed as one ascends and descends the central route.

LANDSCAPE

Other schemes also showed the way he uses the natural landscape as an element of his designs - not only as a visual composition, (although this is achieved perfectly - the geometry of his buildings seems to flow naturally from the organic landscape), but as a physical experience for the users of the building. As people are channelled through the natural surroundings by an ordered series of elements, events and relationships, it must be difficult for them to determine where the building starts and the landscape ends.

On Awaji Island, for example, there is a new temple built near the existing Buddhist temple of the Old Shiagu Sect on a site which gives sweeping views of Osaka Bay. Set in the ground under a 40m oval-shaped pond covered with lotus flowers, it is entered by lines of glowingly-robed priests who wind up the hill behind the existing temple along a path of white gravel, continue along the edge of an austere solitary concrete wall, curve around the lotus pond then start descending into the building, disappearing from the observer's view, seemingly into the pond.

There were too many other schemes to describe here in detail: a museum of ancient burial grounds built as a raised platform from which the tombs can be viewed; a theatre in the water; the Koshino House, two concrete boxes half- buried in a green slope. They all showed Ando's mastery in creating symbiotic relationships between nature and architecture and his ability to give interiors spatial qualities that are almost spiritual in their intensity and always the perfect spatial culmination to the journey he creates to them. Tadao Ando's "pursuit of potentialities" has certainly been successful. ■

REVIEWS OF BOOKS ON ARCHITECTURE TODAY, STALINIST ARCHITECTURE, THE CITY ASSEMBLED AND HARRY SEIDLER

ARCHITECTURE TODAY
Charles Jencks. Academy Editions 1993 Hardback £49.50 Paperback £35.00

Charles Jencks is nothing if not a prolific writer. The recent arrival in the bookshops of his latest volume, Architecture Today, brings his total to somewhere around 20 books and countless articles in journals.

Architecture Today is a compilation of earlier publications. Chapters 1-10 were previously published under the title Current Architecture in 1982 (revised 1988), while the Introduction and Chapters 11-17 come from text previously published in Architectural Design Magazine & the International Union of Architects Journal of Theory & Criticism.

An audience looking for an illustrated encyclopedia of western architecture of the last twenty years will find this volume is ideal. Architecture Today is another in the long line of glossy coffee table volumes from Academy Editions, and is packed with wonderful colour photographs and illustrations. There can be no doubt that the paperback at £35 it is excellent value.

As the publishers claim in their blurb, this is an 'up to date international survey', which provides 'an incisive commentary on the crucial trends of the past two decades and defines the latest developments which will lead architecture into the next century'. The book charts a fascinating period of western architecture which has produced work of great richness and diversity. Firmly rooted in the 'western tradition', it sadly excludes what Jencks refers to as the 'alternative tradition' - community architecture, self build, computer aided design. These strands were contributed to the 1982 edition of Current Architecture by William Chaitkin who has since died, and Jencks apologises for their exclusion now.

Readers whose last encounter with Charles Jenck's polemic was 'Modern Movements in Architecture' (1974) and who want bringing up to date will welcome this new compilation. Through his earlier common acceptance that Modernism died somewhere around 1960, with the symbolic demolition of Pruitt Igoe, Jenck's is a self-proclaimed protagonist for Post- Modernism and it is important to understand that the motive of both books is to explain, justify and reinforce this position. Those who found problems with the polemic of Modern Movements in Architecture will have the same problems with Architecture Today.

After an introduction where architects are exhorted in the face of an apocalyptic future to address the pressing ecological issues of the day, Jencks organises his review of architectural movements since Modernism into three major traditions - Late Modernism (1960-), Post-Modernism (1960-) and New-Modernism (1976-). Existing as transitory subsets of these major strands are a plethora of -isms. As Jenck's admits 'these issues can be maddeningly arcane, and seemingly petty when placed against global warming and other universal problems...' However he insists that 'they are what makes architecture a living art: its motivating discourse, its particular desire at the moment'. Over the years Jencks has constructed a series of evolutionary trees, mapping lines of development of architectural thought. These evolutionary trees appear at the start of each section and provide hours of fascination. Jencks is highly successful in engaging our attention with his obsessive crusade to label and categorise architecture. Is Fumihiko Maki Neo-Modern or just straight Late Modern? Should Daniel Libeskind be defined as Post-Modern or New-Modern?

In a quest to describe and understand the past, historians have a tendency to sort and order historical events and thoughts into neatly defined movements. Despite the inherent danger of historical reductionism, this approach can result in penetrating synthesis. In good historical writing it is the synthesis which is important; the categorisation is only a means to an end, the evidence to support the argument.

So what, I hear you ask, is Jencks' polemic? To Jencks Post-Modernism 'is a paradigm based on the sciences of complexity, sciences which place primary emphasis on the way order emerges out of chaos'. It is axiomatic that Post-Modern architecture is based on the premise that architectural language is understook purely through semiotics (codes and signs) and Jencks claims that all Post-Modern architecture contains 'double coding': it speaks on two levels, to an elite audience and to a local audience. He suggests that this 'pluralist' approach is an attempt to cut across taste cultures and hence makes Post-Modernism egalitarian. This we are led to believe is one of the primary motives of the movement and legitimates its superiority over other movements. Jencks cites the Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery by Venturi Rauch & Scott Brown as exemplary of such an approach.

Jencks predicts a promising future for Post-Modernism, suggesting that 'we are at the beginning of a Post-Modern paradigm '. He predicts that (assuming that society does not destroy itself and the planet), we can look forward to the continuing 'battle of the styles' between Late-Modernism, Post-Modernism, New-Modernism, Classicism and Revivalism, as they continue to transform themselves but 'remain fairly distinct entities'. He believes that the existence of alternative traditions is highly appropriate- 'The plurality of architecture today reflects the widespread culttural diversity which characterises all fields,.....'- and that competition between them is healthy and strengthening.

You may or may not agree with this view. Unfortunately Jencks' text is pitched at a populist level, and does not allow us properly to understand, let alone to challenge his position. Whereas 'Modern Movements in Architecture' was a serious and considered piece of writing, promising a new generation of critical history to follow Hitchcock and Summerson, much of Jencks' subsequent work has allowed rhetoric and pleading to displace reasoned polemic. Nonetheless this text is highly readable, at once perceptive , witty and bitchy, and above all the book provides a glittering visual record of notable architecture from the last twenty years. As such 'Architecture Today' is a valuable addition to any library.

In the final reckoning if Charles Jencks did not exist to tease, provoke and infuriate his readership, like Marx's God, someone would have to invent him!

Helena Webster, Peter Howard

STALINIST ARCHITECTURE
Alexei Tarkhanov and Sergei Kavtaradze Designed and compiled by Mikhail Anikst Published by Laurence King

I remember some time ago standing next to two architects at an exhibition of 1930's Italian architecture at the Architectural Association, and over-hearing a conversation that went something like this:

"What is fascist architecture?"

"I don't know, I suppose its all to do with architects being in control and that inate feeling of aggrandisement that all architects yearn for".

Maybe that was a reflection on the exhibition or on the AA at that time. But it was something that Albert Speer felt in his role as Generalbauinspektor responsible for turning Hitler's dreams into reality. The interwar years, that era of dictators, was a period of great flux. The first war had been fought and the old social and economic structures were shattered. It was initially a time of looking to the future. The Bauhaus in Germany and the Constructivists in Russia showed the way forward. The frenzy of the new also awakened the longing for a set of values reflecting a past social stability, and a desire for conservatism and continuity. It was this mixture of emergence and regression that found its manifestation in both the architecture of National Socialism, and that of Soviet socialism.

The industrialisation of the peasant economy resulted not just in rapid urbanisation but also a very definite view of how that urbanisation should take place. In Britain in the 19th Century, this meant ribbon development and back to back housing - perhaps a more democratic form to the Mietskaserne of Berlin - or the equivalent in Moscow - the apartment block around a

courtyard. In Russia the population and their leaders demanded palaces . The need to show aspiration and achievement had to be met with the need for solidity and gravitas. Classicism, fulfilled the political requirements of the men in the Kremlin. As Trotsky said,

"If Futurism was attracted towards the chaotic dynamics of the revolution... then neo-classicism expressed the need of peace, of stable forms".

The new democracy reflected the first democracy of Greece. The form had to be simple understandable, and harmonious. A loop of timelessness was created, and Russian architects made

"an honest attempt to use the classical canon to improve further the already theoretically perfect cities waiting on the drawing boards".

For Stalin it was important for this classical architecture to be seen, hence much of the initial wave of construction was on the main routes of cities. It also had to reflect the revolution.

"Architecture had to be expressive, representational, oratorical. Every building, however modest its function, had henceforth to be a monument".

This book celebrates that monumentality in a splendid way. Clearly set out, it shows how the initial excitement of the Revolution gradually gave way to the triumphalism of Stalin' s later years. The most interesting chapters deal with the search for a style . The battle between Constructivism and Classicism, modernism and traditionalism, and the gradual incorporation by Classicists of certain, "degenerate" constructivist elements that finally gave birth to the 'wedding-cake' style with which we are familiar, is explored in the book' s many illustrations. Drawings of submissions for the competition for the Palace of the Soviets almost show that the seeds of post modernism were sown at the same time as those of modernism itself. But it is the scale of celebration of Soviet aesthetics that is so overwhelming. Grandiose structures, topped by statues of Lenin, or red stars; socialist sky-scrapers celebrating heavy industry; vast urban spaces to accommodate parades, were all features of Stalinist architecture. Where the church had used the cross as the plan for its buildings of worship, so soviet atheism showed its determination to stamp its mark. The plan of the Red Army Theatre itself was a five-pointed star.

Quite when fear became one of the criteria of architectural success is unclear. Included in the book is a photograph of the Moscow Hotel. (which members of the UDG's team to Pereslavl-Zalesky were able to see). The story goes that when the architect, Alexei Shchusev, presented his design for approval,

"he separated two different proposals with a stroke of his pen. Stalin duly signed the page, either not noticing or being unwilling to make the choice. But a drawing thus santioned now acquired the force of a decree, and in due course one of the principal squares of Moscow acquired a hotel whose main facade was made up of two more or less unrelated halves".

So much for Stalin's role in shaping contemporary architecture. As for city plans, it is also interesting to parallel Hitler's obsession during the war years with rebuilding Berlin, with the urban design visions of some of the Russian architects carried out during the same period. For instance the plans for Stalingrad had all the central ensembles that Hitler might have chosen. However in the designs for Novorossiisk, Boris Iofan tried to create a city on a human scale, bringing to bear the growing allied and Americanising influence, which was starting to democratise Soviet architecture. Stalin's Committee of Architectural Affairs denounced the plans convinced they were not grand enough.

But it is the architecture that fascinates the authors. They indulge themselves in picking over Stalin's wedding-cake buildings. Details are savoured like sugared fairies; interiors, like pieces of marzipan; decoration like glacé cherries, until one can only come away with the feeling of over indulgence - and wonder. Mechanisation Square is something between Disneyworld and Gaudi. The All-Union Agricultural Exhibition is designed to represent a field of wheat, The Northern Caucasus Pavilion looks like a Hollywood set from D W Griffith's Intolerance!

The book is well illustrated with biographies of key architects, a good index, and set of references. If I do have one gripe it is as an urban designer. Although the book talks of streets and theatrical settings for the architecture it doesn't show them. In an exercise in egalitarianism it would have been helpful for this book to have had a chapter on the peoples architecture - the blocks of flats that still provide Moscow with its strong urban character.

However I have to say that my most troubled vision is that of the Byelorussian Pavilion with its colonnaded entrance onto a small semicircular courtyard. Invert the photograph, and with some minor changes you could be looking at the post-modern Piazza d'Italia of Charles Moore. Such resonances as these are there to enlighten - so does the book.

Jon Rowland

HARRY SEIDLER - FOUR DECADES OF ARCHITECTURE.
Kenneth Frampton and Philip Drew. Thames and Hudson. 1992. £38.00

Harry Seidler has been in the public eye in Sydney ever since he started building there, soon after his arrival in Australia in 1948. To the present day he has remained a controversial figure committed to creating an architecture for Sydney (and other Australian cities) which he passionately believed was the way to transform the city from a parochial, colonial backwater to a modern, vibrant urban environment in which a culture informed by the exchange of ideas of international significance rather than local prejudice would flourish. On the evidence of this visually rich and intellectually rewarding book it would be difficult not to attribute a great deal of Sydney's recent rise to cultural certainty and urban dynamism to his efforts.

My first awareness of Harry Seidler began as a child growing up in Sydney. As witness to his almost immediate fame, my mother, who previously, to my memory, had shown no interest in architecture whatsoever, became an instant fan, constantly reading aloud from the newspapers descriptions of his latest battles with local councils who were determined that he should not break with the suburban Sydney red-brick and tile tradition by building dwellings in stark modern European style with subversive flat roofs. Two of his early works, the Williamson House in Mosman, 1951 and another in Ryde were among the important landmarks of our family weekend excursions in our very first Holden car.

Later, as an architecture student with Penelope Seidler, his wife, I came to know them both very well and over the years have spent a lot of time in various Seidler buildings.But it wasn't until I opened this book and saw, put together in a single volume, the enormous amount of outstanding buildings that he has produced over the last four decades, and was reminded of the constant and continuing development and ever-increasing refinement and sophistication of that work, that I really understood what a profound influence he has had on Sydney and Australian architecture over the years.

This beautifully produced book presents not only a mouth-watering visual coverage of Seidler's work (432 pages and nearly 1500 illustrations, the majority of which are superb photographs by the late brilliant architectural photographer, Max Dupain), but two penetrating illustrated treatises on it (by Philip Drew and Kenneth Frampton), a piece by Seidler himself, and, a fascinating biographical chronology.With text by Drew, italicised asides by Seidler, and many small black and white photographs and drawings, this latter device puts his work into a world-wide context, showing it, year by year, paralleled by major international events and architecture.

Harry Seidler was born in Vienna in 1923. In 1938 his parents sent him to England (their factory had been taken over by the Nazis) and in 1940 he was interned for sixteen months until October 1941 when he was transported by ship to Canada. Here he studied architecture at the University of Manitoba and went on to the Harvard Graduate School of Design where through the teachings of Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer he was introduced to the ideas which were to remain the essence of his work and to inspire and drive him throughout his career.

Philip Drew's essay, 'The Migration of an Idea', traces the early influences on Seidler's work and its development from his first house, the Rose Seidler House in 1948, to his first high-rise buildings, Lend Lease House (1961) and the slender cylindrical Australia Square (1961 - 1967), (which created the first privately-owned, and still one of the most successful, pieces of public open space in Sydney), through to the low-slung Trade Group Offices (1970 - 1974) in Canberra opposite the then proposed new Parliament House.

While setting out Seidler's influences as international, which nobody, least of all Seidler, would deny (as well as Gropius and Breuer, there was his study under Josef Albers, the influence of Minimalist Art, and contact with Oscar Niemeyer), Drew argues that he "shows little regional awareness" and claims he has no relationship to Australian culture. This is an argument I would dispute. Although his intellectual base is clearly international, it is, nevertheless, difficult to see his Australian buildings, particularly the towers, Australia Square, MLC and Grosvenor Place in Sydney, Riverside Plaza in Brisbane and QVI in Perth, for example, in a European or even North American context. Designed for the Australian climate, to be viewed against Australian skies, to take advantage of sweeping water views and create the type of public places which although non-existent in the traditional Australian (i.e. European) city fabric do, however, suit the Australian city dweller's temperament and aspirations for urban life, Seidler's developments have come to symbolise and express many aspects of Australian culture. To contrive regionalism is not in his text. He is a culture-maker, not a culture-taker.

Kenneth Frampton's essay elaborates on Seidler's "preoccupation with cities in miniature that characterises almost all of his city-centre developments". Seidler, Frampton says "is constantly engaged in three interrelated operations .... an effort to render the tall office building as an integrated landmark ... to treat the landscape at grade to create a civic arena ... and to create enclaves within the chaos of the modern city ...". These are the aspects of Seidler's work which will be of most interest to urban designers and this book, with its abundance of illustrations and information, allows study and understanding of the phenomenal impact Seidler has had on the development, image and cultural identity of Sydney. It certainly proves the potency of architecture in the making of a city - a self-evident notion perhaps, but one many planners and urban designers often tend to forget or ignore.

Francesca Morrison

THE CITY ASSEMBLED
The elements of urban form through history. Spiro Kostof. Thames and Hudson 1992 £28

This is the comparison volume for 'The City Shaped' reviewed in UDQ 42 much of which was written before Spiro Kostof's death but the last chapter was completed by Greg Castillo, his research assistant, and it continues the high standards of presentation and descriptive writing established in the first book.

'The City Shaped' outlined five approaches to urban form and this book focuses on the constituent elements of city building common to all settlement patterns. It categorises these as city edge, urban divisions, public places and the street and the last chapter examines the urban process. Each chapter has a large number of accompanying illustrations and in addition includes a grouped section of large size colour photographs on that specific topic. It has the unusual quality of combining the feel of a coffee table book particularly due to the colour sections with their annotated texts and a reference book with the highly detailed accounts of the written text.

In the City Edge he traces the change from fortified settlements to the industrial era and to today's edge cities although experience in North America is severely different to Europe. The dangers of living 'without restriction in fast landscapes that are convenient, efficient and bland 'is a warning of what has happened in the USA and where 'the true centre of this new city is not in some downtown business district but in each residential unit'.

The Urban Divisions chapter describes the role of a ruling elite, religious establishments, the market and a system of separating uses and he concludes that the 'conventions of delimiting urban problems through what amounts to regulatory quarantine have denied us the experience of interdependence as a larger community'.

Public Places examines their nature, distribution, size and typologies and what is happening today. He believes that 'we have largely abandoned that sense of a shared destiny (shown in public places) and our public places show it'. Again that is a reflection of life in USA or influenced by that culture as contrasted for example by the success in regenerating the centre of Barcelona or the new extensions to Montpellier.

He analyses the street as a public place and considers the design and types of streets and how the modernist approach sought to reduce or eliminate the relationship to the street. Surprisingly neither of his books refers to the Essex Design Guide or similar guides which came to many similar conclusions at an earlier date to Duany's Traditional Neighbourhood Developments.

The book's final chapter on the Urban Process describes the rise and fall of cities, includes an interesting section on post disaster and post war planning, looks at change in

cities and ends with a discussion about the relative merits of process against conservation. His belief is in 'an urban form that has its own will' and the fact that cities are 'live changing things - not hard artifacts in need of prettification and calculated revision' and that there is a need to 'respect their rhythms and to recognise that the life of city form must lie somewhere between total control and total freedom of action'. He does however believe that 'between conservation and process, process must have the final word'.

The book is a delightful product to read, dip into or refer to although I would question the relevance of some of the colour illustrations; however they do provide that elusive coffee table quality. Some of the chapters could have been illustrated more extensively to illuminate the text and the drawings (mainly plans) specially produced for the book lack the appeal of other illustrations. The text in some of the earlier sections I found too anecdotal and as an urban designer would have preferred reference to fewer examples with more associated illustrations.

I felt that the last section on process would have benefitted from a better review of planning and legislative processes which are referred to in passing in sections in both books; perhaps that would have been the subject of a further book had Kostof lived longer.

People who bought the first volume 'The City Shaped' will want to buy this companion volume although I feel it is less compulsive reading for the urban designer. Nevertheless it is a joy to hold and look at and Thames and Hudson are to be congratulated for setting such appropriately high standards for books covering an urban design topic. ■

John Billingham

Julienne Hanson and Bill Hillier

CITY OF LONDON SHAPE AND ROLE

Julienne Hanson and Bill Hillier presented this paper to the Symposium 'A Vision for the City', held by Vision for London in association with The Architecture Foundation at the Royal Exchange in July 1992.
They began their paper by commenting on the impressive model which formed the basis of the 'Vision for the City' exhibition at the Royal Exchange, where nothing could be more clearly demonstrated than the fact that most of the architecture is relatively new. The City's physiognomy is changing rapidly, and the building boom of the 1980's is but the most recent of a series of wholesale transformations in the city's urban fabric which began with the Great Rebuilding after the Fire of 1666. In the face of all this highly visible change, one might be forgiven for wondering if there is anything of historic worth left in the 'square mile' other than a few, undoubtedly important but isolated monuments.
It is at this point that *afficionados* of the City point to what seems to be at the same time its most enduring yet most elusive feature - its complex network of streets and open spaces. Here, the very street names - Cheapside, Aldermanbury, Coleman Street, Cornhill - enshrine people and events in a concrete way which apparently testifies to the enduring qualities of the urban grid from mediaeval and even Saxon times.This paper examines whether this is really true.

Illustrations on opposite page
1 Figure ground of public space in 1677
2 Figure ground of public space today
3 One and two dimensional analysis of Cornhill to Lombard street in 1677
4 Same area as figure 3 today
5 Axial map of the city in 1677
6 Axial map of the city today

Figure 1 is the representation of the City of London as it was mapped in 1677 by Ogilby and Morgan. Figure 2 shows the City of London as it is today, based on the Ordnance Survey with all the public space of the City highlighted in black and the buildings in white. The drawings look quite different, so much so that they immediately challenge us to understand them. Understanding, in turn, requires us to find some rigorous way of describing the differences between the space patterns, and then to account for these differences in terms of historical and social processes. A scientist would say that to answer the question 'how is the shape and role of the City changing?' we need two kinds of knowledge - knowledge of patterns (shape, morphology) and knowlege of events (role, history).

SHAPE AND PATTERN

The problem of talking about shape and pattern in the urban grid of the City is that it seems to defy any easy description. The City has no obvious overall planning concept: no organising geometry. Indeed, a large part of the City's charm seems to be that it falls into that very large class of settlement forms which geographers refer to as organic, amorphous, disordered, or unplanned.

Now from where we are - that is looking down on the drawings in our hands - it must be admitted that the City looks disorderly. But that is not how it seems on the ground. On the contrary, to anyone moving around in the City it seems quite easily intelligible. This apparent contradiction between plan and experience is resolved if we consider how the apparent disorderliness of the City is put together.

Let us begin where it seems to be most difficult, by magnifying one of the allegedly labyrinthine areas of back alleys and courts in the area of the model between Cornhill and Lombard Street, as it was in 1677 and as it is today. Figure 3 shows the open space in 1677 in this locality broken up in two ways : two-dimensionally, into the largest and fewest convex lumps of space which, however small or thin, turn out all to be connected to building entrances, and one-dimensionally, into the longest and fewest lines of sight and access which pass through all the spaces in the locality. Figure 4 shows the comparable picture taken on the basis of the modern OS.

CHANGES SINCE 1677

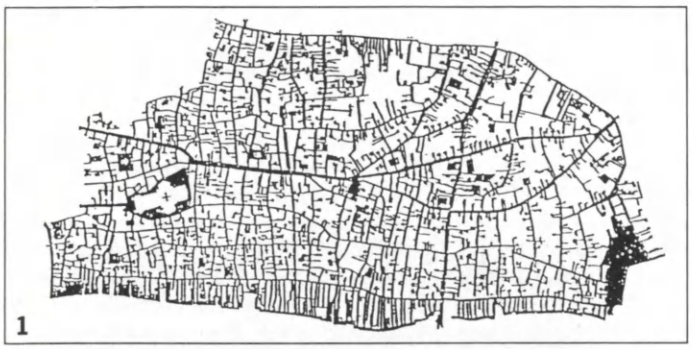
A number of points of comparison and contrast can immediately be made. First, we can now count how things have changed since 1677 :

- the number of convex spaces has reduced by over half, from 107 to 52, meaning that locally some spaces have been built over and others enlarged, and street frontages have been smoothed out over time;
- the number of axial lines has also reduced, from 41 to 19. The number of one-connected lines, representing closed courts, has gone down from 8 to 1. The number of lines with more than one intersection, that is, thoroughfares, has also reduced but by a smaller amount, from 33 to 18.
- at the same time, the number of urban blocks contained by the local route network has reduced from 19 to 14, and those which remain have become not only larger but also more regular, and
- finally, the average line length has increased with the cumulative effect of centuries of road improvements.

The changes in this area are typical of a transformation which has occurred in the City as a whole over the last 350 years. The City is axially simpler than it was historically - there are far fewer streets today than there used to be-1193 to be precise. The number of urban blocks has also fallen but not nearly so drastically, from 469 to 359. Dead-end spaces, from being the majority of spaces in the mediaeval City have now been virtually eliminated. There were 937 in 1677 and we are left with 86 today. The streets which remain have become on average wider, straighter and better-connected.

Counting things in this way is admittedly relatively trivial, but this is not all that can be said. By superimposing one representation on the other we can see a strong tendency for lines to pass through a series of spaces, making the line structure inherent in the urban grid much simpler than the articulation of the convex shapes appear at first sight. On the contrary, lines of sight and access everywhere seem to pass through a series of spaces, creating everywhere what has been infelicitously called the 'kebab effect'. If you visualise pinning a grid of threads through the public space of the City you can begin to discover the 'kebab effect' wherever you look. Analysis reveals a principle underlying the disorderly shape, which holds not only throughout the City but across time.

A closer look shows another principle, which links the local articulation of the spaces by buildings and their entrances to the overall shape and performance of the street grid. When after entering the local area shown in Figures 3 and 4 you make a turn, thus losing sight of where you have come from, then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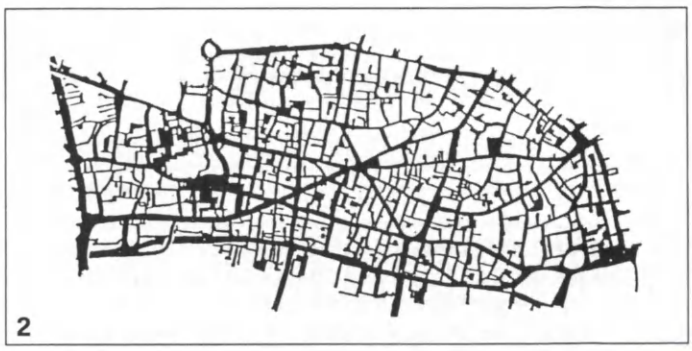
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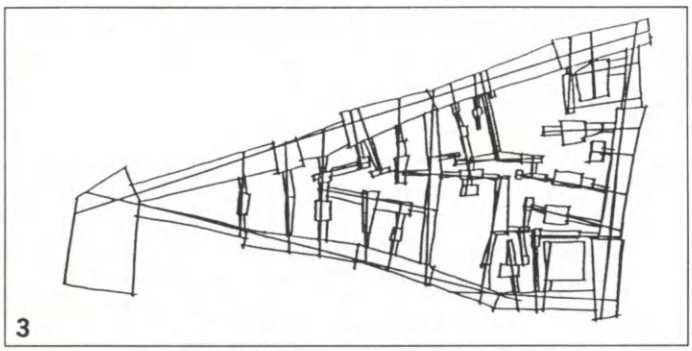
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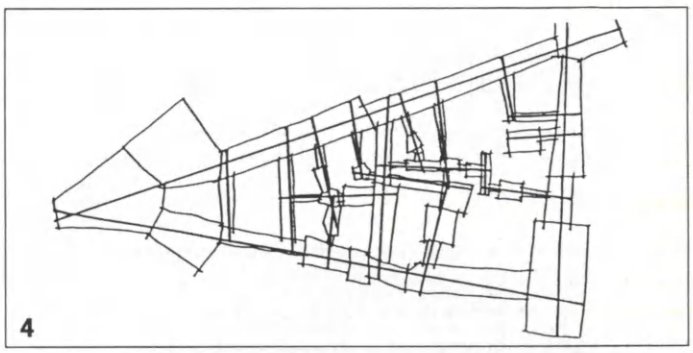
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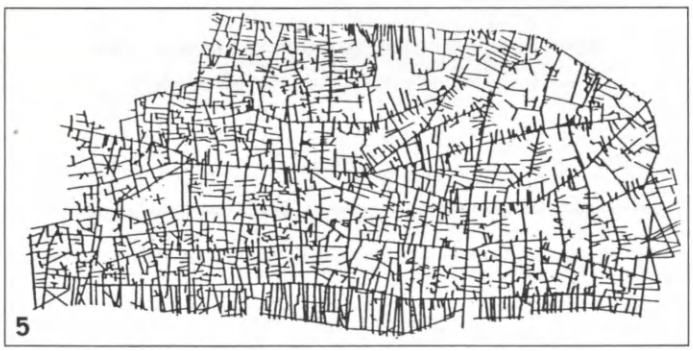
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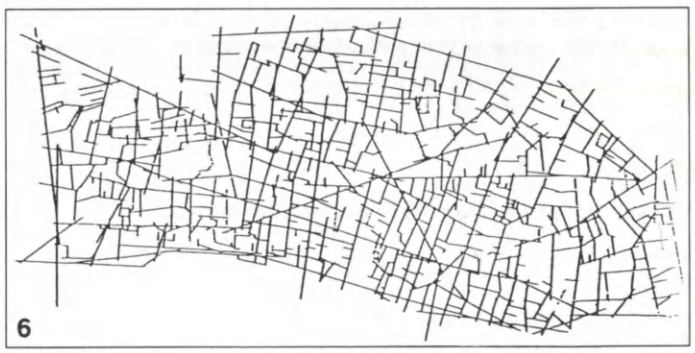
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either the second line already shows you another way out, or it takes you to an intersection with a line which does show you another way out. This makes it difficult to go very far into the labyrinth.

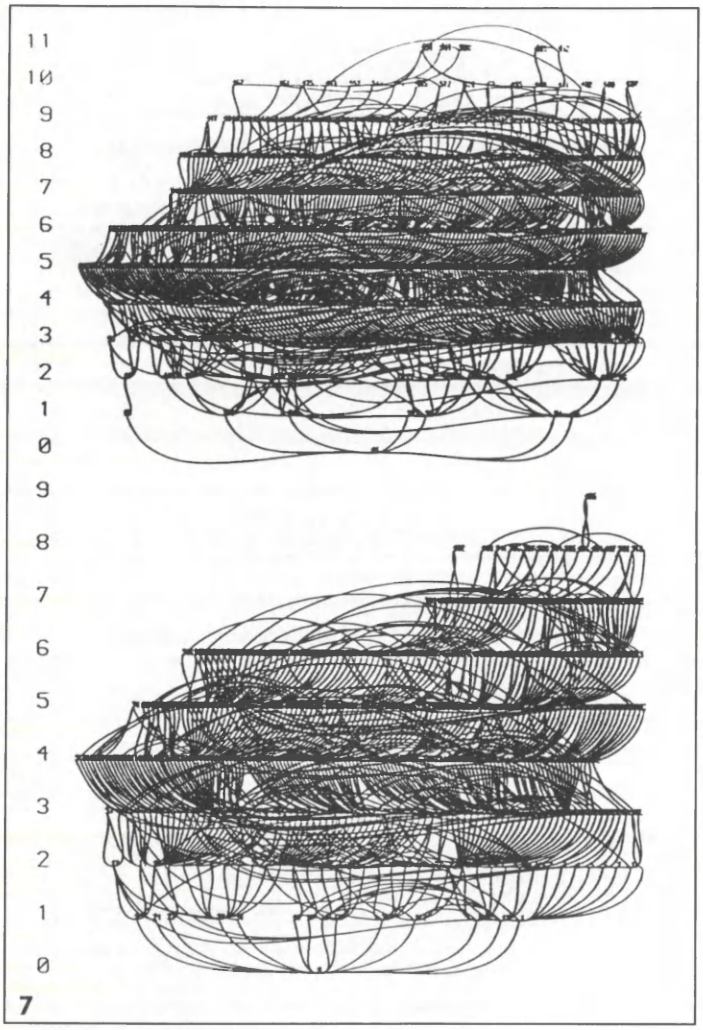
This 'two step logic', means that routes from significant origins to significant destinations, say larger pieces of space inside the blocks and main streets, although invisible from each other, have a point between them where both origin and destination can be seen. This is another property of the local urban grid which is too consistent to have happened by chance and which holds across time.

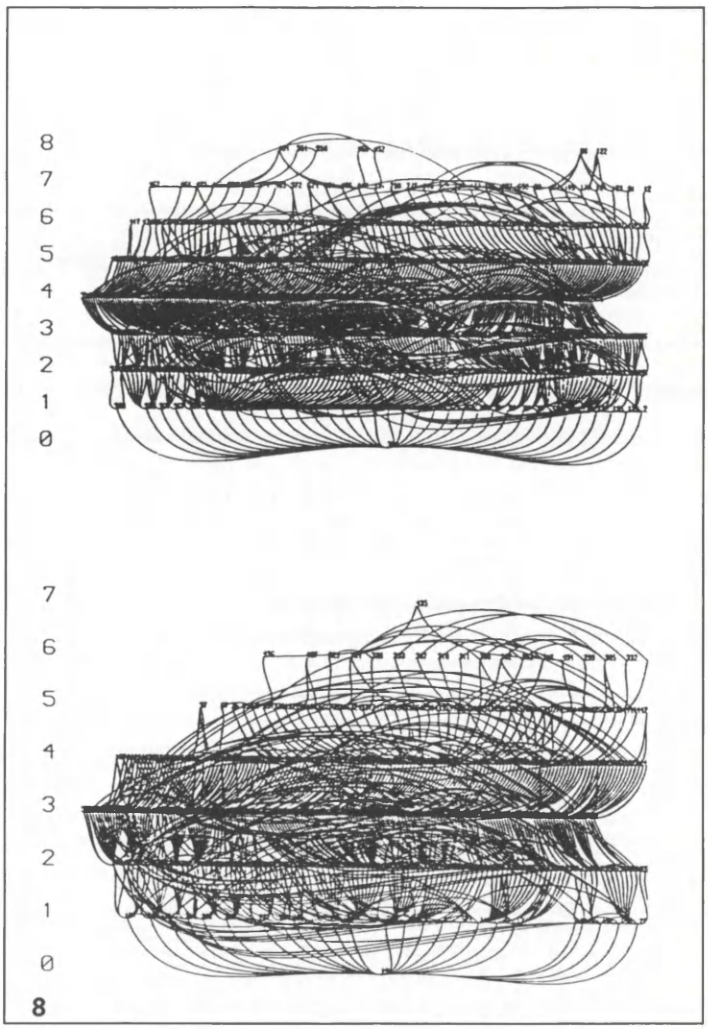
If we now take just the linear, representation of the whole City, as it was in 1677 and as it is today, shown in Figures 1 and 2 and in Figures 5 and 6, we can find a similar effect at the larger scale of the overall urban grid. Just as before, axial alignments overcome local deformations in the grid so that more global journeys also have, if not a 'two step logic', at least a 'few step logic'. If you enter the City at one of its gates in the 1677 version, or along any of the main traffic routes in today's map, and simply take the longest line available at each intersection, then the second line you pass along leads to an intersection from which you can see the centre of the City at Bank Corner.

This is an important continuity in the physical fabric which means that incoming strangers to the City can easily find their way to its heart. But is the 'two step logic' of the locality merely repeated at the level of the whole City? The answer to this question reveals a profound change which history has wrought. In 1677 whole sub-areas of the City above Queenhythe, by the wall at Blackfriars and around the Guildhall, were very inaccessible indeed - with shortest routes making a tortuous five to ten turnings away from the gates. Today, almost no part of the City is more than three steps deep from where the walls once stood. In the past, the shape of the grid gave selective accessibility to strangers coming in from the outside : today accessibility is generalised.

In the past, then, the depth properties of local parts of the City, and of the whole, were different. Today, they share a 'two step logic'. There remains, however, a basic difference between the smaller and larger scales which is geometric. We can see that in general the longer the line, the more likely it is to strike the face of a building block at an open angle, whilst the shorter the line, the more likely it is

7 & 8 Depth distribution of the streets of the city drawn from St Pauls and Cheapside -top diagram 1677-bottom today
9 & 10 Distribution of the property of integration in the axial map of the City-top diagram 1677 - bottom today





to strike at a right angle. This is quite the opposite of the type of plan where the longer lines tend to end at right angles on major public buildings, giving the whole grid a more authoritarian feel. Exceptions, like the route up Queen Street to the Guildhall, not part of the mediaeval City but a post-fire improvement, make an eloquent commentary on the generality of the rule.

CONCEALED LOGIC

Beneath the apparent disorder of the City there lies a concealed logic. People tend to walk along lines of movement, try to approximate a direction of travel on more complex journeys, and are guided in their wayfinding by lines of sight. The effect is that space is so arranged as to be a reliable guide to movement, and to different scales of journey. Many of the picturesque properties of urban space - views which pass discretely through a series of unfolding spaces, the sense of being both at a particular place and yet participating in the larger urban realm, the changing perspectival effects as sightlines bounce off the surfaces of buildings - which we find aesthetically pleasing in the City, turn out to be intimately related to the most basic of urban functions, how people read space and move about in it.

The effect of the City's spatial logic is therefore highly humane. It means that from the point of view of the individual moving around in its streets, axial organisation is used to overcome the complexity of the small-scale grid and to give a permanent orientation to the larger scale. Axial scale is the means by which the small and the large are brought within the understanding of the peripatetic individual. So far as the urban grid of the City is concerned, biggish, it seems, is beautiful.

So far we have been considering an important dimension of the City's grid - the relative depth of spaces from one another - but rather intuitively in terms of the depth within a local region from its main streets or of the entire City from its walls. However, a far more powerful result is concealed in the linear or axial map which generalises the idea of depth in a way which is not so easily open to intuition and which will reveal an even more fundamental and systematic relation to movement than we have seen so far.

Figure 7 shows what the entire street pattern of the City recorded in the axial maps of 1677 and today, looks like from the west front of St. Pauls. Each axial line is shown as a point and every intersection is recorded as a line linking points.Figure 8 shows the comparable pair of drawings of the street grid as it unfolds from Cheapside. These graphs simply record the minimum number of changes in direction it takes from a point of origin to reach all other destinations in the City. The shape of the graph is markedly different if we take different places in the

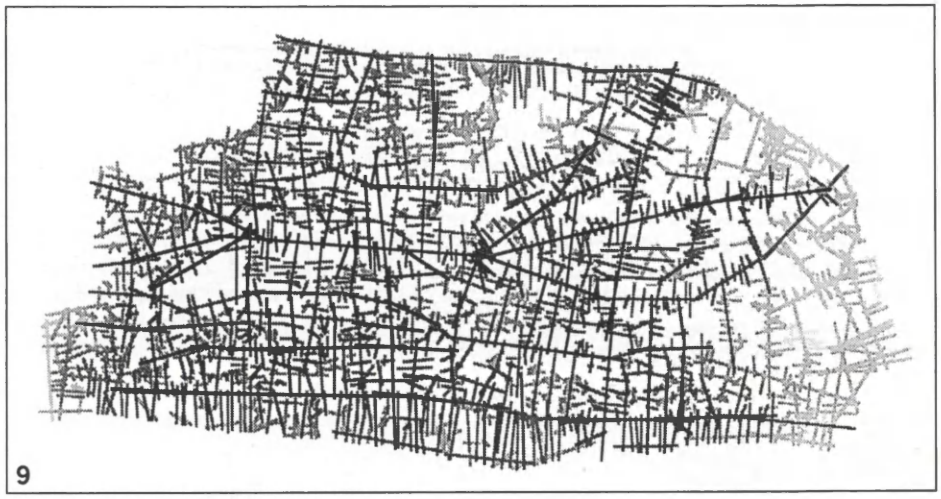
street grid as a starting point. Cheapside literally draws more of the City's street grid shallow to itself than Ludgate, making the whole of the City more accessible. Second, if we compare street by street (we cannot show them all here, but you can take my word for it) then all the graphs of the City today turn out to be shallower than they were in 1677. The City has become internally much more generally accessible over time, as well as being more accessible from the outside.

INTEGRATION MAPS

Using a computer, we can calculate the relative depth of the graph of every line in the axial map and express it as the integration value of each line. The less tortuous the paths on average, the more integrated the line, the more tortuous the more segregated. Figures 9 and 10 show the distribution of this property of integration in the axial maps of the Restoration City and the Modern City respectively, graded in tone so that black lines show the most integrated streets in the City and pale grey the most segregated places of all.

These 'integration maps' tell us that the deep structure underlying the shape of the City has changed a great deal over time. Cheapside was the main integrator of the City from its Roman foundation up to the late 19th century. Moreover, it turns out that in 1677 integration, which is a purely spatial measure of how each street fits into the urban grid, picks out precisely those areas where the shops and guilds were concentrated and where the major open street markets of the mediaeval City were located. Ogilby and Morgan's description of the City of London at this time as a 'great emporium' was, it seems, not an idle one, for the shape of the City embedded a trading interface in its most integrated, and therefore most generally accessible streets, including several which coincided with the shallow routes in from the gates which we identified earlier.

As the economic function of the City changed from that of direct marketing to banking and international finance, so gradually did the shape of its urban grid. This has produced an entirely new locus for integration radiating from a hub at Bank Corner where the money markets are concentrated. Interestingly, Wren predicted this shift in the working heart of the capital in his plans for the rebuilding of London after the Fire, but it took two hundred years for reality to catch up.Unfortunately, no one has yet invented the Tardis to enable us to observe the City in history - though we can deduce that the most integrated streets of the City were also the busiest, and that the markets took advantage of this passing trade.



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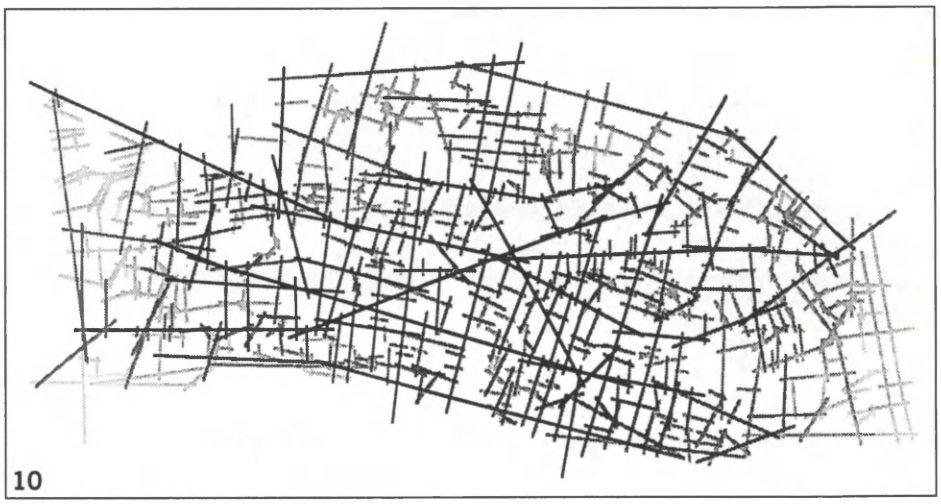

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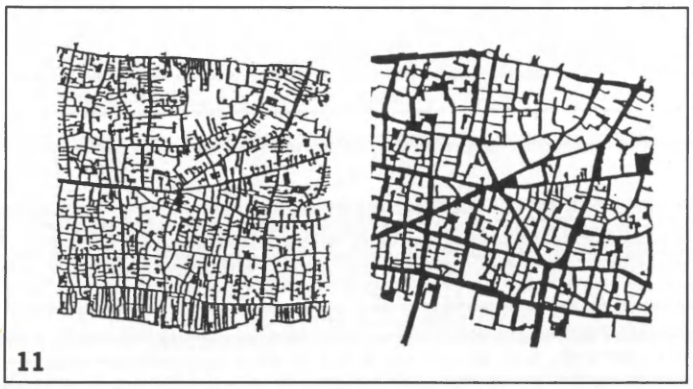
However, we can compare the pattern of integration today with observed levels of pedestrian movement on the City's streets and, when we do so, we find that the distribution of observed movement is powerfully correlated with the distribution of integration.How does this come about? And how does it happen in the City, where the most obvious form of movement is that of people scurrying from the underground or train station to their office during the morning rush hour and back again at night?

It happens like this. As all the buildings in a large town or city attract and generate at least some activity, urban movement tends to be of very large numbers of people going from everywhere to everywhere else. Because this is so, most movement we see on the streets is not to-movement but through-movement, and the level of through-movement in a space is determined by how that space fits into the rest of the urban grid. Integration is a mathematical index how each space relates to the rest of the grid and so, given that most urban movement, whether pedestrian or vehicular, is through-movement, integration provides a reliable guide to the business or quietness of a space.

NATURAL MOVEMENT

In urban grids like the City which have evolved over time, the predictability of the distribution of through-movement from integration tends to be strong, so strong that we have proposed the term 'natural movement' for that proportion of movement in an urban grid which is determined by the structure of the grid itself. User-surveys have revealed that between two thirds and three quarters of pedestrian movement on the City's streets today can be accounted for by through-movement, and that the more integrated the street, the greater is the average journey length of people passing through. Movement



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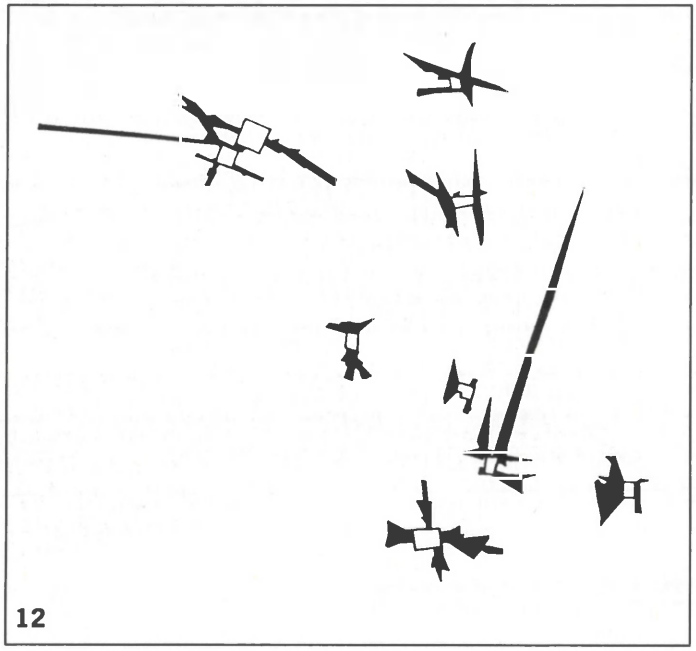

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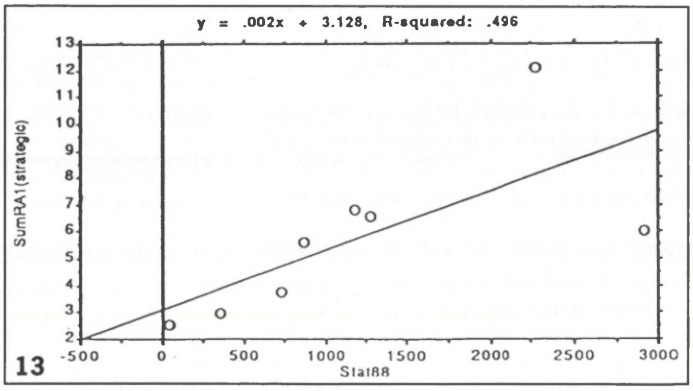

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11 Urban grid of 1677 and today
12 Visual fields from all the open spaces in the City
13 Scattergram plotting the relationship between observed use and the strategic value of the open spaces of the City

influences the development of urban form, by shaping the matrix of spaces through which all movement must pass. This happens not in a simple way, but in such a way as to relate he different scales of movement within the urban grid - people moving in and out of buildings, pedestrians on local trips and those on long journeys, and strangers moving in and out of the area. The interface between the scales of movement by different kinds of user can therefore be turned to economic, social and cultural advantage. At a most general level, it is the means by which the built form of towns and cities relates to their broad economic and social functioning.

For example, the *raison d'etre* of the structure of the urban grid in the Restoration City seems intimately bound up with the way in which its historically-evolved, functionally-differentiated regions like Blackfriars and Cheapside, fine-tuned the degree of access by outsiders in relation to the natural movement of the citizenry, by setting depth from the gates against the distribution of integration, to create busier and quieter local areas which mixed inhabitants and strangers and residential and commercial activities and even rich and poor to different degrees.

Although the shape of the City's street grid has become shallower and more integrated overall reflecting, no doubt, the dominance and increased catchment of its commercial function, a degree of regionalisation has survived, albeit in a modified form, but in a way which still seems to support the diverse activities of the City from the ceremonial of the Guildhall to the informality of Leadenhall Market. This can even be detected directly in slight differences in the natural movement patterns of the local regions within the modern City .

USE OF OPEN SPACES

But what about that other component of successful urbanism, the informal use of spaces for stopping and taking pleasure? We have studied the open spaces in the City of London, first in connection with the public inquiry over Mansion House Square, and more recently in connection with the Broadgate development, so we can begin to suggest how the shape of the City grid is implicated in this activity also.

Figure 12 is a black on white representation of the visual fields, that is the extent and shape of all the space that can be seen, from London's very few and rather informal open spaces (note that the spaces are not physically related as shown on the diagram). These vary remarkably in their degree of informal use and, taken as a set, they defeat any attempt to

explain the use characteristics in terms of factors like :

- the absence of traffic (some spaces hemmed in by traffic are several times better-used than adjacent spaces which are traffic-free), - a well-developed sense of enclosure (exposed spaces often perform better than enclosed spaces), or
- the presence of sunlight and the absence of tall buildings (some of the most successful are in the shadow of tall buildings).

The only variable which correlates is in fact a measure of the 'strategic value' of the visual field, expressed as the sum of all the integration values of the lines which pass through the body of the square. Figure 13 shows how powerful this relation is. The over-performer is Broadgate Square and, here, the over-performance is due to the fact that alone among the other spaces, Broadgate has the added attraction of a programme of lunch-time events. Indeed one can probably measure that attraction in terms of the deviation from the regression line. Certainly people travel to sit there from further away than the other City squares, 454 metres as opposed to less than 300 metres on average, but our surveys have shown that the City's squares generally are not dominated by office workers from the surrounding buildings.

SPACE CULTURE

Over and above the relation we can show between integration and movement, which is typical of the generality of towns and cities, we find that office workers seem to move about in the City rather a lot, and to enjoy being outdoors to an extent which cannot simply be explained in terms of necessity. Rather, the City is full of subtle fine-tuning devices in local space :

- leaving the front doors of premises slightly ajar to reveal a glimpse of the interior;
- gathering together informally in strategic locations where the 'two step logic' gives a view out to the main streets and guarantees a constant flow of passers-by;
- travelling some distance to strategic locations from which to watch the world go by; and
- electing to walk, and to take advantage of getting from A to B to bump into acquaintances or visit the shops; to name but a few.

Historical accounts suggest that these practices are not a recent phenomenon, but have grown up alongside the shift in the City's population from one dominated by resident traders to one of commuting office workers. Taken together, they add up to what we call, for want of a better term, the 'space culture' of the City.

To summarise, the lessons we can learn from studying the evolving shape of the City's street grid are as follows :

- first, that its urban grid has always functioned as a 'movement interface' which has served to bring citizens into contact and rationally to relate their patterns of movement to those of the many strangers who visit the City for pleasure or profit;
- second, as the City has become embedded in a growing metropolis, its shape has become increasingly globalised, shallow and well-integrated. In so doing, it has responded rationally to the exigencies of history.As the City has become an increasingly smaller part of the Greater London conurbation, it has both concentrated its internal structure and related itself directly to the more extended supergrid, in order to survive as a potent force within the growing network of routes;
- third, the City has evolved with a regionalised structure which fine-tunes the pattern of natural movement to its many and varied activites and
- finally, that much of the informal life of the City adds up to a 'space culture', which may have a direct bearing not only on the way the City operates as a theatre of economic exchange, but increasingly, today, on the sentiments and affections which many City workers express for it as a place to be and as a community of interest.

CONCLUSIONS

What, then, do concepts like continuity and conservation mean for the public realm of the City in the late 20th century? Throughout Europe, the degree to which future developments should be based on the past has become a highly contentious issue. In many historic centres, including the City, there is a widespread fear of doing anything except 'keeping the old street pattern' - this, in spite of the obvious criticism that the street system to be conserved was created by a dynamic process of growth and change, as each generation modified what it had inherited to meet its needs, and passed it on to the next. Conservation in the form of 'blanket preservation', we venture to suggest, leads to a paradox. To freeze a process at one point in time in order to conserve a specific form, is itself anti-historical, since it conserves the product but violates the very process which gave rise to that product in the first place

Intelligent descriptions, of the sort that we have explored in this paper, can help resolve this paradox by making the issue one of process not product. Rather than asking whether we should preserve this particular building or that, we can discuss whether we should preserve the underlying principles which we have acquired in the built fabric of the City, or to adapt that fabric, in the light of present needs, in the direction of a new principle. We have tried to show that, though the relation between shape and role in the City is not a simple one, it can be rationally reconstructed and understood. Understanding allows for the genuine continuation of a historical tradition, without necessarily preserving everything old or copying its surface forms. It does so by suggesting what is essential and what is inessential in the structures of the past, to equip us with forms of knowledge to address the challenge of proposing a vision for the City. ■

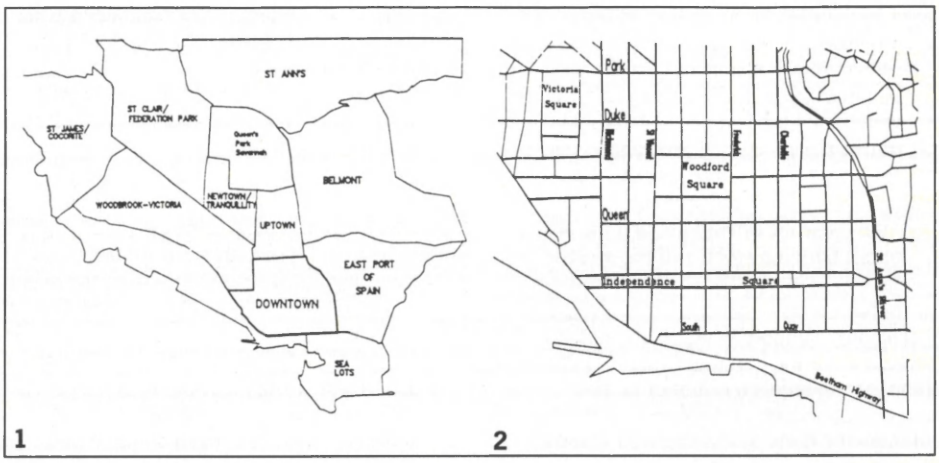
Julienne Hanson is the Director of Graduate Studies at the Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning in London and Bill Hillier is Professor of Architecture and Urban Morphology at the Bartlett.

David Farley and Sylvain Ménard

URBAN DESIGN ISSUES IN PORT-OF-SPAIN

David Farley and Sylvain Ménard describe the changes that have occured in Port of Spain and the opportunities to address urban design issues.

Port of Spain is the capital of the twin island Republic of Trinidad & Tobago. Lying off the coast of Venezuela, Trinidad is geologically a part of South America while Tobago is one of the islands of the Caribbean archipelago. The City of Port of Spain is located on the island of Trinidad facing south onto the Gulf of Paria.



PLANNING ISSUES

With nearly 46,000 residents in the city proper and 126,000 in Greater Port of Spain, it is the centre of public and private sector activity with more than 80,000 outside residents commuting daily to downtown offices and shops.

Even though Port of Spain is a small place it does not feel that way. The buildable land is densely occupied by structures from the 18th 19th and 20th centuries. With the exception of the waterfront edge of the city, buildings fill their sites and the form of open spaces and streets is clearly articulated by relatively low structures which are close to the street line. In spite of earthquakes, fires, invasions and riots, it has retained a very clear spatial order, an unambiguous relationship between building mass and open space largely based on an original Spanish orthogonal layout of streets and blocks.

Planning for the central city is done by the Port of Spain office of the National Town and Country Planning Division, complemented by the National Housing Authority, the National Property Development Corporation and consultants. Recently several important plans for Port of Spain have been published. (1) These plans make detailed proposals for the central city and its waterfront respectively.

Many of the planning issues in the central area are similar to those already addressed in the developed world: a shortage of housing; a weak economy; public accessibility to a waterfront in transition; a fragmented and inadequate system of open space; districts with exceptional streets and buildings which need to be protected; pedestrians versus the car; problems of access and linkage; and an overall loss of a positive sense of place. These issues have their own unique characteristics in Port of Spain: a large squatter population closeby; a city of vendors; a waterfront without free public access; and a mountain range configuration which forces east-west circulation along the waterfront.

TYPOLOGIES

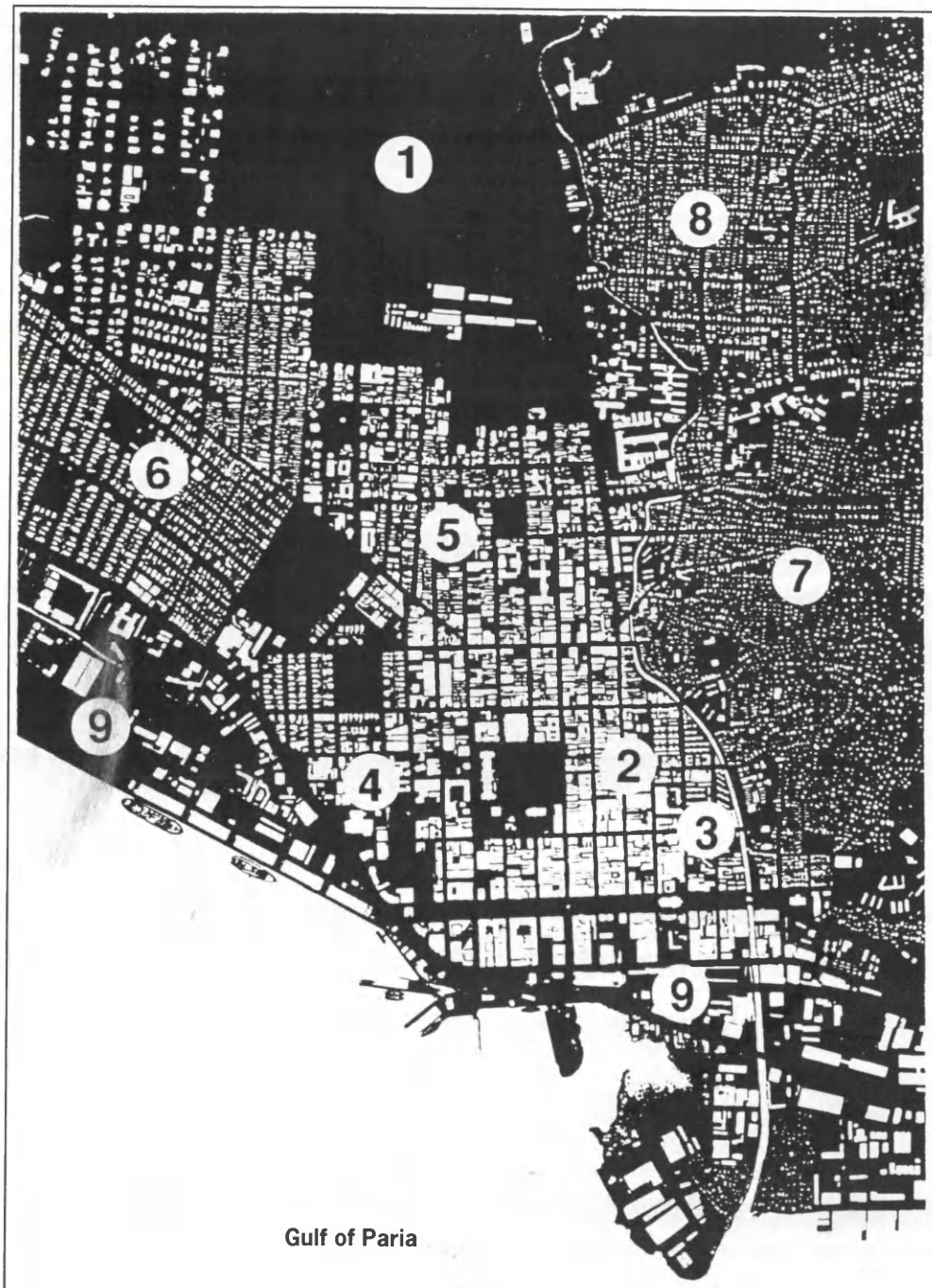
The figure-ground of Port of Spain illustrates its varied past. It represents the best and the worst of the island's history. Colonized by the Spanish and the British and a major destination for slave labour to work the sugar plantations, the shanty towns of the poor, the residential precincts of the merchant class and the grand houses of the rich are more or less intact today.

Protection of these typologies and appreciation of them in their own right- they are very fine and intact - will require intellectual disassociation from their negative historical connotations. Port of Spain has had a tumultuous social and political history up to the present day but remains a stable democracy which has seen relatively prosperous times and continues to play a leadership role in the Caribbean. It has an educated and professional population quite capable of carrying out the renewal of downtown.

As Mumford has pointed out "the visible order of the Hellenistic city(of cities under the Medici, Sixtus V, Louis XIV or Napoleon for that matter) remained an incentive for urban design long after the tyrannous edicts and the arbitrary acts of conquest passed into nothingness." (2) Whether the squatter settlements adjacent to downtown would qualify in Mumford's terms is a question. The settlements are old, from the slavery periods, and provide badly needed accommodation which is artfully sited on steep terrain. The National Housing Authority is in the process of improving these sites by providing better access, services and tenure.

1 Planning Districts in Port of Spain
2 Key downtown names

Urban Design Issues Port of Spain



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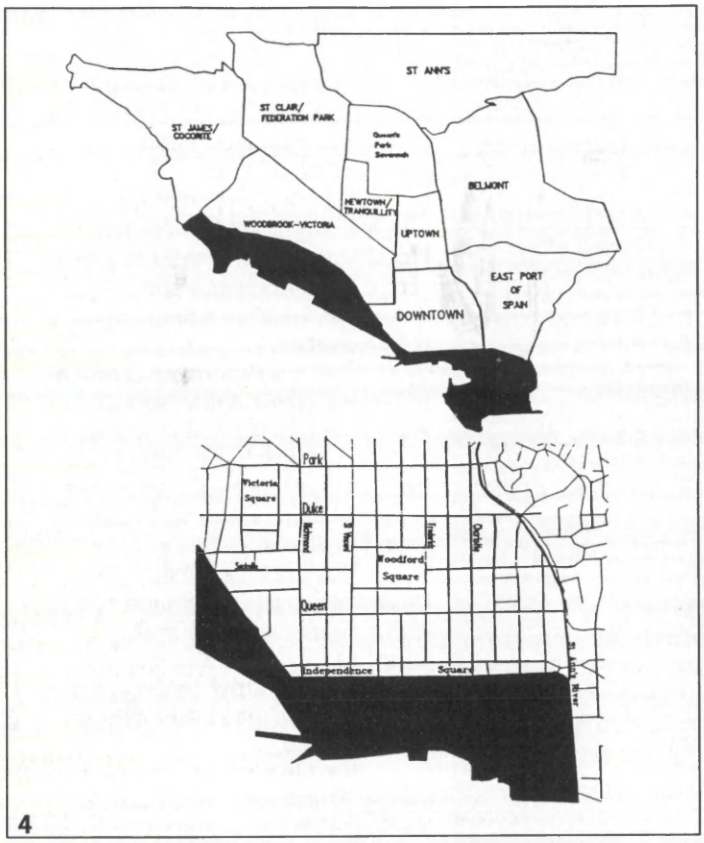
TYPOLOGIES

1. Queen's Park Savannah
2. The Old City. Characterized by a clear definition between built form and open space. City blocks are 100 by 200m in dimension and building height varies but is largely in the two and three storey range. Independence and Woodford Squares are the main public spaces.
3. The breakdown of the form of the old city is apparent with vacant land and parking lots and built forms which are different from earlier typologies and have higher buildings with setbacks from the street.
4. Unstructured and fragmented redevelopment zone with a significantly different figure-ground from the old city. Breakdown in street pattern and form. Blocked views and access. Residual land.
5. Residential districts built during British rule which are in transition due to a gradual change in function from residential to mixed use.
6. More or less intact residential districts built during British rule. Low free standing residences.
7. Spontaneous squatter settlement east of St. Anns river. Distinctive form due to radical topography and communal form of living around "yards". Amongst shanties, mid-rise public housing projects appear as isolated objects in space.
8. To the east of Queen's Park Savannah is the 'regularized' settlement of Belmont, with its informal origins still visible beneath grid street plan imposed later.
9. The Port area on filled land consists of transport and warehouse buildings from different periods and residual space in the form of parking lots. The highway defines the inland edge of the port.

4 Plan showing areas of filled land 5 Fragmentation of downtown and lack of connection to the waterfront
6 Relationship of orthogonal grid to hills on northern and eastern sides 7 Potential Open Space System



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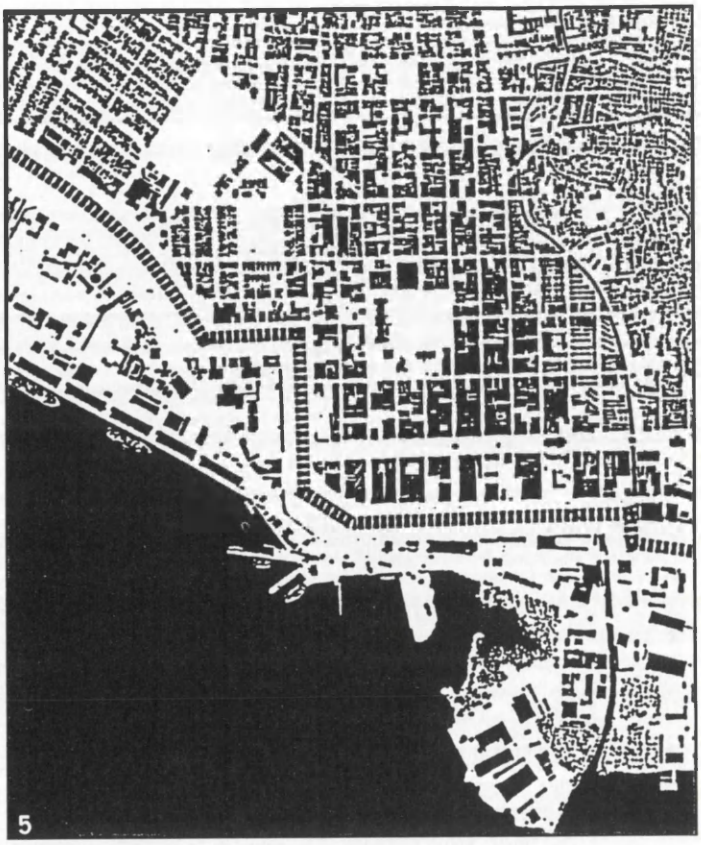

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THE WATERFRONT

The filling of Paria Bay began in a significant way at the beginning of the 19th century under British Colonial Rule and has continued intermittently up to the present time (see figure 4). The framework for reclamation was put in place by two actions taken by the last Spanish governor in 1790: the diversion of the St. Ann's river bed, which had previously prevented the western expansion of the town, and the construction of a pier extending 700 feet from Independence Square (which at that time was on the water) into the harbour, attached to a military battery.

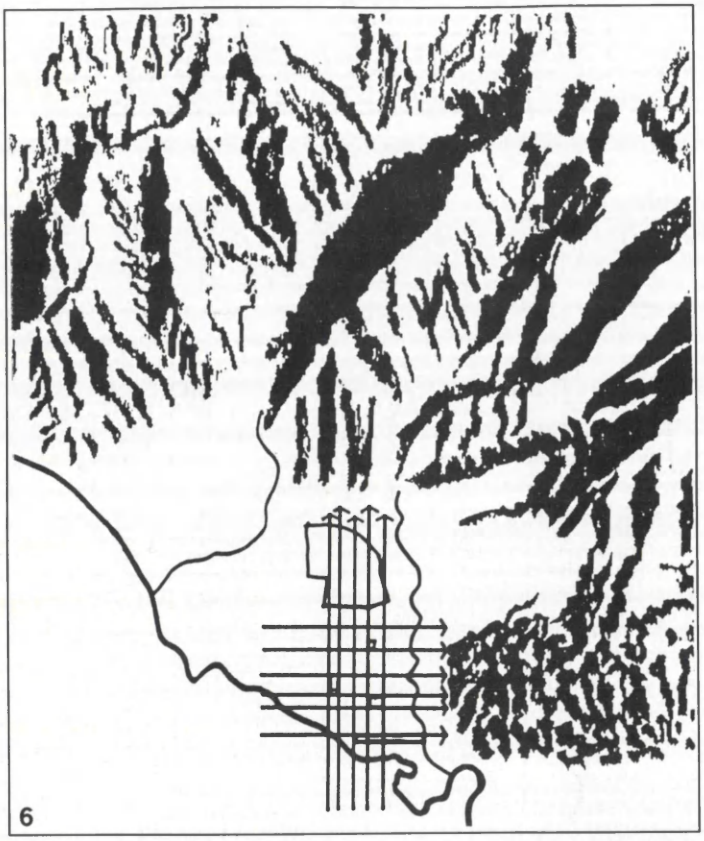
After the British conquest in 1797, the mud-flats framed by Independence Square and the pier were sold and filled by merchants, followed by the construction of new wharf and quay facilities. The Spanish grid was extended onto the reclaimed land accommodating an expanded downtown. Around the 1860's, with increasing world demand for sugar and cocoa, large-scale reclamation was recommenced for railway yards and warehousing.

These facilities were adequate until a deep water port was required. Trinidad then undertook the two largest reclamation projects yet. Between 1935-1939, the quay wall was extended and a deep-water harbour was constructed to bring in heavy equipment. Swamps were later drained for the construction of the arterial highway and the establishment of industrial estates and improvements were spurred on by the establishment of American military bases during world war II. (3)

These changes to the form and layout of Port of Spain, intermittently over long periods of time, have not been conducive to a coherent built environment. For a large part of downtown starting one block north of the Wrightson Road/Beetham Highway (the east-west arterial), the spatial order is clear. The waterfront land and the area abutting the arterial are, on the contrary, a lesson in disorder. Today the land filled for port facilities expansion has lost its vocation and as Peter Hall has so succinctly put it, "technology made and then broke the traditional urban waterfront". The existing docks and warehouses have suddenly become superfluous. (4)

A fundamental part of the design structure of Port of Spain must be the linkage of the city with its waterfront. Plans for downtown and for the port recognize the issue of disconnection but do not recognize that successful linkage will largely depend on the physical treatment of the arterial road and the form of development along its edge. This psychological and physical barrier must be reknitted into the city's fabric.

The capacity of the waterfront arterial to carry through traffic and to feed downtown is an urban design as well as a traffic issue. It cannot be relocated because of mountainous terrain inland. In terms of service to vehicles, the road could be widened, elevated, or grade separated.(5) All of these options will further cut off the city centre from the Gulf of Paria and, if other cities are any indication, will not relieve congestion nor improve development prospects in the city. Burying the highway, below sea level is technically feasible but could not be justified in terms of the value of the air rights created versus the high cost. There is a limit to the accommodation of vehicular traffic beyond which the architectural and landscape qualities of the city would be affected negatively. The configuration of the site suggests that a landscaped boulevard, providing as much vehicular access as possible and multiple at grade access points for pedestrians between the city and the bay is the most sensible and feasible solution. In the longer run, increased public transportation will be needed (light rail) and the boulevard should provide space for its installation.



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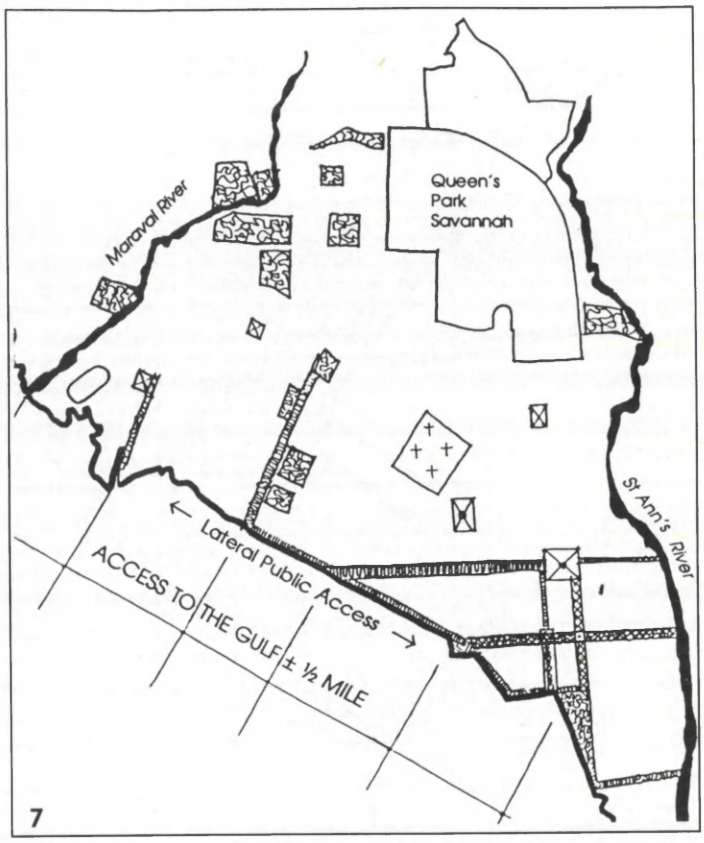

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LINKAGE AND OPEN SPACE

There are many other qualitative aspects of internal linkage between the inner city sectors and between existing open spaces which will be important to a design plan but they remain secondary and somewhat irrelevant if the links to the water's edge and a waterfront promenade are not achieved.

Lying on relatively flat land surrounded by the Northern Range, the orthogonal pattern of streets (see figure 6) provides spectacular and unobstructed views of the hills. These views, framed as they are by the older structures, give a sense of coherence and completeness to the scene. Unfortunately the corresponding views towards the sea are either blocked or lack reference to the water (i.e. lighthouse, shipsmasts, sails, etc.) and, as one approaches the southern edge of the lower town, the form of the city becomes visually chaotic.

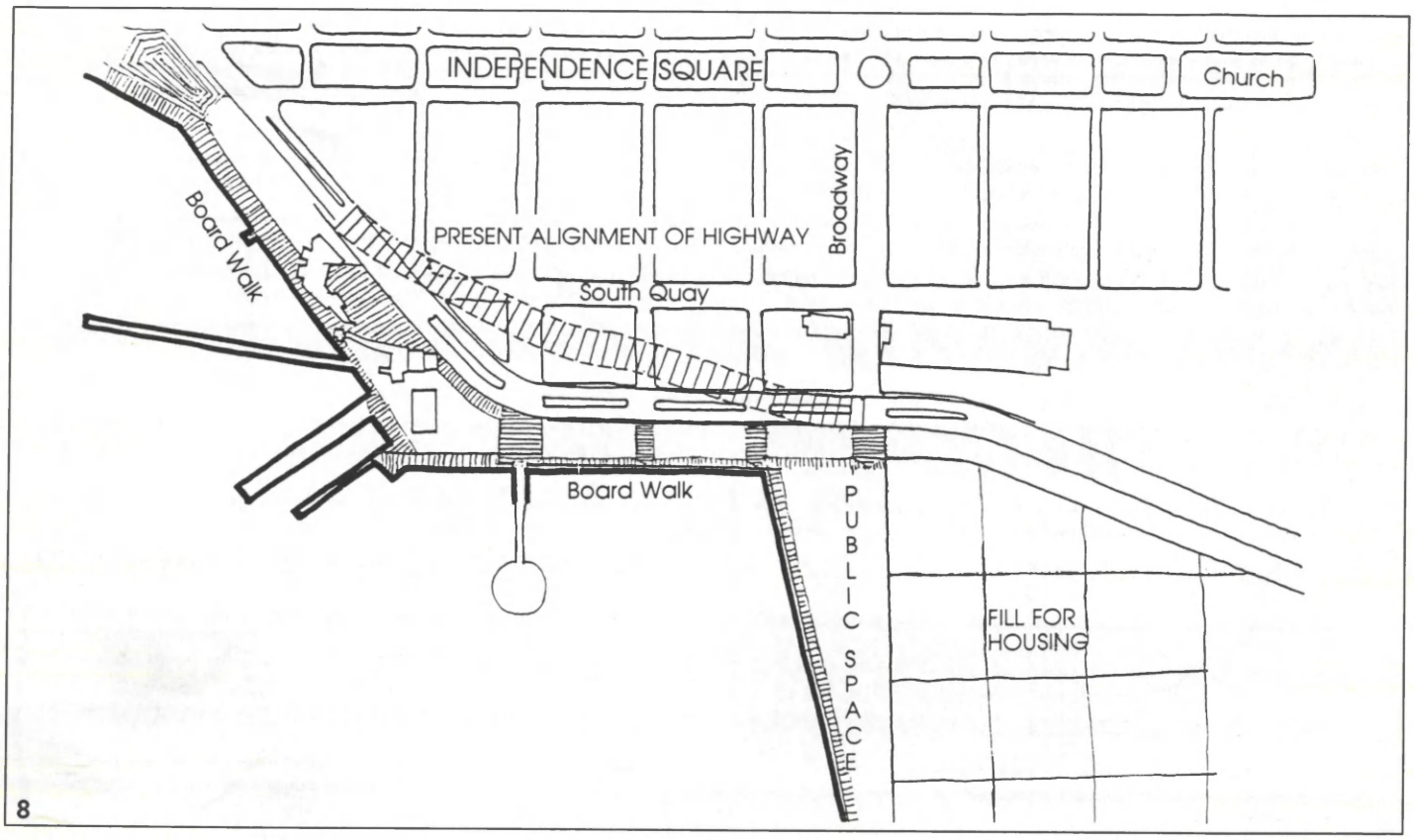
Port of Spain is well provided with open space in the northern and western parts of the city. Queens Park Savannah, including the Botanical Gardens comprises about 5% of the land enclosed by the Northern Range and its approximately 300 acres approach half the size of Central Park in New York City: a jogger's dream. The older part of the city is not so well served, relying on four spaces created during the Spanish and British colonial periods: Lord Harris, Victoria, Woodford and Independence Squares. The fact that Independence Square was originally next to the water made all the difference to downtown, for the Gulf of Paria was then part of the open space system of the city. This is no longer true today. There is no sense of a network of public spaces, nor a sense of linkage through landscaped streets and parks to the hills and to the water.

Fortunately these connections remain feasible but the opportunity could be lost if not introduced into current plans. Two rivers, the Maraval to the west and the St. Ann's on the east, empty into the Gulf. These unkempt rivers present a great opportunity to link up the open space system and increase pedestrian and perhaps bicycle access to the gulf. They could also supply additional open space for intown residents (see figure 7). Some plans for the port propose open space on the gulf connected to Independence Square. Residential communities to the west have parks (though they are land locked from the sea) while to the east of Woodford Square- where a substantial part of the downtown population resides-there are none.

DOWNTOWN & COMMERCE

The current economic outlook for the central city is bleak. Studies on the location of employment in seven tertiary sector activities and revitalization proposals have indicated the increasing unattractiveness of downtown Port of Spain to business service firms, especially advertising, legal services, and financial institutions. (6) Though downtown Port of Spain still plays an important role as the business service and financial service centre, the northwesterly movement of many private firms is an indication that market forces are pushing locations away from the traditional core area. The fact that Port of Spain is the nation's capital, the location for parliament and government offices (which are not strongly affected by market forces), somewhat assures that the CBD maintains a relatively firm base for business activities. However, the general trend in the movement of private service firms is to the north out of the old sector and to the west away from the poorest districts.

Neither East Port of Spain nor Sea Lots exert any attraction upon major business and financial functions, and Belmont to the northeast hardly fares better. Traditionally these have been poor areas with high levels of



crime and unemployment and a north-south axis, cutting downtown in half along Charlotte Street (see figure 2), clearly acts as a psychological barrier which few regionally-oriented service firms dare to cross. For different reasons, the east-west arterial has had the same delimiting effect in relation to the harbour front. As for the downtown itself, image-conscious firms have tended to locate out of the lower town. These enterprises are generally looking for a "good" address and it appears that these are in short supply within the traditional core. The central area is unkempt and unlandscaped, choked with traffic, and land locked.

Downtown does not have to be unattractive to office activities. A number of the functional problems which face the city in regard to the trends (security, congestion, lack of coordination among concerned parties, regulation of commercial activity, inadequate physical infrastructure) have been addressed.(7)

Downtown is still the predominant retail centre for the region and includes a very extensive network of street and stall vendors.

Planning agencies have expressed concern about regulating vending activity, though both plans seem to view street vending as an option that is needed in lieu of sufficient employment opportunities, and both approaches to the issue are fairly comprehensive. In terms of the attractiveness of downtown, uncontrolled vending is a deterrent to firms who seek a secure and orderly business environment. In terms of planning, the main concern about vending is that it hinders the movement of pedestrians, thereby exacerbating an already congested circulation network. A 1983 study on vendors by the Town and Country Planning Division indicated that over 50% of these were "on-street" vendors, the remainder operating from either informal malls, homemade structures or the shell of burnt-out buildings. Vendors are located mostly along main commercial streets and on Independence Square.

Vending activity, if controlled or consolidated, can contribute to the vitality of a downtown. Indeed, recent efforts have involved the establishment of vending centres for the purposes of both legitimizing some of the more profitable and organized forms of vending, and to using the vitality and structure of these centres to attract other types of business activity. The relative success of the Queen Street Mall (on the corner of Frederick and Queen Streets) and Tent City in the southeast section of Independence Square has indicated that this activity need not be eliminated for the maintenance of a coherent downtown. They can be regarded as a positive form of animation as they are in most North American cities.

The central area of Port of Spain like most old inner cities is trying to prosper in harmony with social inequity: the "squatters and skyscrapers" syndrome. (8) Within one mile of the seat of government (more or less at the centre of downtown) live approximately 3,700 people, a large percentage of whom are poor and/or squatters. Like most cities, the poor live to the east and the better off to the west. In the case of Port of Spain, the east edge of downtown is defined by steep hills (East P.O.S.) which have a long history of accommodating the poor. It has been pointed out that "there can be no re-development and a 'secure' business environment without resolving the realities of poverty and dispossession, specifically in the East Port of Spain area, and the wider society".(9)

The poor and the rich are spatially separated and they meet downtown which has lively bustling streets during the work day but is largely deserted at night. It is symptomatic of downtown that there are virtually no

restaurants open at night nor places for entertainment aside from two "1st Run" cinemas. The land use plan lists objectives for 1,200 new dwellings by 1995 when the core should by that time account for 25% of the city's population, as opposed to 12% in 1980. These housing objectives are of great significance for an urban design plan. It appears that the only place to find land to meet the stated housing objectives will be along the shore or through clearance for higher densities in the old city. Figure 8 shows how highway realignment can produce opportunities for waterfront redevelopment and public amenities.

SENSE OF PLACE

A sense of place comes from concrete things and cultural associations by expressing societal values and time. "We live in time places " and must work towards "organizing a city design structure of psychological significance". (10) The task in Port of Spain is to work back from a negative sense of place, a sense of danger, dilapidation, confusion and inequity, all very accurately described in a report by NIPDEC. (11) Although their report makes a number of recommendations i.e. better lighting and sidewalks, more police, improved circumstances for squatters, better management of vendors and improved parking and circulation control, they do not address the major urban design issues or the extraordinary opportunities offered by the site and its people.

Kevin Lynch's point was not that "concrete things" could produce "psychological significance" but that they are an essential ingredient for significance to emerge. (12) A positive sense of place will start in Port of Spain with more public space, particularly on the water, and a design plan which protects views and pedestrian access to both the water and the mountains. An appropriately designed network of public space can also provide the setting for activities including vending, soccer, the Carnival, and other cultural events.

Events and activities shape our feelings for a place. The meaning of place builds over time through an individual's association with their experience there. Port of Spain, which is the main port of entry for the country and the nation's capital, requires a public infrastructure that addresses the needs of the whole population and begins to build community pride in place. A design plan which creates good sites for redevelopment and meets the aforementioned requirements will allow for a sense of place and communal achievement to emerge—the most important factors of all.

CONCLUSIONS

Adequately addressing the urban design issues of the old city will require design coordination with the districts which abut it. At this time the design approach is fragmented amongst parties already mentioned. The most important issues cross jurisdictions and seem to be at cross purposes. Coordination of the planning functions and the introduction of an urban design structure are badly needed.

Explicit design objectives which give developers and architects a context for their work and which offer government a way to meet longer-run design goals would also provide the means for an unambiguous and fair evaluation of projects before approval.

A design plan must have broad community support and fit with the fundamental objectives of that community's social and economic plans. Thus, organization for an urban design strategy requires a solid design and technical input and a method for interested parties and the general community to participate in its adoption.

Hard times and poverty do not necessarily mean that Port of Spain must have an unappealing downtown. The feeling of being trapped between the mountains on one side and Port Authority fences on the other can be overcome without great expense. In the immediate future, the city could take steps to open access to the water and a modest investment, a board walk and some space for activities would change the feeling, the character and the face of downtown. ■

FOOTNOTES

1 National Insurance Property Development Corporation "A plan for the Reconstruction of Downtown Port of Spain" 1991, *Port of Spain Land Use Plan Summary Statement*, Town and Country Planning Division, July 1988, *Port Authority of Trinidad and Tobago, Plan 2000, Volume III Land Use Plan, Final Report*, July 1990 and *the Port of Spain Waterfront Development Plan, Final Report, Vol.1*, Colin Laird & Associates, February 1992.

2 Mumford, Lewis, "The City in History", N.Y.C., Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1961, p.198.

3 Dickman, Yvonne, "An Urban History of Port of Spain", Supervised Research Project, McGill University, School of Urban Planning, 1992.

4 Hall, Peter, "Waterfronts: A New Urban Frontier", University of California at Berkeley, Institute of Urban and Regional Development, Working Paper 538, May 1991, p.3.

5 There is currently a proposal for a pedestrian bridge over Wrightson Road at the west end of Independence Square and there have been proposals for large decks over the road.

6 Polèse, Mario & Ménard, Sylvain, "Is Downtown on the Way Down? Documenting the Movement of Office Activity in Central Port of Spain", Montreal: Villes et Développement, October 1992
National Insurance Property Development Corporation, "A Plan for the Reconstruction of Downtown Port of Spain", Port of Spain, 1990.

7 National Insurance Property Development Corporation "A plan for the Reconstruction of Downtown Port of Spain", 1991.

8 Harrison, Paul, "Inside the Third World. The Anatomy of Poverty", Penguin Books, second edition, London, 1990, p.157.

9 National Insurance Property Development Corporation 1991, p.xxii

10 Lynch, Kevin, "What Time is this Place", M.I.T. Press, 1972, p.64.

11 National Insurance Property Development Corporation, 1991.

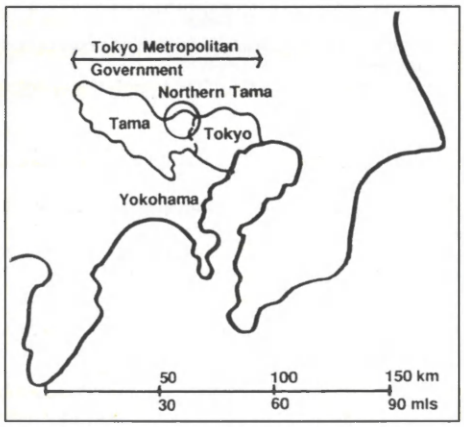
12 Lynch, 1972.

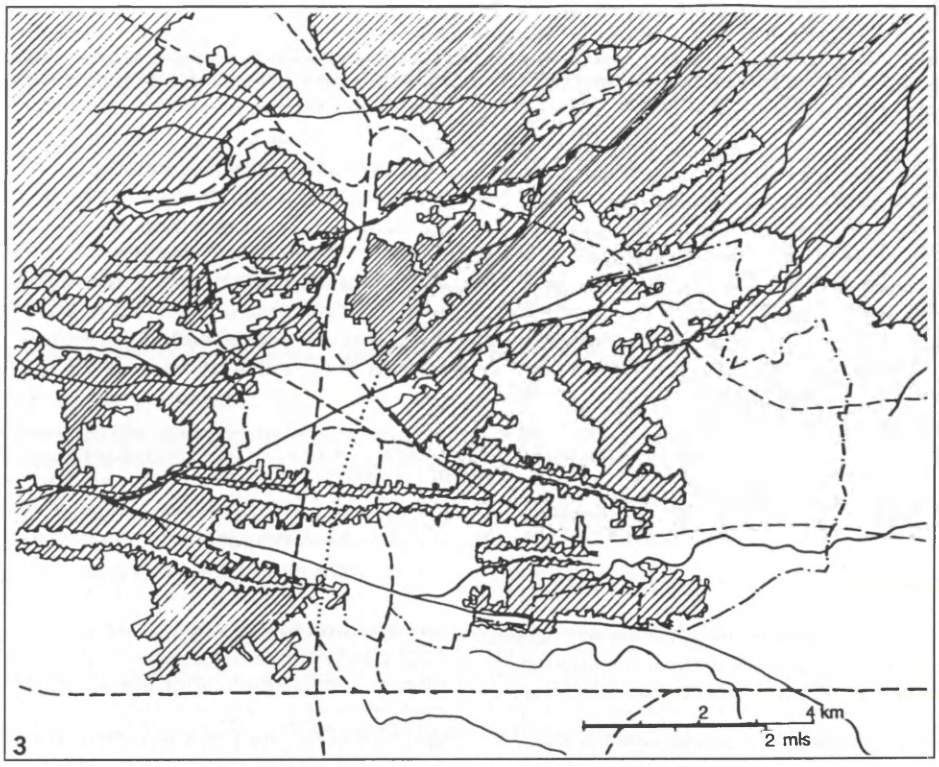
David Farley is Professor of Urban Design and Planning at McGill University in Montreal and Sylvain Ménard is a graduate student and research assistant in the school of Urban Planning.

John Billingham

TAMA AREA WORKSHOP TOKYO

A design workshop was held in the Tama area of Tokyo to provide a range of ideas for planning for life in the 21st Century.
John M. Whalley of the Derek Lovejoy Partnership, John S. Bonnington of the John S. Bonnington Partnership, David Lock of David Lock Associates and John K Billingham were invited to participate as the UK team and teams from France and the USA were also invited. It is interesting to compare the different approaches to the issues.





3 Structure of northern Tama defined by the watercourses with a high density built up area along the rail lines and low density housing and open land elsewhere.

TAMA LIFE 21

Three teams of architects, planners and landscape architects from the UK, France and USA respectively, were invited by a group of cities in the western part of Metropolitan Tokyo, the Tama area, to put forward ideas as to how the areas should be planned to take into account the needs of the 21st century.

The Tama area which lies on the western side of Tokyo is celebrating the centenary of its becoming part of Metropolitan Tokyo. As part of these celebrations six cities with a total population of about 650,000 in the northern part of Tama, wanted the three teams to explore ideas for the whole area and to look in detail at two of the cities. Initial conclusions were presented at the end of a five design design workshop in November 1992 following which a report and drawings were prepared for a symposium held in May this year.

The North Tama area developed rapidly from 1960 onwards and the key problems are that this happened in a piecemeal way without adequate planning of roads and public services, despite having a good network of rapid transport rail lines, and that the area is so dependent on Central Tokyo for employment opportunities.

The area has many advantages in its natural features of watercourses, woodlands and areas of open land which are pepper potted throughout the built up area.

The characteristics of life in the 21st century taken into account in making proposals included greater leisure time, more spending power, the ageing of the population, the need for more local and smaller businesses and the demand for a higher quality of life and greater public participation.

UK TEAM

The UK team was asked to look in detail at the cities of Higashi Murayama and Kodaira but the brief for the workshop also required each team to look initially at the overall structure of the six cities.

Whilst each city has different specific characteristics the whole area is linked together by the rail transport network and there is a pattern of small areas of farmland and nursery gardens interspersed with housing land. The existing urban form is clearly categorised into those areas of concentrated development closest to the rail lines and those areas of either open land or a mixture of farming land and housing. The latter areas of

lower density or open land provide major opportunities for the provision of new parkland and the insertion of any necessary new highways.

The vision offered by the UK team was to create the Garden Cities of North Tama by protecting the existing open land from development and using that land and the existing water courses to provide the structure for an open space system. The proposals included a supergrid road every 2km (significantly less than the new roads currently proposed by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government) and the development of a major centre in each city where employment, commerce and civic uses could provide an individual identity.

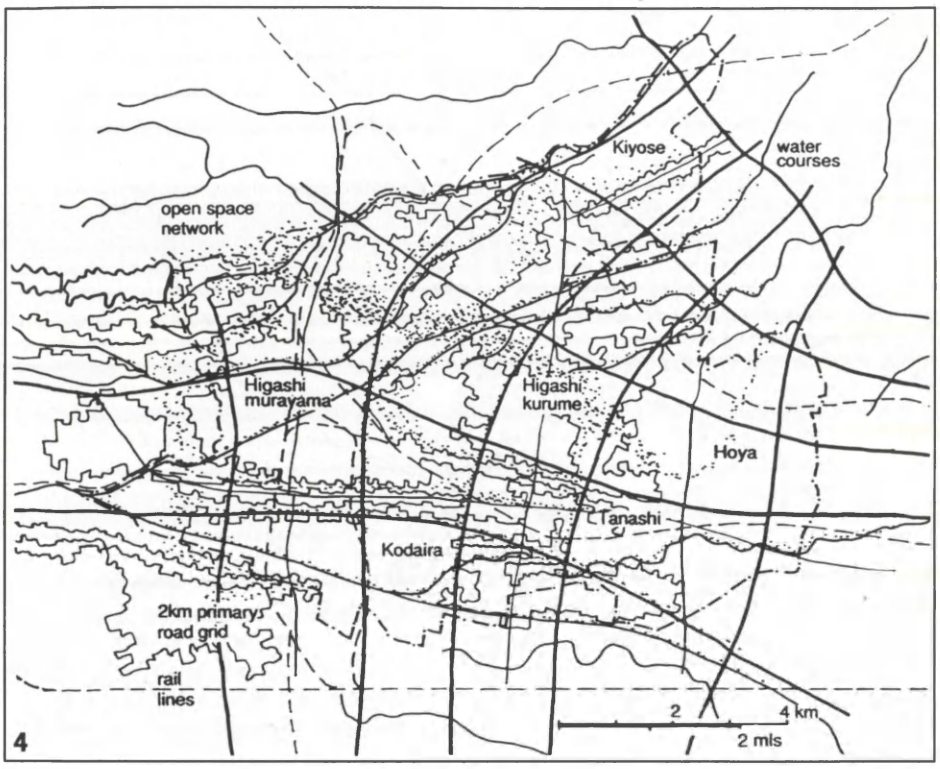
The principles proposed were:
to stop the spread of development across green spaces
increase public space and the access to open land
build fewer new roads than currently proposed
invest in more rapid transport particularly on the north south routes
provide more cycleways and footpaths
provide more space for dispersed small scale employment
cultivate the different identities of the six cities
control the use of land and take away automatic rights

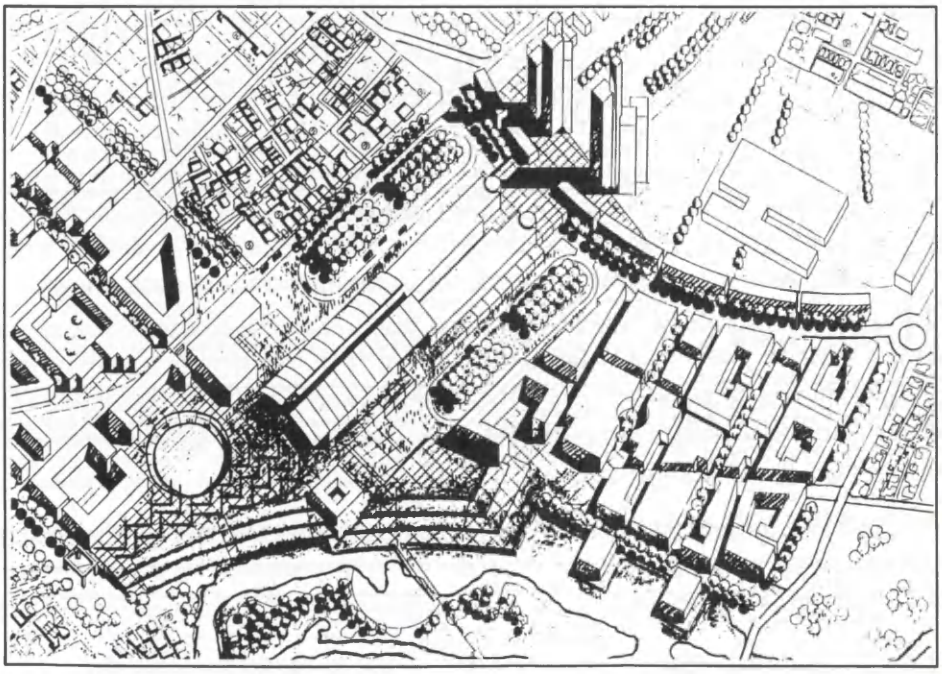
The proposals took as their starting point the hard and soft built fabric (high and low density) the benefits in expressing the basic nature of the area defined by the rivers and watercourses and the historic routes through the area and the need to introduce more employment and create specific identities.

The framework of new roads is kept to a minimum and the older highways are relieved of traffic enabling them to be used for bustransport and local traffic.

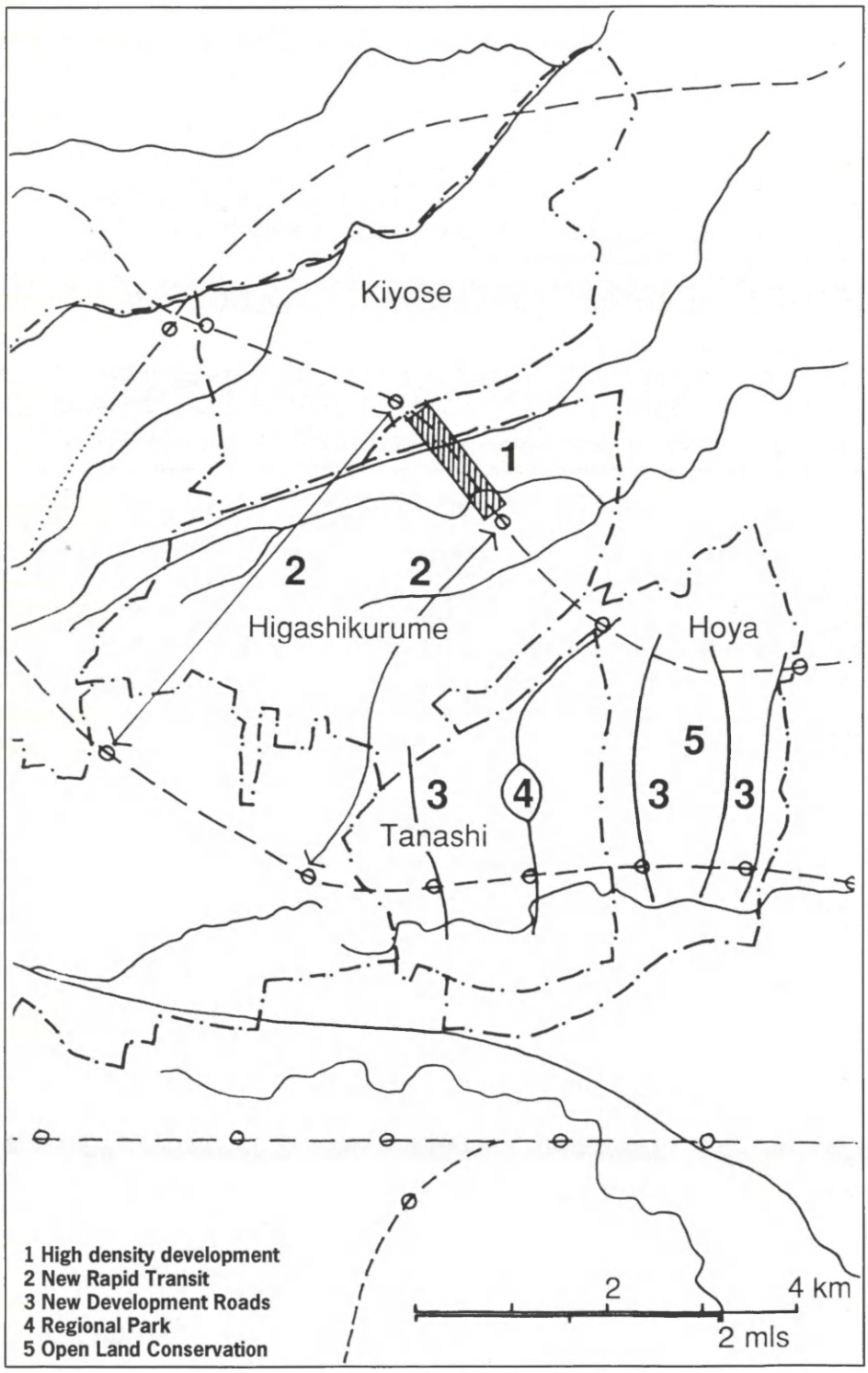
A network of greenways is proposed to link together the open land and connect to blueways along the watercourses. A new woodland structure can be introduced to define the greenway routes which can be expanded if agricultural uses cease.

The rail tracks divide the communities they serve and the opportunity exists to provide extensive employment, civic functions and public uses on a deck which connects together the separated parts of the communities. New public spaces are provided at arrival points and identity given to the centre by a high building with a distinctive character.





4 The UK team's proposal to create the Garden Cities of North Tama by linking the open land and watercourses together. 5 Structure for redeveloping Higashi Murayama Station. UK Team: John Whalley, John Billingham, John Bonnington and David Lock.



6 Structure of Kiyose and Higashi Kurume, Hoya and Tanashi. The French team presented proposals for Kiyose and Higashi Kurume and US team prepared studies for Hoya and Tanashi
French Team: Paul Chemetov, Yves Lion, Marc Mimram and Michel Corajoud

FRENCH TEAM

The French team worked on the cities of Higashi Kurume and Kiyose in the north eastern part of the area.

The principles of their proposals were:
farmland in the urban area needs to be preserved
road network is not capable of taking all traffic, therefore improve rapid transit
provide more space for the public realm
provide higher density housing
proposed new roads will destroy communities

Their proposals for the two cities were not developed in as much detail as the other teams but were based on improved public transport, a concept of high density commercial and housing development along the rail lines and using rivers to provide greenways.

Their proposals were based on protecting the horizons of the city found in the wooded hills and the line of the river; protecting the countryside by rebuilding the city within its own urban area; preserving large land ownerships for new public facilities; intensifying the area between stations; preventing the undifferentiated subdivision of certain outstanding land; rediscovering the memory of the old line of the river by protecting the riverbed.

In detail they wanted to open railway stations on to public spaces; identify public transport by using innovative structures; use distinctive forms of building to signify various scales of development; introduce a tramway system to reinforce the transport networks.

US TEAM

The US team studied the cities of Tanashi and Hoya located at the south eastern side of the northern Tama group of cities.

The principles adopted were:
greater generosity in the public realm
maintain co-existence of housing and farmland
consolidate urban centres, at present nondescript and overwhelming
use the improvement of infrastructure to also improve amenities
conserve natural features and use them as a network
provide more diversity in housing by a wider range of dwellings
find ways to enhance local character by avoiding homogeneity
increase local employment
prepare for demographic and social change and move planning control to local level
emphasise qualitative principles

Their proposals for Tanashi and Hoya were based on new corridors of development

running on a north south axis each ending at stations on the existing rail lines. These corridors of intensified uses providing employment and mixed uses are intended to take the pressure off intervening areas of open land and also enable the historic east west pattern to remain.

They proposed that the current road proposals needed to be changed to conserve areas of open land by reducing the numbers of roads and moving them to more appropriate locations.

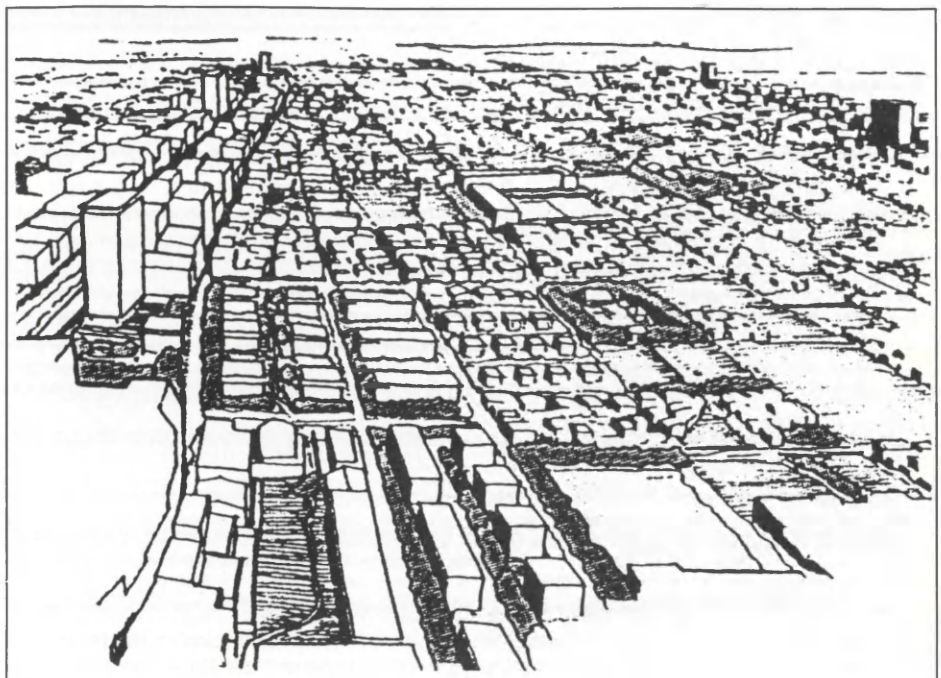
In Tanashi a regional park is proposed connected by a boulevard to the southern station point and curving round to the northern station. In Hoya the opportunity exists to intensify development on the new road corridors and retain the agricultural land to create a network of open space which also extends along the existing river. They proposed that a system of transferable development rights should be used to ensure that the agricultural land could be retained as open space and the development rights transferred to the intensified corridors.

CONCLUSIONS

Each of the teams identified the retention of the existing agricultural land as a key issue and it was clear that changes in the planning and local government legislation would be necessary if that objective was to be achieved. The US team's proposals for transferable development rights seemed to be the most likely way forward as a related system is already in use but directed to more local objectives. The strength of the UK team's proposals appeared to me to lie in the overall analysis of the six cities and the aim of producing proposals which linked the various cities together as the Garden Cities of North Tama.

The US team's proposals were a clear statement in urban design terms of the objectives of producing a solution which brought together in three dimensions uses, transportation and open space.

Whether the Japanese cities will take up any of the many ideas put forward in the reports or the symposium is yet to be seen. The UK team was invited to present their proposals separately at the Higashi Murayama City Hall so that at least indicates a degree of interest in understanding what is possible. Nevertheless to put into practice many of the ideas will require a massive change in approach from the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and the time may be too early for this to happen. ■



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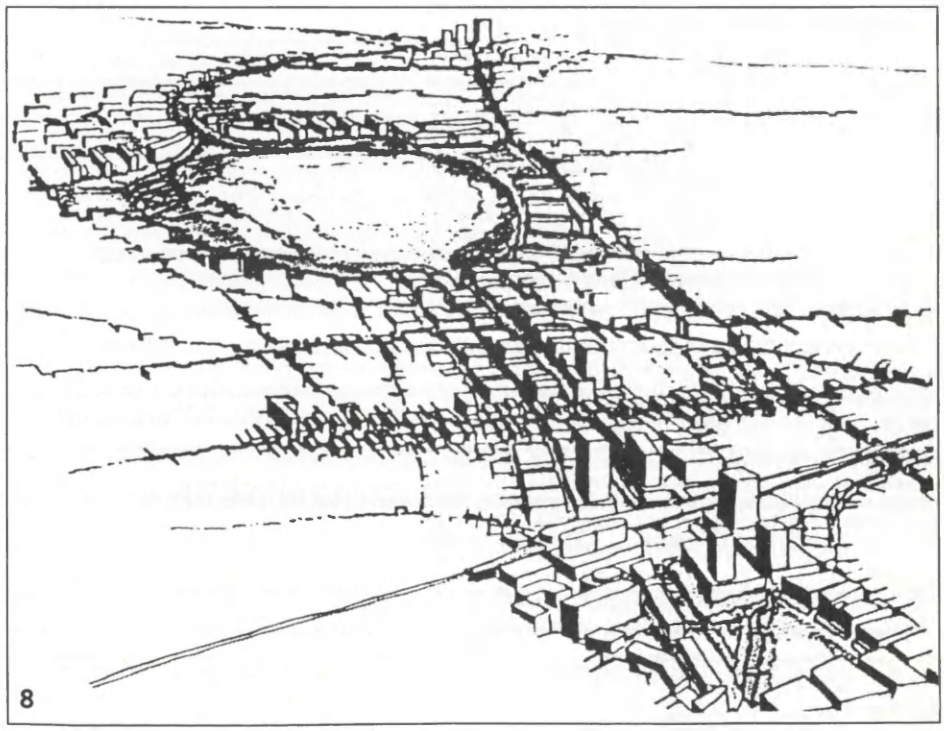

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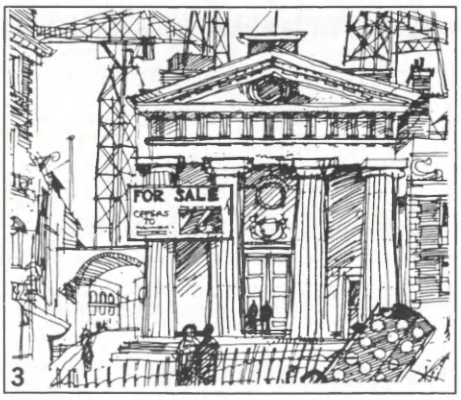
7 US teams proposal to conserve open land and transfer development rights to adjacent corridor 8 Corridor of development alongside new boulevard leading to regional park and linking north and south stations. US Team: Alex Krieger, Sam Bass Warner, Homer Russell, Alastair Mcintosh and Phoebe Crisman.

Camp 5

1 The best buildings in old Ware and those that must remain, the starting point for the town's enhancement.
2 The result of one set of permutations for change.
The original 1973 report, "Vivat Ware", showed how Ware, then blighted and in poor shape, was too significant a town to destroy in the name of unimaginative engineering and redevelopment.
3 David Rock's 1980 book "The Grassroot Developers" was the first to define and set out the principles of development trusts as a how-to-do-it manual.



Camp 5-not so much a firm - more a philosophy and a starting point- was formed by David Rock and Lesley Murray in 1992 to provide specialist consultancy services in architecture and urban design; communications, marketing, and events within the building industry; illustration and graphic design.

Camp 5 is an umbrella - beneath which the partners operate their own specialisms, and where other specialists can join forces for a given project. The philosophy is for problem solving and action to start from the high ground of all the experience gathered at Camp 5 - rather than from bottom, or base camp. Those who come together at Camp 5, either by invitation or because they bring a project in, work under their own names. Professional groupings form and disband according to the job in hand. Currently working together at Camp 5 on the design of a new residential building for, and renovation of The Brunswick Centre Bloomsbury, are David Rock with Nicholas Browne Architect and Hawkins Brown Architects.

David Rock, architect and urban designer, brings to Camp 5 forty years' accumulated professional experience - from the office of Sir Basil Spence; from his partnership years setting up the London and Rome offices of BDP: from his subsequent founding of Rock Townsend, architects, planners and designers; from the inception of the "workspace" movement (5 Dryden Street, Barley Mow Workspace and their heirs); from early work on Town Development Trusts; from independent town consultancies; from teaching, writing, marketing and professional practice generally. He also draws, paints and illustrates. Lesley Murray contributes marketing and event expertise from a varied career within the RIBA; and from a range of freelance work projects since 1988.

DESIGNING IN THE OPEN

"Designing in the open" is probably better understood - taken for granted even - in urban design and planning; much less so within traditional architectural practice, where either designers think they know best; or where client pressures keep projects under wraps in the hope of getting them through planning before anyone can object. David Rock's Camp 5 embraces the urban design philosophy of working within professional and lay communities whether oiling the joints in the planning and building process at Ware, Hertfordshire, or in the open design of an important building, such as the Brunswick Centre. He uses publicity in a positive, pro-active way, rather than courting publicity for its own sake, or regarding the press as an "enemy". Designing in the open is more difficult - but ultimately leads to better design, fit for the purpose.

WARE

The Ware Consultancy, Rock's appointment to the historic market town by East Herts District Council, continued over 13 years, advising a town of originally 16,000 inhabitants. At that time, Ware was blighted by serious planning problems. Rock's "Vivat Ware'- report published in 1973 (which involved Gordon Cullen) formed the basis for flexible renewal policies and actions. Many years of consultancy nursing later, Ware is a thriving town - enhanced property value, banished blight, a new heart.

What the consultancy achieved in Ware was so successful that the independent consultancy was terminated and a full time District Council Officer appointed - since when the town's continuing potential is said to have been less well realised.

INDEPENDENT CONSULTANTS

Ware exemplifies the case for the concept of long-term, independent consultants to urban settlements. David Rock preaches the virtues of such appointments in small urban areas - particularly

- in towns small enough to be understood by a single consultant or a very small team;
- where the appointment of the independent professional is a minimum of five years, and potentially ten years or more.

The benefits

- An independent consultant can remain independent of internal political/departmental and town pressures.
- Free to concentrate on planning/ political problems free from time-consuming in-house administration.
- Can act, and be seen to act, independently; able to make recommendations in certain circumstances that deviate from official, published policy.
- Officers can freely and openly support, or disown, the advice of an independent consultant.
- An independent adviser is not hostage to the history of previously agreed strategies and decisions, as is often the lot of officers and councillors.
- A long-term consultant brings ongoing professional advice and stays with the town and its problems, successes and

failures and many changes of personnel over a useful period of time.

- An outside consultant can provide the financial development appraisal that local officers cannot: they are not trained to, and are not sufficiently close to the development coal face to be familiar with current funding figures, even if they understand the formula.
- An independent adviser is not burdened by being part of a town's professional "mafia" of surveyors, developers, architects, contractors, businessmen, accountants. Therefore it is important not to practise locally - but must be within 60 - 90 minutes travel to be easily available.

URBAN DESIGN ROLE

During Rock's Ware consultancy, Rock Townsend undertook the architectural work for some renovation and new build work that was necessary. (This can only happen where the consultant is urban designer, planner and architect.) Working on overall strategy, and at the same time undertaking some key built projects, does work - because the consultant can apply, and demonstrate in practice, principles which are being argued. The consultant is stronger in confrontation with developers if good examplars can be demonstrated .

START FROM CAMP 5

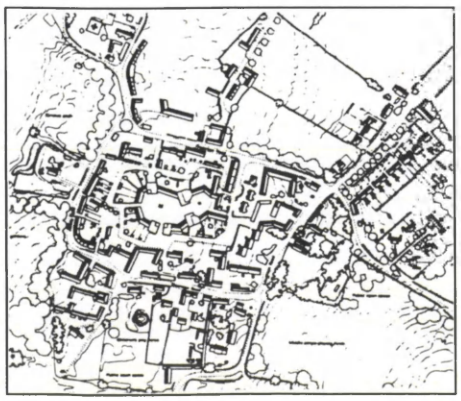
The "Start from Camp 5" philosophy applied demonstrably at Ware which was the better because it built on Rock's previous experience at Billericay. There, where Rock and BDP worked from 1964 - 74, only officers were involved, councillors were excluded, and an important dimension lost.

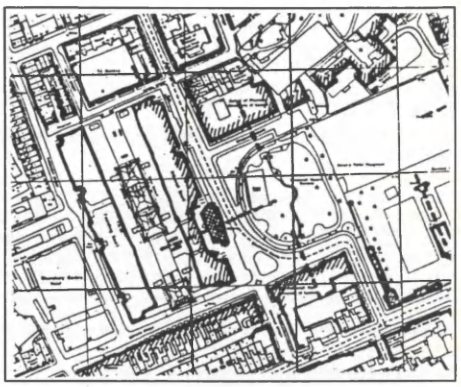
Billericay in turn built on Rock's 1961 - 68 appointment (a Civic Trust recommendation) to revive The Kings Road, Chelsea - a commercial and spiritual revival for which the initial vehicle was something as apparently superficial as "facelift". Before Kings Road there was another Civic Trust appointment for the revival of Rochester High Street, where Rock's involvement with local people really began. What started with something that may have seemed an exercise in colouring, led all the way to Ware, where sensitive interaction, advice and built examples have been the catalyst to saving a town from blight.

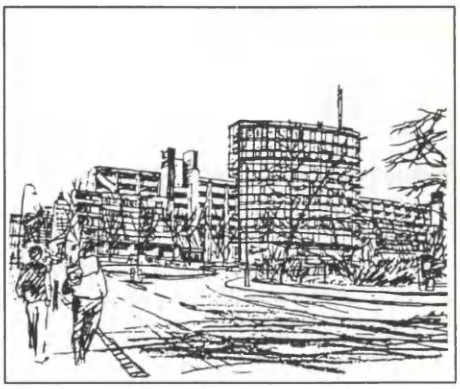
The Ware experience led to another seminal urban design report prepared for Royal Leamington Spa which encompassed strategic, large scale recommendations and detailed design guidelines for key sites in the town, right down to the design of the railings. Leamington Spa led to a smaller analysis and report for the urban centre of Hereford.

Bloomsbury
At the Brunswick Centre, English Heritage, the Royal Fine Art Commission, and London Borough of Camden, are concerned to see appropriate development of this icon of 1960s architecture designed by Patrick Hodgkinson.
Designs commissioned from another architect had caused controversy and angst. David Rock, brought in to advise, brought the problem back to Camp 5. He produced a new strategic urban analysis - looking from the outside in, from the external context of Brunswick Square and its environs.
The Brunswick conclusions have been tested widely with professional critics; with the local community; and with Patrick Hodgkinson and other designers. The scheme now submitted, epitomises a process founded upon open design and real dialogue.
The Brunswick process is in fact a natural result of the slow and arduous climb up the mountain of personal experience, and of personal and received wisdom, which epitomises the Camp 5 philosophy.

CAMP 5
35 Alfred Place, London WCIE 7DP.
Contact David Rock or Lesley Murray
Tel 071 323 3717 Fax 071 580 6080



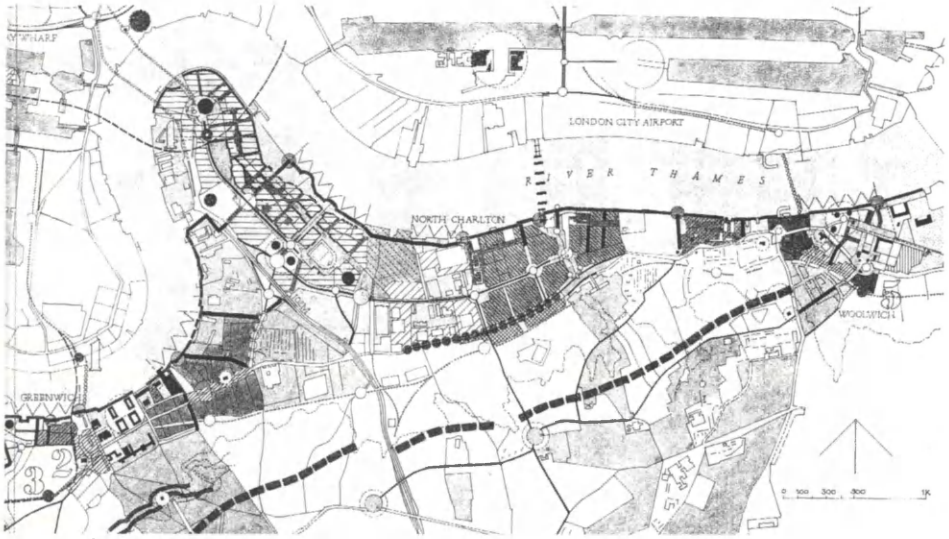




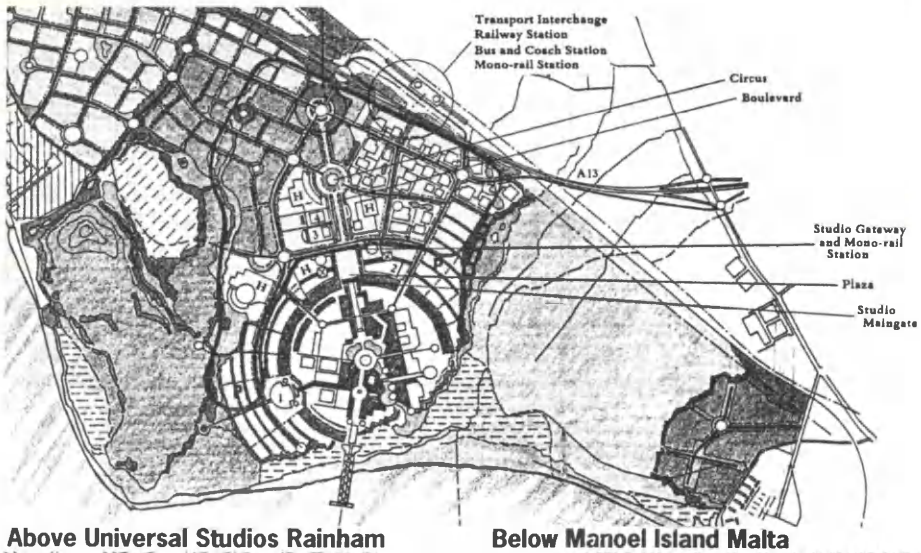
Above: THE BRUNSWICK CENTRE: A new residential building, positioned, shaped and sized by Urban Design principles, and considered in context throughout the design process.

Left: BRADWELL : MILTON KEYNES This shows an alternative strategy to that of MKDC, which planned to fill the fields around the village with 260 terraced dwellings, so that the homes should be part of an extended village.

Anthony Meats

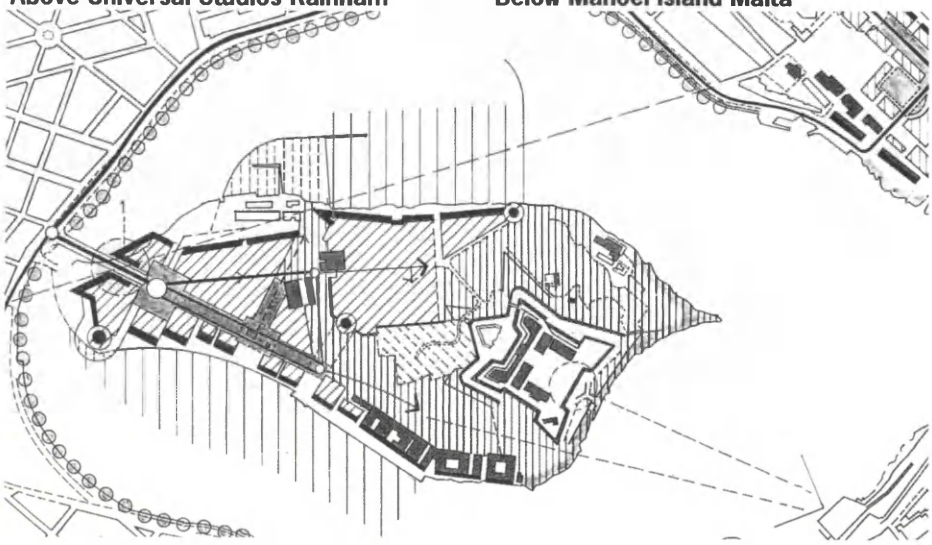


Above Greenwich



Above Universal Studios Rainham

Below Manoel Island Malta



I use the title 'design' in preference to 'urban design', as a description of my work. Urban design implies a narrow concern with urban studies; my work, in varied forms and differing scales encompasses the wider spectrum of design. In the planning of town centres, towns, metropolitan regions, scenic coastlines and rural environments, the design process is essentially one of establishing a coherent visual structure. This structure becomes the framework that brings together the best qualities and characteristics of a particular locality.

The design process is a creative one, possibly theatrical, although I perceive it as visionary.

DESIGN PROCESS

This design attitude is not immune from the constraining influences of politics, economics and geography; indeed these shape and inform the outcome. Without the creative overview, often taken for granted but in reality seldom there, the result will be bland and undistinguished. Whilst remaining sensitive to urban design theory and technique, the aim is to design a lively, imaginative and visually stimulating environment which maintains the historical continuity and traditions of the past.

This should be an essential part of the planning process.

The Consultancy has considerable experience all over the world with an approach which brings together public initiatives and private sector developments. Work has been undertaken with international agencies and government departments both in the UK and overseas.

Project work ranges from infrastructure design, conservation and urban master plans, through to waterfront and coastal studies, and recreation and tourism planning at the regional and national scale.

Examples of broad scale design frameworks include the regeneration of Cardiff Bay and the Greenwich Waterfront; detailed conservation projects, where the sensitivity of the historical environment is the key issue, have been carried out in Ramsgate and a number of towns in West Yorkshire. A more 'monumental' civic study was undertaken for the environs of Parliament Square in London.

Infrastructure projects include the design of large scale transport architecture - bridges, tunnels and service buildings such as those along the London Docklands highways.

In the leisure and recreation field a £2 billion scheme was masterplanned for a movie theme park on Rainham Marshes . The proposal for 'Universal City' consisted of a development of hotels and entertainment, a motion picture and television studios.

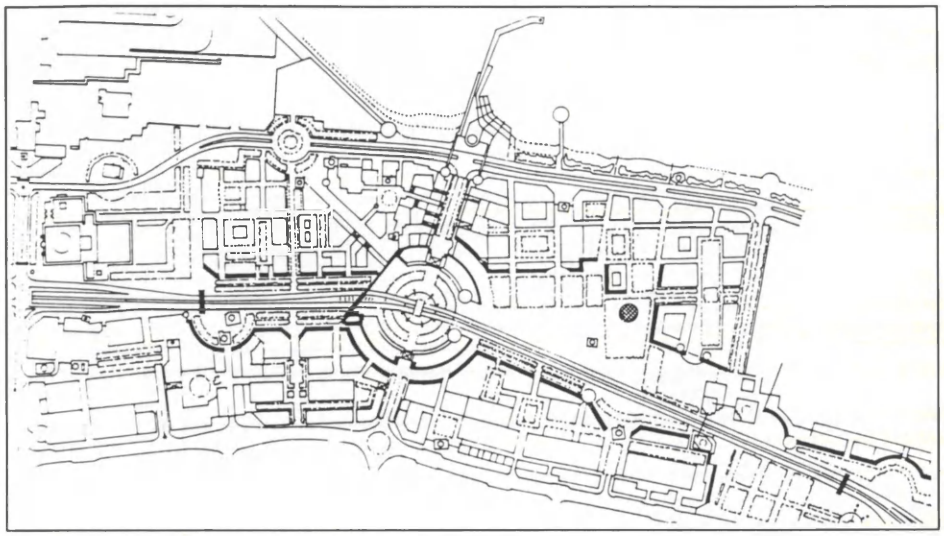
Overseas work has been carried out in the Middle East, Hong Kong and North America, and more recently conservation and tourism studies in Malta, and a design study of the Port of Boulogne.

On many of these projects the designs have been evolved with Justyna Karakiewicz. In 1991 we designed the winning entry in a competition to regenerate the Dunkerque Waterfront. The scheme concentrated on the 19th. century quarter of Malo les Bains with a two pronged response - a short term facelift and a longer term vision. In 1993 an entry for the Burgess Park competition in Southwark, to design an urban park for the 21st century was awarded an honourable mention.

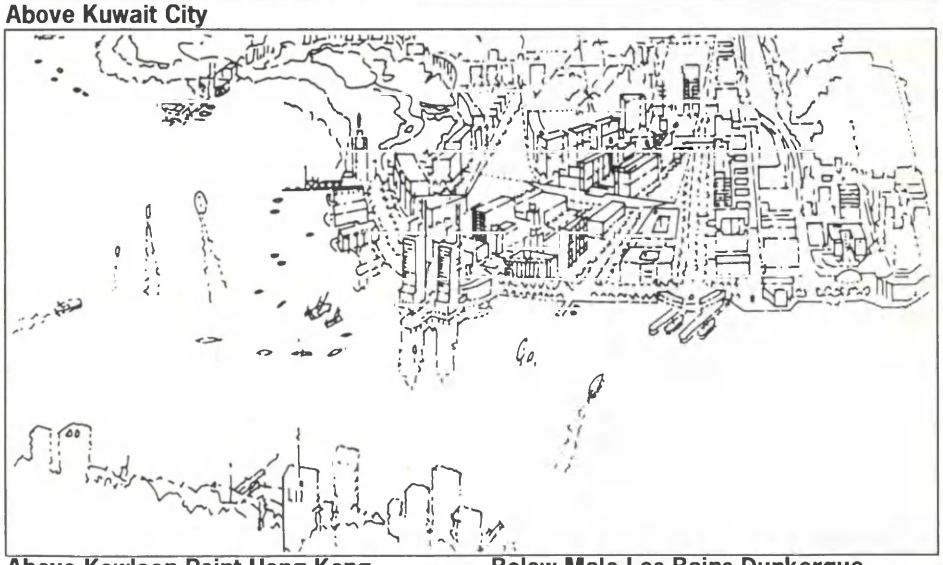
Anthony Meats

12-14 York Rise and London NW5 1SI Tel 071 284 0347

3 High Street Taplow Bucks Tel 0628 66334

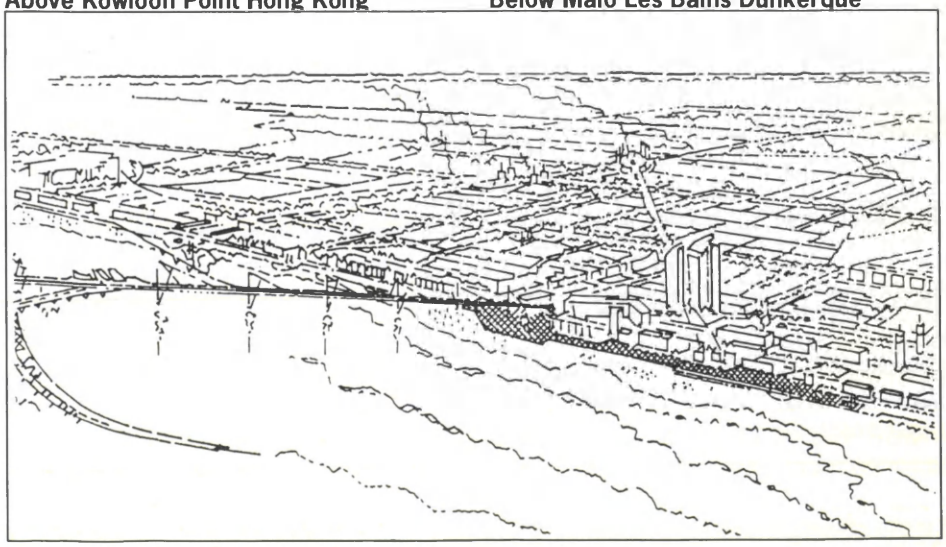


Above Kuwait City

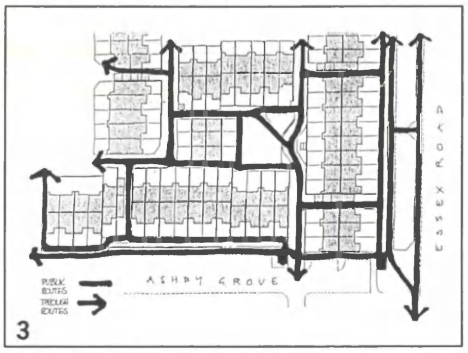


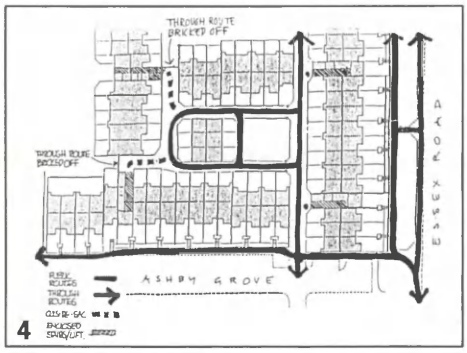
Above Kowloon Point Hong Kong

Below Malo Les Bains Dunkerque



Shepheard Epstein & Hunter





1 Existing estate
2 Creation of smaller clusters
3 Existing circulation routes for a typical portion of the estate
4 Proposed circulation routes for the same portion of the estate

We describe here two schemes from our office currently under construction which have given us the opportunity to assess the success and failures of an urban design model in two different contexts.

MARQUESS ESTATE ISLINGTON

Designed in the early seventies by Darbourne and Darke, the Marquess Estate was a medium-rise high density alternative to the tower blocks being built all over Britain. It was acclaimed at the time and still draws visitors from all over the world.

The Estate has declined steadily since it was built and now has severe problems. The pedestrian permeability that would be so wonderful in an Italian hill town is an invitation to crime in today's inner city estate. The upper level walkways that were bedecked with residents' flowers now house elderly tenants frightened that any knock on the door will be a mugger or a con-man. The passages under the buildings are foul, dark, urine and rubbish-infested holes where residents fear attack, and the multitude of walkways at ground level throughout the estate provide protection for any miscreant escaping the scene of a crime.

Our task has been to reshape the estate to eliminate these and other shortcomings. High-tech solutions such as video and concierge surveillance are not suitable for an estate which has dozens of entrances and lifts, and these would not address the fear that people have just walking around the estate.

The answer we have come up with after several years of discussions with the residents is to modify the urban form of the estate to solve these problems. We are breaking down the 992 homes into small self-contained units, groups of 50 or so flats that can relate to each other. The passages through the estate will be blocked off by extending gardens and flats. The passages under buildings will all be blocked off so that entrances to common stairs and lifts are all from the open air, from the "street".

But the most important development, one which has been obliged upon the estate by all these measures is the fundamental restructuring of the vehicle circulation and the establishment of a hierarchy of pedestrian routes. We have deliberately limited the options available when walking through the estate so that people are channelled along a limited number of routes.

The garden walls, although small elements, have also had a profound effect on security and we have redesigned them in conjunction with the tenants. Where street walls were too high there could be little natural surveillance-crimes outside could not be easily overseen.

When the restructuring programme is complete (probably not before the year 2000) the Marquess Estate will have ceased to exist as an estate. It will be a series of small neighbourhood clusters linked to a new strategic well-defined footpath network. It will in fact be closer to the traditional English urban pattern than the medieval continental pattern that it seems to resemble at present and we hope will be a safer place to live.

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY

Our practice designed the first development plan and buildings for the University on its green field site in 1964. The campus grew steadily until the 1980's when the University went through a period of consolidation and there was little new building. Now the University has embarked on a plan for expansion that will take its numbers from 5000 students in 1990 (Plato's size of the ideal city) to 10,000 by the beginning of the next century, government policy permitting, and eventually to 15,000.

The 1964 plan was inevitably compared to an Italian hill town, and there are obvious similarities. The perimeter road acts like a city wall. All servicing is from the "outside", leaving the inside free for pedestrians. This has allowed a car-free centre with a central linear route- the spine- that acts like a busy high street.

There are several constraints which affect the placing of new buildings within the plan:

- extending the spine: how to improve the quality of this central street which has become dull and claustrophobic in some places?
- the "ten minute rule": pedestrian movement from end to end must be quick and efficient to enable students to walk from one teaching venue to another within 10 minutes. Without this facility the University timetable is impossible.
- social organisation: the University consists of semi-autonomous colleges and departments. Social facilities relate to a social unit of 200-500 people. Other Universities share centralised facilities used by 5,000 people or more. Each college therefore has its own territory within the plan, and all places within the perimeter road are linked to at least one college.
- a third node of activity: Alexander Square is clearly the centre of the whole campus. There is a second node in the northern half of the plan around the Great Hall. New buildings give the opportunity of a third node in the southern half of the plan.

• views out: the development plan deliberately creates a pedestrian interior, which closes off views out to the wonderful landscape beyond.
• Form and materials: The combination of a simple but strong system of organisation and a few consistent materials- Stamfordstone brick, white render, white or light-coloured roof materials with a varied roofline has provided coherence. To some on the campus this has been too successful- the architecture is seen as too homogeneous.

THE NEW DEVELOPMENT

The new development consists of two major buildings and the spaces between them: a four storey building containing new lecture and seminar rooms, and a new four storey residential college with public facilities on the ground floor. They are used to create the "third node" within the perimeter road.

Pedestrian circulation: Instead of continuing the spine as a narrow corridor running through the plan, two new squares are created, which will eventually be bordered by new development and arcades or covered ways providing shelter.

Landscape: The marsh, an accident of landscape where land was poorly drained and water-loving indigenous plants have grown up, is popular with staff and students and has been incorporated into the plan.

Views out: for once, views out can be created from the new arcade under Pendle College, due to its siting and topography. People walking under the arcade will enjoy a framed vista of the surrounding hills for three or four minutes of a typical south bound journey.

Form and materials: Pendle College, takes the original idea of vigorous white roof lines and reinterprets it with silver grey metal roofs and long overhangs pointing toward the sky.

Layering of uses: One of the principles of the original development plan was horizontal layering of uses. Top floors were residential, middle floors were offices and ground floor was teaching, social and public facilities. This gave all parts of the campus a rich mixture of activities and meant that buildings were occupied twenty-four hours a day. The difficulty of funding academic accommodation over the last ten years has caused new buildings to be solely residential.

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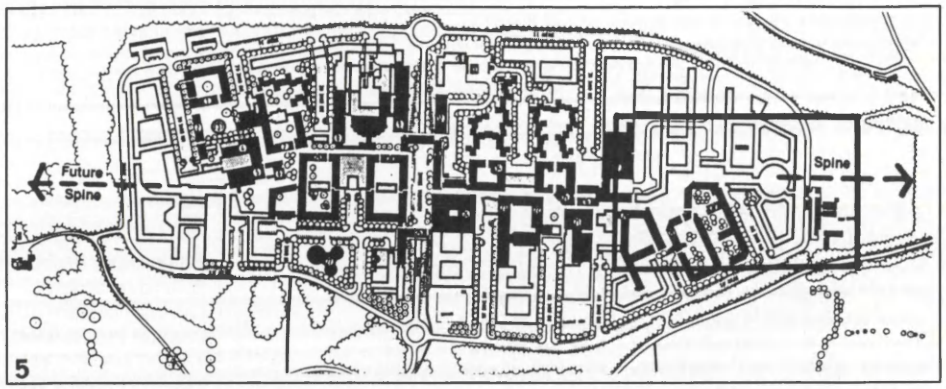
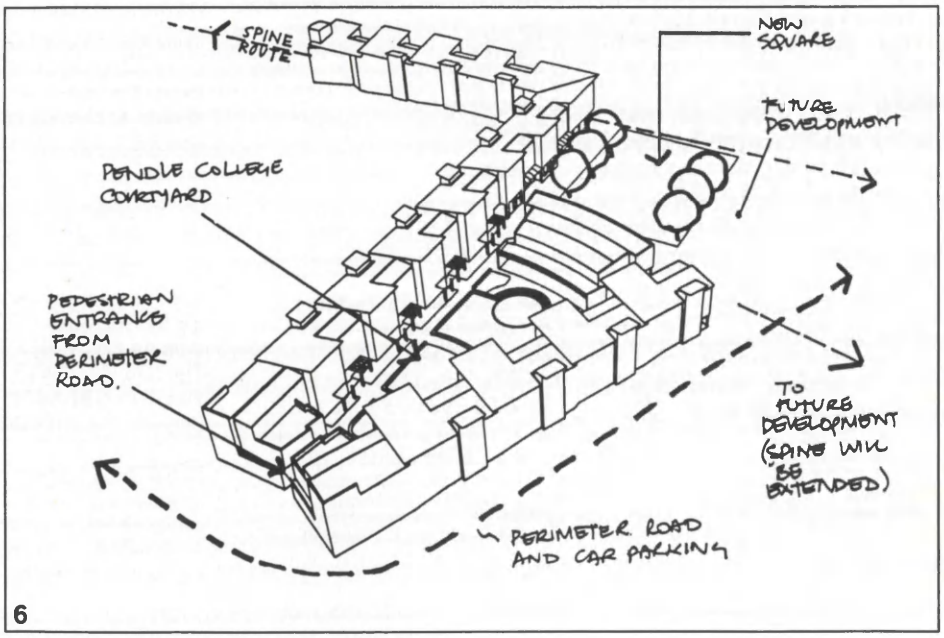


5 University development plan with existing buildings in black and future buildings indicated in outline. The South Campus is within the rectangle.



6 Pendle College: aerial view showing the extension of the spine within the colonnade and also the new square and future growth.

7 Pendle College: view from within courtyard of college overlooked by kitchens and entrances which all address that space.

PRACTICE INDEX

DIRECTORY OF PRACTICES OFFERING URBAN DESIGN SERVICES AND SUBSCRIBING TO THIS INDEX

This directory provides a service to potential clients when they are looking for specialist professional advice on projects involving urban design and related matters and to students and professionals considering taking an urban design course.

A standard entry which consists of the name, address, telephone and fax numbers of the practice or school together with six lines describing a practice's or a course's specialisms involves a subscription of £80 covering issues up to and including June/ July 1994 or pro rata for a shorter period. Additional lines for a longer description involve an extra payment of £4 per line. Those wishing to be included in future issues, on a pro rata cost, should contact John Billingham 26 Park Road, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 1DS. Tel 0235 526094.

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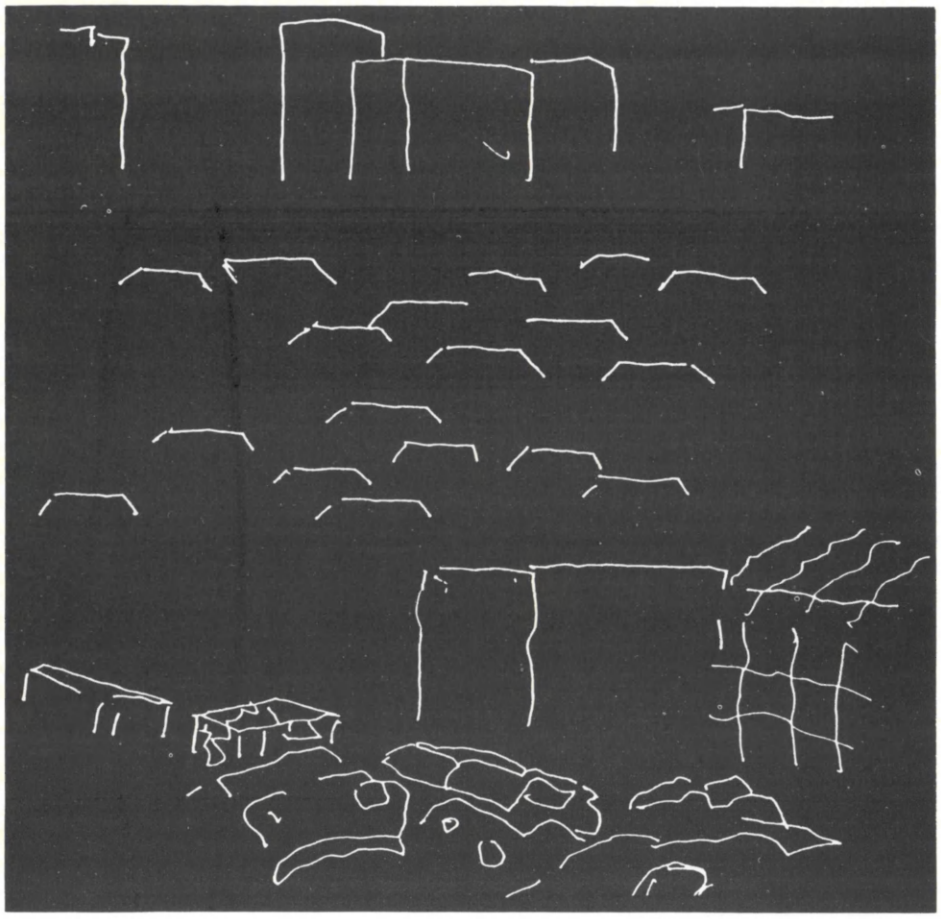

ENDPIECE

WHO YA GONNA CALL?
Bob Jarvis

Sometimes I'm not sure that it really is good news that urban design is news. Sometimes I see a dark side to all those column inches, Late Show slots and Building Sights. Sometimes a piece makes a point to me that I'm sure is quite different from the one intended. Hugh Pearman's double page in The Sunday Times 'The Culture' (sic) last month, on Croydon was one (1).

Pearman describes the way the leader of Croydon Council has commissioned ideas studies from a familiar galaxy of architectural stars to possibly (for there is no guarantee at all that anything will be built) transform Croydon. Or Croydon's image anyway. For it will be an *imaginary* Croydon, a one dimensional, colonialist importation of ideas and sketches, more in the wicked world of advertising and boosterism than making any palpable change.

Architecture is offered as a solution to an image problem. Unemployment is described as an 'architectural emergency', the whole operation as a version of Ghostbusters: 'a critical design mass has been reached .... the soft pencils and hard computers of this internationally celebrated gang of architectural gunslingers...'

Against this there are a few vignettes of everyday life: snatches of overheard conversation, public house *vox pops*, presenting a downbeat background to the architectural glitterati. This is familiar Gillen territory (nearly Ewell, actually) 'Do the people who live here have any relations ... are they human? Judging by their environment one would think not' (2).

And wholly missing, not mentioned at all, in Pearman's story those who *should* be envisioning the future of Croydon. Who know, from years of dealing with back extensions, changes of use, and parking spaces and landscaping conditions just what kind of place Croydon really is - and probably have a much better idea than the gunslingers what the future should be: its own planners. It's not unusual these days, however, to overlook them, it's the typical response of local authorities - and maybe even of irresolute Chief Planning Officers - to call for consultants when their own nerve fails.

Partly the planning profession itself is to blame. It gave up the vision thing years ago. Even before it became the Royal Institute, Graham Ashworth was asking ' where have all the wild men gone?' (3), and Thomas Sharp, last champion of the planner as designer, already fallen from grace. In Croydon maybe the knowledge that all those buildings that Pearman reviles, and are the gunslingers' targets, actually had planning permission, is too great a burden on their consciences to ever allow them to dream again and tell their dreams.

But it's not only the professionals, servants of *developers* and permitters of *development* who can imagine, describe and sketch the issues and concerns and visions for the future of a place and a community. Artists, writers, dramatists, all those 'Engineers of the Imagination', through observation, engagement and sharing the life of places and the language of everyday life can celebrate and communicate these too (4).

Sadly though, even the Arts Council's own conference Designing Cities (5) was dominated by architectural messages and the architectural establishment. The role of art and artists unmentioned (apart from my question). Even Urban Studies Centres, now struggling as funding and support shrink, who consistently and nationally opened up local issues to public and especially children's voices, seemed written out of the new orthodoxy of visions of the city.

So in Croydon Sir Peter called Sir Richard. And you can see the results on 29 September (6). If it had been me I'd have called Welfare State (7) or Platform, whose recent work Still Waters aimed to 'return the rivers of London to our lives and imaginations' and see art as 'the rogue element in society' (8).

But then I'm not likely to be the leader of any council.

(1) Hugh Pearman, High Hopes, The Sunday Times. 11 July 1993, p 9, 24 - 5.
(2) Gordon Cullen, Townscape. Architectural Press, London, 1961, p 272.
(3) Graham Ashworth, Where have all the Wild Men gone, TPIJ. Vol 53, 1967, pp 339 - 343.
(4) See for instance:
Tony Coult and Baz Kershaw (eds), Engineers of the Imagination: the Welfare State Handbook. Methuen, London, 1993 (revised edition).
Alan Read, Theatre and Everyday Life: an ethics of performance. Routledge, London, 1993
(5) Designing Cities: a conference on architecture centres. Birmingham, 25 April 1993.
(6) Croydon: the Future. details from Paul Hildreth, 081 760 5692.
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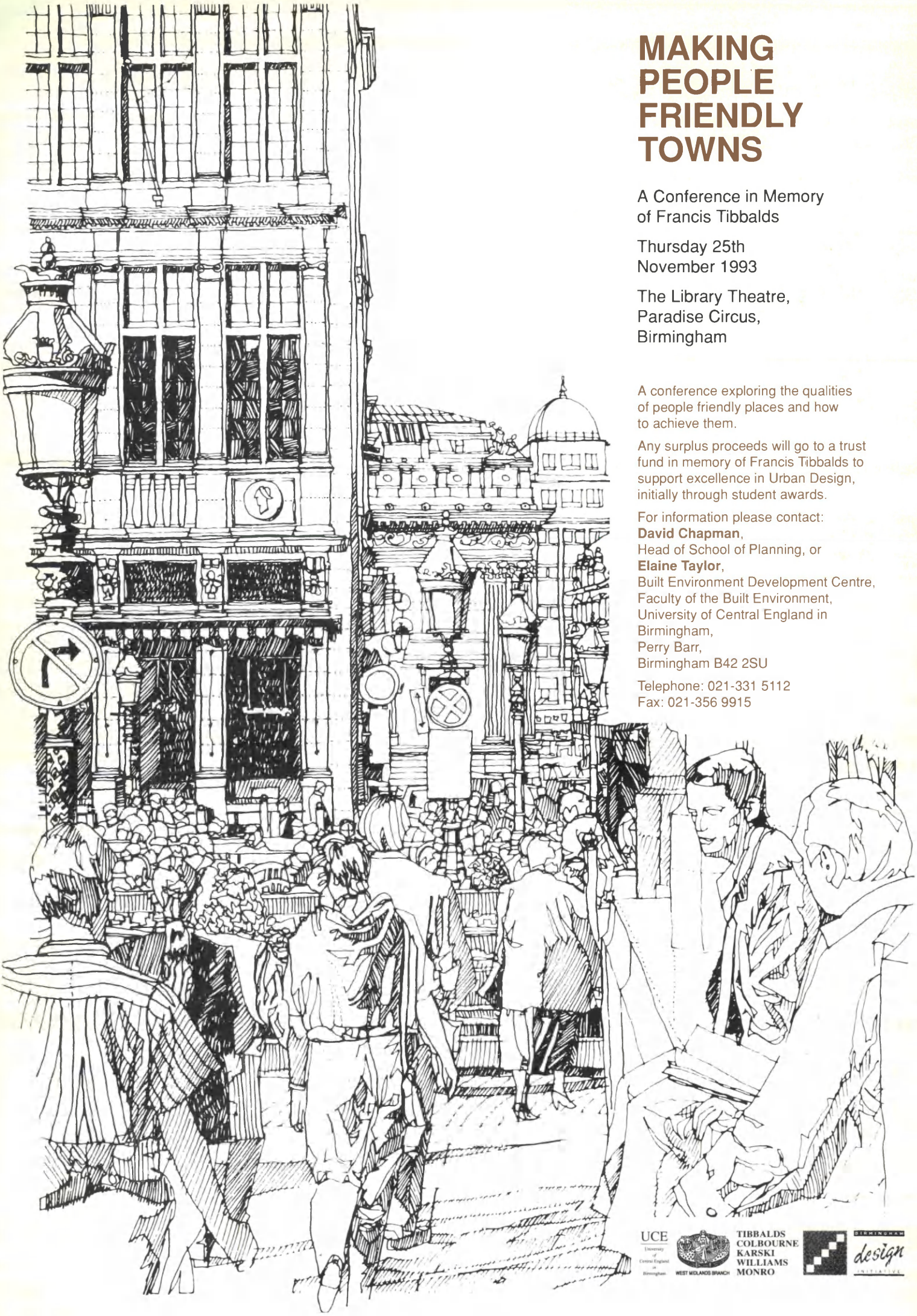

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