The Open House International Association (OHLA) aims to communicate, disseminate and exchange housing and planning information. The focus of this exchange is on tools, methods and processes which enable the various professional disciplines to understand the dynamics of housing and so contribute more effectively to it. To achieve its aims, the OHLA organizes and co-ordinates activities which include the publication of a quarterly journal, seminars, international seminars, workshops and special events. The OHLA plans to work with the OHIA to achieve the following objectives:

- To be sponsored annually, in connection with the Seminar. Covers principles, methods, tools and practice which may be transferable and interchangeable in the international planning and housing field and in the near future an international seminar and an annual competition.

The Open House International Seminar/Workshop is an opportunity to share information and encourage a greater understanding of housing and planning in the built environment through encouraging a greater understanding of the local and international context. The seminar and an annual competition are to be held around the world and hosted by a member of the OHIA. The seminar and competition are to be held annually in connection with the Seminar. Covers principles, methods, tools and practice which may be transferable and interchangeable in the international planning and housing field and in the near future an international seminar and an annual competition.

International Seminar/Workshop

To be held annually and hosted by a member institute. The seminar explores the local and international linking of public/private relationships which are emerging in housing and settlement development. The seminar and an annual competition are to be held annually in connection with the Seminar. Covers principles, methods, tools and practice which may be transferable and interchangeable in the international planning and housing field and in the near future an international seminar and an annual competition.

The competition

To be sponsored annually, in connection with the Seminar. Covers principles, methods, tools and practice which may be transferable and interchangeable in the international planning and housing field and in the near future an international seminar and an annual competition. An international panel of judges selects the top submissions.
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OPEN AND SUSTAINABLE BUILDING

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Abstract

In accordance with its commitment to discussion and dissemination of the Open Building principles and methods, the CIB W104 "Open Building Implementation" has been celebrating annual conferences since 1996. The main objective of these meetings held around the world is to promote research by various disciplines related to the improvement of the built environment by application of the Open Building concept, considering different cultures and interests.

In this special issue of Open House International we have invited some of the authors who participated in The 16TH International Conference "OPEN AND SUSTAINABLE BUILDING - O&SB2010" organised jointly by CIB W104 and TECNALIA on May 17-19, 2010 in Bilbao (Spain). In this Conference, more than 40 papers were presented, representing 16 countries. The winners of the 2nd International Open Building Student Competition "Detaching form Architecture" also participated in the Conference.

In the 11 papers that have been selected for this issue, we see the application of Open building principles in a general view but also applied to specific buildings and projects through case studies.

The first and third papers report on the implementation of OB in specific scenarios - a post-industrial scenario and the high-rise + high-density, a situation present in many of our modern cities using Hong-Kong as a specific case. Then an interesting study is presented, focused on the possibility of predicting the changes that can be afforded by an open architecture. Following this discussion is a report on current PhD research showing the need of designing the interfaces between the different parts of an open building system. Then a structural system is explained to achieve buildings of more than twelve storeys using modular technology.

The sixth paper explains the experiences of the application of the IFD (Industrialized, Flexible, Demountable) strategy in several Dutch projects, built or projected. The seventh paper describes the use of OB in the design and construction of an experimental facility named Kubik, located in Spain. The eighth paper analyzes the design of adaptable building in Japan giving two case studies.

The ninth paper discusses the history and development of residential infill systems, with a global view, in order to achieve the needs of inhabitants. The tenth paper explains the benefits of a modular construction system giving a case study as example, and the last paper speaks about how refurbishment can be also part of the OB philosophy explaining the change of use in a specific building in Spain.

For more information, all the papers presented are available at www.open-building.org

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Editorial

The 21st century has been designated as the century of urban transition. Urban environments have become a key reflection of the changes in today's world of dynamic and constant flux as cities throughout the world experience fundamental social, cultural and economic transformation. Socio-cultural and urban identities are being radically transformed; globalization, internationalization and the rapid flow of information all play a significant role in changing cities and their people. During the last three decades significant investments of monetary resources and professional expertise have led to numerous projects and programmes concerning urban regeneration, housing renovation, and the revitalization of old neighbourhoods.

Many countries have witnessed significant changes during the 2000s and these have been reflected in urban renewal projects. Reform of provincial governance and other reforms of city planning have been much more centred on urban renewal. In current urban design projects, urban transformation and renewal issues have gained importance. Urban transformation and renewal are agents of integrated visions which aim at regenerating urban places on the verge of physical and social collapse, by activating existing dynamics rooted in the local economy. In many countries the most common approach has been based largely on quantifiable criteria related to the functional and physical performance of buildings, the financial return of monetary investments, and projections about demographic and economic trends. It has been rare to explicitly integrate the aspirations, preferences and values of local residents living in or adjacent to projects. The key question today is: how can future projects define a comprehensive programme of work if they continue to ignore the point of view of the local population? Instead of relying heavily on technical solutions by professionals, both quantitative and qualitative approaches are necessary and they should involve a wide range of actors from the public and private sectors including citizens.

To explore these issues, an international symposium was jointly organized in Istanbul in October 2009 by two networks of the International Association of People-Environment Studies (IAPS). These are the 'Culture and Space in the Built Environment - CSBE' and the 'Housing' Network which have accumulated considerable scientific knowledge and experience. The symposium was addressed to an international audience of researchers, postgraduate students, teachers and professional practitioners involved in different disciplines including architecture, cultural studies, geography, sociology, economics, planning, political science and urban history. The objective of this initiative was to explore the interrelationships between new urban dynamics, urban renewal and transformation projects within the global restructuring process. This focus provided a framework for examining new approaches to revitalising built and urban environments in many countries. In addition, Istanbul's strategic location made the symposium a vital point of reference for understanding urban trends in Europe and the Middle East.
The objective of this special issue of the journal is focused on concepts and methods related to re-urbanization and the revitalization of the built environment at the scale of neighbourhoods. Although there is a large consensus on what is required to create successful urban development, different countries have adopted contrasting strategies for urban transformation. The state and local governments in many countries now recognize that problems deriving from the deteriorating state of residential buildings and decreasing housing construction must be handled and the rehabilitation of housing estates and urban residential environments require arrangements both at national and local levels.

During recent decades, various terminologies have been used to define these phenomena. A number of related concepts present overlapping meanings despite their basic differences in functions, objects, aims and methods: renewal, renovation, restructuring, rehabilitation, revitalization, and gentrification are all relevant in this respect. Urban renewal is the transformation and renewal of the old structures of the city in line with the social and dynamic conjuncture of the age. The aim of urban renewal within this context is to revitalize these older parts of urban areas which have lost their previous functions for diverse reasons, including changing manufacturing practices and locations. Parts of urban space may be derelict, threatened, physically degraded, damaged, obsolete, and even destroyed by numerous factors including the impact of urban development activities and changing economic policies.

The objective of this special issue of Open House International is to examine the relationships between new urban dynamics, urban renewal and transformation projects within the global restructuring process. To highlight the aims, definitions and applications of urban renewal, the editors have selected key articles among the papers presented at the symposium to explore the current strategies and practices of different countries in order to provide a framework for new applications for revitalizing urban environments. The authors of the selected papers analyse different urban revitalisation and requalification approaches in Belgium, England, Finland, Hungary, Israel, Japan and Turkey.

This set of articles applies different definitions of urban transformation which vary according to different visions, objectives, strategies and methods. Urban renewal expresses the whole of the strategy and actions as applied in comprehensive and integrated approaches for improving economic, social, physical and environmental conditions of decay and collapse of urban areas. The scope and nature of urban transformation therefore impacts on the existing structure of the city and the physical, social and economic future of the people who live there with potentially significant impacts on local traditions and quality of life. This underlines the value of interdisciplinary collaborative practices underpinned by theory and international experience. This special issue aims to support these endeavours.
For information about the IAPS international association of people-environment studies visit the website: www.iaps-association.org

For information about the IAPS Housing network visit the website: http://www.iaps-association.org/activities-remit/networks/housing


Note:
The next joint symposium of the IAPS Housing and CSBE networks will be held in Daegu, Korea from 10th to 14th October 2011 and it will address "Continuity and change of built environments - Housing, Culture and Space across life-spans". See: http://www.iaps2011symposium.kr/download/call.pdf
Much has been said about urban recycling since the 1990s, when sustainable development became a main political focus, especially in European cities. Yet, land recycling is older than cities. Lewis Mumford (1961) reminds us of this continuous metabolic process in his book “The city in History”. The simple fact of reurbanising is already a form of recycling land even though transforming a cultivated field into an urbanised site has a different environmental impact than transforming an industrial brownfield into a new urban development. Recycling rural land into new developments has been the main technique used to increase the size of cities, especially from the Industrial Revolution onwards. Improved transport and communications technologies are mainly responsible for urban expansion. People are searching for a better standard of living with more space, safety and green landscape. Effects of suburbanisation were first felt in American cities, then in European cities: Rural land consumption, fragmentation of landscape, automobile congestion, delocalisation of facilities and industries are some of the effects that were highlighted by governments of different countries at the Rio Conference in 1992. More than ever, recycling has become the key word as far as commitment to sustainable development is concerned.

Many authors have tried to explain these different models of city growth. Basically, we can identify two extreme models: the radio-concentric model and the isotropic grid model, with the sprawled city as a degenerate and intermediate form. It is very difficult to reduce such a complex phenomenon into two
theoretical models because the networks which underpin cities are of such different scales. These networks are physical, social, economical and environmental. Superimposing different territorial scales in a same physical space also confuses urban designs, as they relate to concepts of radio-centricity and polycentricity. Many cities were studied for their capacity to recycle former industrial landscapes and become services-led cities, such as Barcelona, London, Liverpool and Berlin amongst so many others. The process of recycling is based on the physical transformation acting as a "motor" for social and economic enhancement. Reviving city centres, reusing obsolete buildings, creating social mix linkages, enhancing built environments with green parks, landmark architecture and housing are some of the ways these cities have chosen to recycle themselves. In this context, Brussels is quite particular: Firstly, because being a capital five times over, the city must deal with international attendance whilst still being able to offer good living conditions; And secondly, because the Brussels Capital Region is in the middle of a political debate between the Flemish and the Walloons. This complex political system between federal and regional institutions has a direct impact on institutional limits which do not respect the geographical boundaries of urban communities.

Brussels must solve the problem of financing both metropolitan centralities and affordable housing within her small 161 square kilometres' area. Brussels could be quoted as an example of complex imbrication of both compact and sprawled city-models. On one hand, the city, delimited by its 19 districts, is a relatively compact one (6.253 inh./km²). On the other hand, when Brussels is analysed with her hinterland, the population density falls to 594 inh./km, the population of a diffused agglomeration. Last but not least, Brussels does not have large reserves of derelict land like London or the Ruhr Valley in Germany. Urban planning is on a far more modest scale than in other European city-capitals. In the last twenty years, the biggest housing development was constructed on the northwest fringe of the city. The development, named "Les Jardins de Jette" has just been com-
completed and offers more than 800 new dwellings. Other than this development, many others were undertaken in the city centre and on the city fringes to try and further attract new inhabitants. In Brussels, recycling old places for new uses is an option that has mainly been adopted since the 1989 regionalisation. According to Billen and Duvosquel (2000:14), Brussels has this peculiar capacity of recycling even if many projects are harmful to the former inhabitants. "It is due to auto destruction of its cells that the tissue is able to regenerate and keep alive..." The aim of this article is not only to convince that recycling brownfields is good for sustainable development or to show the potential of these sites in terms of connectivity to public transport, facilities and amenities. Politicians, developers and users are more and more conscious of the benefits of this kind of development. However, today, two main questions may be asked: Firstly, why is recycling going to take in the next 20 years, considering that the population will have risen by 20% between 2005 and 2020? (See Declève B. Ananian P. et al., 2009 and Ananian P., 2010)

**BRUSSELS FROM INDUSTRIALISATION TO RESIDENTIALISATION**

To understand the dynamics of urban recycling, it is necessary to consider the main transformations that have changed the form and the image of the city since the distant past. Recycling is not only about transforming obsolete industrial buildings into lofts or about decontaminating former industrial soils when society decided, between the 1970s and the 1990s, to pay attention to sustainable development. The potential to create and recycle urban life and urban fabric can be seen in all times from the Middle Age to the present day. We propose to approach the concept of recycling by giving a short background on the ability of a city to transform itself through History.

As well as many other European medieval cities, Brussels developed along a river, the Senne, and was encircled by a first wall constructed in the early Xth century. Two centuries later, a larger wall was constructed (8km) enveloping quarters that had developed outside the limits of the first wall (Billen C. Duvosquel J. 2000). Three main centralities developed through the implementation of religious, political and commercial centres represented respectively by the Church Saint-Gudule; the Coudenberg Palace (Brabant Dukes) and the Grote Markt. This reinforced the extension of the city in an East-West direction. Since the Xvth and Xvith centuries, an increasing population quickly promoted densification inside the limits of the city wall. Gradually, available spaces within blocks and between houses as well as fields aimed for bleaching and agriculture were urbanised. In the Xvth century, the construction of the Wilebroeck Canal linked Brussels to the North Sea, developing a harbour inside the old city. This marked the beginning of industrialisation along the canal and along the Senne in a northerly direction, towards Vilvoorde. This industrialisation then spurred the urbanisation of the Senne's left embankment with houses, trades and industrial facilities.

Over the years, many fires destroyed entire quarters of Brussels. Unfortunately, the city has the knack of rebuilding without taking advantage of these destructions to rationalise her spaces (Billen C.; Duvosquel J. 2000). The notion of recycling will only really be applied later, between the Xvith and the Xxth centuries, and will translate into the demolition of the city walls to be transformed into boulevards; into embellishment operations such as the creation of new public spaces (place Royale, place du Nouveau Marché aux Grains); and into the planning of streets that will promote urban extension.

Since the beginning of the Xxth century, two dynamics can be observed: firstly the fragmentary growth of the city outside the limits of the former city wall, structured by the transport network (creation of boulevards and public transport); secondly, the growth of the city inside the former limits of the city walls, where entire medieval and insalubrious neighbourhoods were adapted to new demands for comfort, functionality and urban aesthetic standing (Haussmanian inspiration). We can quote some of these complex urban operations such as the drainage of the Senne (1865) that contributed to the purifying of the quarters (reaction against cholera epidemics in 1832, 1848 and 1866) whilst surveying terrains for new constructions (Demey T. 1990). Boulevards were created above the former bed of the Senne, linking the North to the South of the city, thus adding to the existing train stations. In
In the XIXth century, beautifying the city-centre was already a major policy with the Brussels’ City Administration which aimed at stopping the demographic exodus (Crédit Communal 1979). Two complementary objectives were set: to attract higher class inhabitants and businesses and to expropriate working classes in order to relegate them to the suburbs. Policies of de-densification of the city-centre by demolishing old quarters were applied at the same time as first urban extensions were planned. The first urban residential quarter planned outside the city-walls was constructed in 1838 (Leopold quarter) for the elite and was enhanced by town squares and a train station (Demey, 1990:22). Today the landscape of this urban quarter has been almost totally transformed by the high-rise administrative buildings of the European Commission. Extensive urbanisation was accelerated, especially between 1860 and 1880, by the extension of the monumental road axis, creation of parks and improvement of public transport. The suburban railway increased daily commuting between the suburbs and the city-centre. In the first instance, trams were an instrument of speculative strategy for real estate development. However, when the network was sufficiently developed to release pieces of land, the impact became more social. As a speculative instrument of urban democratisation, public transport allowed people to live further from the city, yet still remain connected to it.

New infrastructure, with the creation of the railway and the extension of the Wilebroeck Canal to Charleroi and its mining activities in the South, has reoriented the organisation of the city in a North-South direction. The canal in 1832 was 14 km long and provided the impetus for industrial development, especially when it involved delocalising the interior harbour, giving the option to recycle this zone into residential neighbourhoods (Osta 1995:96; Demey 1990:156). The new harbour was constructed in association with the railway system along the canal. These new infrastructures called Tour and Taxis were responsible for the development of many harbour facilities and for the creation of new industries along the canal. At the end of the XIXth century, many activities were re-localised in suburbs, leaving empty buildings and brownfields. The activities of Tour and Taxis had stopped in 1920. This 45 ha zone was the subject of many redevelopment plans. Proposals shifted between clustering, creating mixed use complexes or creating a regional park as a way to compensate for the surrounding crowded central quarters.

In the XXth century, recycling became synonymous with traumatism. “Bruxelisation” is the name given to those complex urban plans that destroyed entire quarters under the pretext of retrofitting the old city structure into modernity. Railway junctions are the best examples of “bruxelisation”. The city-centre was cut in two from North to South by the construction of this junction that took fifty years to be completed. According to Michiels M. (1996), for a long time, the North-South corridor (railway and urban roads linkages) inside the Pentagon facilitated crossing the heart of Europe’s capital (1km) without finding one inhabitant. The city centre was transformed into a mono functional zone that ended at the CBD quarter. This quarter had been transformed into a business district in the 1960s, expropriating several inhabitants. The petroleum crisis of the 1970s stopped the development of the plan, and this area was “abandoned” for twenty years. This period was characterised by the recycling of residential quarters into administrative quarters. Like other cities, Brussels took the opportunity of the International Expo of 1958, to encourage urbanisation in order to welcome international events (Ananian 2010:77). The main impact of this event was not only the extensive urbanisation, like that of the Heysel plateau, but the total reorganisation of the city to allow for vehicle access. Six tunnels were constructed around the Pentagon as well as 128 km of streets, 119 junctions and 36 bridges and one elevated road over the Leopold II Boulevard that was meant to be temporary but remained for more than thirty years (Demey, 1992:29).

Many offices were constructed in Brussels, increasing the lack of affordable dwellings. Since 1989, when Brussels became a city-region, residential development policies were implemented. Many economic factors contributed in shifting real estate development from office-based to dwellings-based. A new cycle began with the recycling of office buildings into flats. According to BRAT, there were 1,400 office buildings in Brussels in 2007, which accounts for approx. 13 x 106 m2 of available floor space, of which 1.3 x 106 m2 to 1.5 x 106...
m2 was unoccupied. About 60 buildings were reconverted into 1,200 dwellings. Residential development, which was a weak function, became much more important and advantageous. Each urban cycle reflects a socio-economical context whose analysis can be divided into three: According to Jacques Donzelot (2009) these three parts are relegation, counter urbanization and gentrification. We can observe that all three are radio-concentric concepts. Density is always a design criterion in morphological, social and economical terms. Banished quarters are normally associated with high densities and promiscuity. Counter urbanization expresses the will of inhabitants to become owners and to afford a better standard of living than if they had remained in the cities. Density is much lower than in central quarters. The return to the city expresses a complex system of strategies and policies aimed at attracting solvable population back. This includes rehabilitation of old places endowed with good connectivity to transports and facilities. These policies have often brought in a higher class than the existing one, leading to gentrification.

**URBAN REGENERATION POLICIES: SUSTAINING A COMPACT CITY**

Brussels is a capital five times over and welcomes daily nearly 360,000 commuters who do not live in the city. The population of the city increases by about 30% daily and this situation creates many problems associated with commuter traffic and accessibility to public transport, as well as the problem of financing urban facilities and infrastructures. In the early 1990s, the income of the Region was hardly dependent on the taxes brought in by the inhabitants (IPP).1 The regions' refinancing in 2001 (accord du Lambermont): meant that the funds now less depended on Brussels residents. Since Brussels became one of three regions in Belgium, policies were put in place for urban regeneration. The image of the city has changed dramatically between the end of the XIXth century and the 1960s/1970s. Large urban operations such as the Senne's canalisation, the railway junction (North-South), and the destruction of the North quarter to be replaced by a CBD that did not work as planned, have all contributed to the city centre's depopulation. The government tried to minimize these issues by implementing urban policies aimed at improving the standard of living (Noël F.1998). The main regional policy was created in 1993, named "Les contrats de quartier". These are four years contracts signed between the Region and the Municipality to revitalize public spaces, renew and create new dwellings, improve social linkages, that can be extended by another two years maximum. Housing and facilities were created, public spaces were renovated, and social cohesion was developed. The policy of neighbourhood contracts is linked to a broader regional city plan named PRD2. Two PRDs were published, one in 1995 and the second in 2001. These plans represent the government's vision of urban development, and list the following twelve priorities: 1/improve residential attractiveness /2/improve economy and employment /3/increase social dwellings /4/ valorisation of residential development as a motor for urban regeneration /5/ simplify administrative procedures /6/ increase commercial attractiveness /7/ improve social aid (education and health) /8/ improve mobility and transport /9/ improve environment /10/ develop Brussels' international vocation /11/ implement prevention and mediation policies /12/ improve research and development.

**INCREASE IN DENSITY AND IMPROVEMENT OF URBANITY IN CENTRAL NEIGHBOURHOODS**

Recycling deals with temporality. We cannot talk about recycling without considering how long it takes to plan the project, to find private and public stakeholders, to manage authorization permits and citizen participation. It is often a long process. Even when it is fairly short compared to an urban cycle, it affects the surrounding inhabitants. Large military facilities and abandoned factories are real voids inside or between quarters even though they have the potential to increase density and/or urbanity, and to bring back inhabitants (or users, in the case of recycling brownfields into amenities). Just as Donzelot (2009) proposed three stages to explain the background of the city's evolution, we may propose to understand punctual recycling in three

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1 IPP - Impôt sur les Personnes Physiques (Tax on Inhabitants)
2 PRD - Plan Régional de Développement (Regional development plan)
stages: utilization, immobilisation and transformation. Processes are not always linear and not always this simple, but these three periods can be observed in many cases in the urbanisation of the XIXth and XXth century city centre.

The utilization period is the functional period of the building or land. Depending on the age of the terrain, the utilization period may be intermittent because it follows the replacement of one cycle by another. This kind of situation is more frequent in city centres and old village centres. The utilization period may also be linear, such as in the case of available terrains that have had no previous function and are urbanised and inhabited. Finally, temporary utilization also has to be considered as a kind of usage during immobilization and/or transformation periods.

The immobilization period is the period between two cycles. Buildings or lands are not used in the way they were planned to but they are not being transformed. In some cases the reason for this is speculation; in other cases, their transformation depends on public and private will and financing. The immobilization period is the worst in social and urban terms, because while it lasts, people have the feeling that their quarter is abandoned. These buildings or terrains are usually large zones inserted in an urban fabric. Scales are different and these areas are perceived as physical and social voids in the neighbourhood.

The transformation period is the period of action. It must merge with the utilization period. Large residential operations are not developed in just one stage. Whole projects are normally broken into phases for financial planning reasons. The phases already completed are sold and inhabited according to the plan while the next phase starts. To demonstrate this hypothesis, research was undertaken between 1989 and 2007 on all the authorization permits involving 10 dwellings and more. A previously unpublished inventory was performed, mapping this period's housing production, which was equivalent to 2.000 dwellings in average per year (Declève B. Ananian P. et al 2009).

The housing production was in the hands of Public developers represented by C.P.A.S (Public Centres for Social Action), municipalities, SDRB - Company for Brussels Capital Region development), the Company for housing in Brussels Capital Region and the Housing Funds of Brussels. Private developers are divided into two groups: one group is formed by companies in charge of 79% of the building permits introduced for construction of buildings housing ten or more dwellings; the other group comprises the individual promoters, i.e. the small individual promoters or families who represent 11% of the total demand. (Ananian P. 2010)

Having analysed this inventory, we have identified two main techniques used in rehabilitating old places into residential uses: firstly the requalification of isolated buildings and secondly the reurbanization of brownfields. The reconversion of isolated buildings relates especially to vacant buildings in the existing structured urban tissue. This
type of operation mainly involves old urban industries (printing houses, breweries) located in the Pentagon (city centre) and industrial infrastructures along the canals traversing Brussels (Wilebroeck and Charleroi Canals). On the other hand, the reurbanization of brownfields mainly involves obsolete military sites (Dailly and Rolin) located in neighbourhoods that date back to the XIXth century. These sites were abandoned for a long time before the regionalisation of Brussels in 1989, mainly because of the complexity of this kind of operation. On one hand the reurbanization of large areas requires the collection of important funds, and on the other hand, the management of these projects requires specialised knowledge. Two methodological approaches were chosen to analyse the requalification operations: morphological observation (densities, urban forms, connectivity, accessibility to amenities and facilities) and analysis of social perception (interviews). Following these approaches, this article has three main purposes: Firstly, to analyse how the requalification of these sites and buildings have contributed to improving urban intensity. The concept of "Urban intensity" is quite similar to that of relative urbanity, introduced by Jacques Levy (1999). This concept is defined as the intensity of urban links, independent from the size of the town. Levy establishes many interesting distinctions that are useful for our research. He distinguishes the a priori urbanity from the a posteriori urbanity. The former is the potential to use spaces in different ways, whereas the latter is how people use this potential. Levy also marks the difference between relative urbanity (intensity of interactions independent from the size of the city) and absolute urbanity (quantity of interactions). This potential is not distributed uniformly in space and time. Secondly, to show how the increase of densities near centres which are connected by public transport, can successfully improve sustainable urban design. Thirdly, to analyse how people live in these reconverted places and how they are integrated into their neighbourhoods.

Three samples were chosen among 1,266 permits representing the main techniques of recycling: reurbanization after delocalisation of large...
Recycling buildings that merge into the urban fabric is very common in Brussels. This kind of operation is mainly characterised by the reconversion of old XIXth and early XXth century urban industries. The "Le Jardin des Fonderies" was the first public reconversion of former industrial building (Nestor Martin) into dwellings in Brussels. This site was abandoned for more than twenty years. The site is inserted in a popular quarter near the former harbour infrastructures (Tour & Taxis). There are 39 dwellings inside the old building plus a new building with 15 dwellings. Inhabitants are from a higher class than the neighbourhood and this discrepancy is deeply felt by the neighbours. We cannot talk about gentrification because, according to Ruth Glass (1964), gentrification is characterised by a replacement of population. According to Glass (Atkinson, Bridge 2005) "The current social status and value of such dwellings are enormously inflated by comparison with previous levels in their neighbourhoods." Whereas in this case, even if the gap between classes exists on a neighbourhood scale, there were no former inhabitants living on the site. (See Declève B. Ananian P. et al, 2009)

**RECYCLING OF TERRAIN MERGED INTO THE URBAN FABRIC**

Infill is usually the main technique for recycling merged terrains into urban fabric. Two types of terrains may be identified: sites where old buildings are demolished and new ones reconstructed adapting forms and functions, and sites constituted by parcels remaining between constructed buildings in urbanized quarters. Modern constructions merged into a patrimonial environment have become an advantage in the real estate development milieu. On the one hand, patrimonial environment is encumbered by rules and heritage constraints, but on the other hand developers sell the benefits of this urban context, enhancing its history and its proximity to public transport and facilities. The parcel of the real estate development named Les Remparts de Dinant is located inside the former first city wall (XIIIth) and was remodelled after the bombardment of the Grote Markt in 1695. The parcel's alignment was redefined following a baroque style and sold with the obligation of immediate construction. In 1972, government decided to demolish many dwellings to build the regional parliament. Dwellings were replaced by offices and parking. Like several other old central quarters, the Vieille Halle aux Blés quarter was transformed.
because of degradation of its environment. Since the 1990s, reconversion of old places has been led by social developers and followed by private promoters. Local urban regeneration had two main aims: to requalify public spaces enhancing and beautifying them and to reinsert both a residential function and inhabitants. The Les Remparts de Dinant's operation was one of the last to complete the quarter's regeneration. It was a derelict area owned by the municipality and rented to a parking business. Public bidding took place in 2003 with specific obligations for the promoter. Besix Real Estate Development was chosen to develop the site with obligation to lodge plans with the municipality at the latest six months after the transaction. Immobilisation time is the main constraint for real estate development. Besix was used to invest in green neighbourhoods and it was one of their first residential operations inside the city-centre. The building phase has just been completed and the first residents have been arriving.
DELOCALISATION OF LARGE FACILITIES

This relates to the demolition of an ancient military hospital and the reconversion of the site into houses, a public park and offices, known now as Les Jardins de la Couronne. In 1888, the Brussels Council had constructed a military hospital at Ixelles, away from the city on a terrain of 6Ha on Couronne Street. In 1974, when the environment was totally urbanized, the hospital was declared obsolete and then abandoned. In 1985, the SDRB proposed a project to re-urbanize the site. The project was financed by a partnership with private promoters. Les Jardins de la Couronne was constructed in three phases. The first phase was delivered in 1997, with the completion of the infrastructures, the central park with an area of 1Ha and the delivering of 253 social housing dwellings divided into 12 semi-detached buildings.

The second phase was completed in 2004 and 422 dwellings were delivered, divided into 15 buildings. The third and last phase was concluded in 2005, with the delivering of 260 flats divided into 13 buildings lining the Hergé Street and 30.000m² of offices lining the Couronne Avenue (these offices are occupied by the Federal Police department). The reurbanization of the site lasted twenty years (1985-2005). This complex generates 935 dwellings for approximately 2,200 inhabitants. This type of project shows the importance of reconverting brownfield sites and industrial wastelands. The reurbanization allowed the quarter to be regenerated and the area repopulated. This project is mixed in terms of dwellings types and functions. Different affectations can be found in the same parcel of land: residential (dwellings), functional (offices) and leisure functions (park). The population recorded in the statistical district (Hôpitaux), which contains the site, has increased from 410 inhabitants in 1991 to 1,315 inhabitants in 2001 on an area of 132.713m². (Ananian P. Declève B. 2008). The immobilization period was long, due to the complexity of designing a master plan, especially in management and financial terms. Almost twenty years were necessary to link various stakeholders of private and public sectors. However, the period of transformation progressed gradually alongside the period of utilization: social dwellings first, followed by medium-class dwellings. Free enterprise dwellings were the last to be constructed and inhabited.

CONCLUSION: CONNECTING OLD PLACES TO NEW URBAN, INFRASTRUCTURAL AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

These three samples show the diversity of urban recycling. Urban recycling is not an innovative concept developed since communities have been made aware of sustainable development. Only forms and strategies have changed since the last twenty years. Private promoters do not usually have urbanistic parameters as guidelines to develop new operations. However, public administration pressure, led by environmental issues, as well as the raising of consumers’ requirements, have helped real estate development get closer to urbanism in Brussels. Les Jardins de la Couronne is an example of rehabilitation of an old place, mixing functions and social classes, and connecting them to existing urban networks. Similar types of operations such as the reconversion to dwellings of Dailly (municipality of Schaerbeek) and Rolin’s military infrastructures (municipality of Etterbeek) also took place. The infill technique was also used to reconvert former urban industries such as the Le Jardin des Fonderies, Coloprint and Nimfi’s printing houses. The inhabitants in these operations raise the cost of living of these lofts and apartments higher than in the centre of Brussels. Indeed, a negative impact is felt by the surrounding inhabitants due to the difference in social classes. Old places such as the Vieille Halle aux Blés have been regenerated through residential insertion amongst administrative buildings. The same kind of transformation may also be seen in the surroundings of St. Catherine square, Brouckère square, and Nouveau Marché aux Grains square. Private promoters have seen the economic potential of recycling and inhabitants have been (re)discovering the pleasure of urban living. Density may be seen as a multi criteria component of cities, where places and people can improve urban intensity by several degrees according to the development potential of various functions that take into account the sustainability of the cities.

3 The last Census was realized in January 2001 by the INS.
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THE ARGUMENT

This article presents a segment of an ongoing investigation into the concept of urbanity. The focus is on agents of cultural change, with an emphasis on a couple of specific urban micro-cultures of Tokyo. The text is deliberately ‘polemological’. In de Certeau’s way, it opens and offers to discussion one contentious issue, in hope to “force theory to recognise its own limits” (Highmore 2006:18). That contentious argument is that, when it comes to vitality of urban culture, gentrification may be capable of generating outcomes which are far better than those of numerous carefully considered and well theorised urban regeneration projects.

The complementing argument is related to two concrete precincts of Tokyo, where particular kinds of gentrification are making significant contributions to development of the most interesting local urbanities. The point made is that, being very local and, in particular, culture-specific, those forms of urban requalification contribute to the much-needed resistance against aggressive forces which threaten cultural diversity worldwide.

In current academic and broader discourse on cities (for detailed overview of the dominant, largely Anglo-Saxon discourse see Shaw, 2008), term gentrification tends to be used either in a pejorative, or in an uncritical, matter-of-fact way. It commonly stands for the process which challenges and, almost inevitably, destroys the authenticity of established and sought-after urban qualities and precincts. This article invites reevaluation of intellectual terms under which we consider gentrification. It proposes a more nuanced approach to understanding of that complex phenomenon, which would include the possibility that some of its forms may represent the transfusion of new and healthy energies into tired urbanities. That would mean that certain kinds of gentrification are homologous with traditional, spontaneous processes of urban rejuvenation, and that they may instigate the emergence of genuine local creative energies which make cities.

This article, thus, plays with fire. The above proposed examination may, indeed, force us to recognise the crisis of our theoretical frameworks, for “polemological approach works [is] on the side of the heuristic, where ‘theory and ‘method’ are put into crisis as they encounter the everyday world” (ibid.). A much-needed critical appraisal of common understanding of (a particular kind of) globalisation as inevitable asks for redefinition of many dogmatic views and its individual ingredients. Many of the processes and practices associated with globalisation are not so simple to be decidedly classified as either positive or negative. The “with us or against us” logic (of rampant “globalism” of that
particular kind) does not respect the complexities and diversity of the real world. Some of the practices which bear decidedly wrong consequences within one cultural paradigm, may have the potential to bring radically different effects within another value system.

**THE POSITION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Critical position towards globalisation defines the core values around which this project was developed. That position is based on a strong belief that to speak about desirable future can mean only to speak about a just world (Radovic 2009). My overall stance, and consequently the position of this article, is against current constellation of global forces and associated value system which promotes development patterns that threaten both ecological and cultural justice and diversity. That value system embodies a well-established, (neo)colonial worldview, and is characterised by arrogance and strong tendency towards domination. On this issue I am in agreement with Slavoj Zizek, who exposed the "false ideological universality" of such mechanisms for perpetuation of power, "which mask and legitimise a concrete politics of Western (or, I would rather say - First World, DR) imperialism, military interventions and neo-colonialism" (Zizek 2005:128).

The framework of the project is based on my theoretical position that genuine urbanity has its foundations and key expressions in everyday life, in local quality of Lefebvrian vècu which is enjoyed by many. That uneasy, but immensely inspirational framework is defined by colossal theoretical contributions of Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre. Dialectisation of de Certeau's and Lefebvre's ideas was chosen exactly because neither of them allows an easy instrumentalisation. Their work, deliberately and actively, refuses to be reduced to any set of "theoretical tools" (except, probably, for the well known and widespread reduction of de Certeau's strategies and tactics; his "biggest export"; Highmore, ibid.:177). That refusal to be directly useful makes the proposed framework suitable for thinking about the messy (Low 2004) complexities and intricacies of the urban.

Regardless all the differences of their personalities and personal beliefs, de Certeau and Lefebvre shared another unique characteristic - the much needed recognition, acceptance and appreciation of contradictory and conflictual qualities of the urban. "To think about the city is to hold and maintain its conflictual aspects, constraints and possibilities, peacefulness and violence, meetings and solitude, gatherings and separation, the trivial and poetic, brutal functionalism and surprising improvisation", wrote Lefebvre (1996:53). That understanding how cities, within their full glory and beauty (Radovic 2007) are, and have to be critically marked by contradiction and conflict, forms an important part of the research credo behind this article. That point needs to be, I will argue, central to those new ways in which we should look at gentrification, as an unlikely but possible agent of desirable urban change.

**GENTRIFICATION - BAD, AND GOOD**

In his compilation of new views at Henri Lefebvre, Goonewardena has stated how, "in recent years, the city has been reinvented as a positive socio-cultural category" (2008:293). That renewed excitement with urbanity is universal. It can be traced back to the 1960s and worldwide reactions against the excesses of functionalist modernism which has, in many instances, by its radical questioning of the core elements of urban hardware - the street, the square, the centre - almost destroyed urban software - the city-living, the festive, the spontaneous, the quality of everyday life, urbanity itself. That reaction was presented in numerous urban movements, redevelopment projects and several important treatises (speaking of which, it remains fascinating how some of the best theoretical works from that time were developed within the culture which was, and which still is, agonising to produce a genuine urbanity, the seminal works by Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch, Chris Alexander, Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown).

What is of particular interest for the topic of this paper is how these renewed trends towards appreciation of urban living entail a new tendency: the incorporation of the urban into the process of valorising capital. During this process, the urban itself becomes a commodity (ibid.). The urban, as denominator of a particular lifestyle, as a badge, and/or as a particular culture is on sale. What gets offered and sold are dreams - the dreams of a dif-
ferent, better life, the dreams of a particular social ideal; and promises - promises of becoming urban. That confirms the two millennia old complexes of the less-than-urban(e); of the sub-urban. Such commodification of city-life counts on an insatiable desire to be (or, to acquire an impression of being) urbane, to be civilised.

Etymologically, term gentrification refers to gentility, to nobility by birth. An important part of the gentrification drive of the late XX and early XXI century has much to do with efforts of an aspirational class to acquire higher status by purchasing (spatial) position which used to represent a certain form of nobility - as in the original urbanitas (Ramage 1973). One may argue that what is being desired is a set of prerogatives that are at the very core of Lefebvrian right to the city. What is actually being sold is an illusion that such right could be purchased and owned. The (sub)urban hopefuls aspire to grasp their piece of magic, their right to the oeuvre (participation) and appropriation.

While motivation to urbanise remains complex, for the purpose of my present argument those motives could be classified in two groups. First group is clustered around economic interests. Cities, as markets, offer superior opportunities for exchange, sale and other, associated forms of financial gain. People buy real-estate in cities to get higher returns. The other group attempts to trade in something significantly less tangible, far more difficult to define and, to me, far more interesting. Those motives could be seen as clustered around a number of cultural instincts.

Both aspirations to become urban, to benefit from economic powers of the city and to get within the aura of a desirable culture, are generators of gentrification. In this paper my emphasis is on the latter.

**TOKYO**

Over the last several years, my investigations of urbanity focused on Tokyo. The pace and the extent of change of that city are enormous. Due to specific historic circumstances, deadly conflagrations which followed the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923 and savage American fire-bombing in 1945, the mid-twentieth century Tokyo offered itself to various modernisation and reurbanisation projects almost as a perfect tabula-rasa. After an unsuc-cessful effort to "overcome modernity", Japan was keen to overcome its own defeat and to position itself as a globally relevant nation. Various reurbanisation projects, which started after the World War and first culminated with the Olympic Games in 1964, were important part of a deliberate and forceful strategy to present the country and its capital city as new, global centres of modernity.

That strategy of radical reinvention was applied to an existing social tissue defined by deeply rooted traditions of Japanese urban life - a veritable palimpsest, opposite to the bareness of devastated physical reality of the city. That conflict generated a number of unique urban environments and practices, and resulted in a radically remodelled city. The defeated Japan was exposed to a combination of enforced and self-imposed cultural influences, which have shaped and which continue to shape the drama of its change. The powerful, World City Tokyo of today, as all cities which compete to the top-class status are, is under even stronger pressures to adapt, to evolve, to be(com) global (Radovic 2008a). Those globalising trends, caused and amplified by the ruling dogmas of "free" market economy, bring in some universally recognisable demands. The responses to those demands in Tokyo, as elsewhere, vary - from generic to very local.

Some parts of Tokyo are, despite local resistances, becoming as lifeless and as sterile as the original CBDs of some distant parts of the world are. On the other hand, a number of urban situations in Tokyo offer fascinatingly specific examples of both continuity and change, unique niches of new, authentic micro-urbanity. Globalising, top-down energies produce generic environments, the non-descript affluent precincts which project the universalised power of money. For instance, Tokyo now abounds with high-rise developments (such as Musashi Kosugi, Toyosu etc.) which are, even within a very short historical framework, alien to this city - to its culture as much as to its skyline. Those developments were the response to the post World War Tokyo-tabula rasa reality, and they have erected a new, global image of a new, global city. Such urban forms faithfully represent both the top-down power of global money and the bottom-up power of provincialism which in Japan, as in any other aspirational context, sees "the foreign" or "the Western" as inevitably and enviably better. These new realities have a little or nothing to do with continuity and
locality. They are all about globalism and change. The small-scale processes, on the other hand, are about bottom-up power and they have a far lesser capacity to defy the power of place and resilience of local culture. Even when the intention would be to do so, they do not have the capacity to create a tabula rasa, that favourite condition of big developers and big-scale projects. They are forced to negotiate the extent and the character of change which they want to introduce. They interact with concrete local conditions and interests, both in socio-cultural and in spatial terms. In some situations, that creates examples of reurbanisation which this article wants to discuss.

The big money and the top down projects commonly result in large-scale interventions. Those other interventions tend to be small and haphazard. The big ones demand careful planning and management and often bring predictable and sterile outcomes; the smaller ones have to rely on improvisation, and tend to produce outcomes capable of embracing the complexity of imperfection.

In my research of Tokyo, I work on a number of precincts which exemplify the variety of small-scale, bottom-up reinventions of the urban. This article mentions only two relatively small precincts - Nezu and Yanaka (whose character blends into one, and whose names I merge and abbreviate as N.Y, see Radovic 2008), and Harajuku (Boontharm 2008). It presents N.Y. in a somewhat finer detail, because it, in my opinion, provides some of the best examples of urban regeneration where gentrification does it better.

NEZU AND YANAKA, HARAJUKU

As Ben Highmore eloquently explained, “sketching out a poetics of everyday life in Culture in the Plural de Certeau is clear that everyday culture oscillates across two distinct forms: ‘On the one hand, there are slowly developing phenomena, latencies, delays that are piled up in the thick breadth of mentalities, evident things and social ritualizations, an opaque, stubborn life buried in everyday gestures that are at the same time both immediate and millenary. On the other hand, irruptions, deviations, that is, all these margins of an inventiveness from which future generations will successively draw their ‘cultivated culture’ ” (ibid.:104).

Nezu and Yanaka are predominantly residential precincts. They are all about latencies and delays. On the other hand, Harajuku is a commercial fashion precinct. As such it is subjected to a particular rhythm of change, irruptions and deliberate stubbornly persistent deviations from the expected. Even when exposed to radical redefinition, N.Y. remain fundamentally unhurried and conservative; they resists change. At the same time, Harajuku is profoundly irreverent, iconoclastic.

Both precincts are exposed to strong development pressure. Under the pressure of global fashion companies, the “real”, small scale, creative Harajuku has physically shrunk to its former inner core, Urahara (Boontharm, 2008). “Real” Nezu and Yanaka are also shrinking, giving their territory away along the edges, which now belong to yet another Tokyo and its large traffic arteries. In those precious cores of resistance, in both cases the bottom-up reurbanisation initiatives dominate. The gestures of change in N.Y. and in Harajuku are small, local and they all (in their diametrically different ways) are about vital recombinations of everyday life. When large-scale interventions infiltrate, they cause visible scars and (probably irreparable) damage to subtle local social tissues.

The case of Nezu and Yanaka is of particular interest to us, because the change there is driven by

Figure 1. Marunouchi area of Tokyo, spatial projection of power of Mitsubishi Corporation
a particular segment of residential market. That market sells the uniqueness of that precinct - the uniqueness of its history and present day activities. Historically, N.Y. were among the very few parts of the Japanese capital which escaped both the post-earthquake and the bombing infernos. As such, they still provide a valuable and unique sense of continuity with the past, even with the pre-Meiji culture of Edo. Today, the location between major cultural and educational institutions of Tokyo attracts attention of educated, higher-middle-class Tokyoites, who come there because they know what those areas are.

N.Y. remain dominated by their narrow lanes and small, modest, often wooden houses. The precinct boasts almost one hundred shrines and temples and offers a number of spatial and experiential qualities which could be seen as peculiar, or even unique to the Japanese city. Those values are increasingly attractive to developers, and N.Y. are exposed to the threats of obliteration and disappearance. At the same time, strong forces of resistance are doing their best to perpetuate, if not to preserve and conserve what Tokyo used to be about.

Importantly, N.Y. is an area which has not been formally preserved (Radovic 2008:16). It contains very few pieces of architecture which were considered worthy of conservation. In Japan, conservation can be a very conservative discipline. It seeks objects to freeze and it largely creates sterile monuments. As such, while it may work well with individual pieces of architecture, it seldom recognises different nature of urban phenomena.

Most of the new residents of N.Y. (those dreaded “gentrifiers”) approach their new neighbourhood with respect and care. They infuse new life, maintain an air of creativity which constitutes one of the key nuances of local difference. With all current alternatives taken into account, this kind of gentrification seems to be the best temporary condition that could have happened to N.Y. The alternatives are the erasure of the old stock and its replacement with new, concrete, earthquake-safe and ugly architecture that wipes out much of the old Tokyo, or (no less damaging) sterile heritage conservation.

That is where gentrification does seem to be doing it better.

**URBAN CULTURE**

In order to explain what makes that kind of gentrification successful, one has to abandon political correctness - which, to a large degree, is yet another legacy of a particular form of globalisation which rules and damages the world (Zizek 2008:41). Those who can chose to live in Nezu and Yanaka move there attracted by a particular cultural environment. They approach their new context with respect, and live there with pride. In a big number
of cases, here we speak about educated people, who are attracted by the proximity of major cultural and educational institutions, and as associated class which follows to provide services and cater for the new cultural (and/or cultured) needs. They all belong to our second category of “gentrifiers”, which is motivated by specific cultural interests.

That statement obviously goes against the grain of political correctness. It brings back an old, and in dominant schools of cultural studies highly unfashionable, hierarchical definition of culture as high, rather than relativist, shared culture. That is elitist. But - that is exactly the point which I wish to make. Historically, until the relatively recent surge of the “global village” mentality, cities were elitist, seats of not only political, military and economic power but also places of distinct culture, centres of creativity and invention. Real cities may have never been ideal places to live, but they always were the places dominated by exclusive culture - being that of Paris, of Florence, or of Tokyo. Edoko, the term applied to “true Tokoites”, implies that five generations of their ancestors were born and lived in that city. Kyoto still, centuries after the Emperor has left the city, proudly sees itself as a “culturally superior” miyako.

In shortest: urbanity is an elitist concept. It includes a sense of mutual responsibility between the citizen and the city. Not everyone who lives in urban areas is an urbanite, and thus the right to the city is not universal. That right has to be earned and maintained. It is about developing and nurturing a particular sensibility and specific culture which need to be learned, earned and lived.

The “superiority” of the urban does not imply “perfection”. As explained by Lefebvre, cities are fundamentally places of controversies and conflicts (1996:53). That is in the very nature of their complexities. Although Lefebvre himself has cautioned that the rights implied in the right to the city should “not to be confused with property but use value” (ibid.:20), efforts to become urbane got initiated exactly through acquisition of urban real-estate in the "right place". Common, banal gentrification tries to avoid the conflictual and conflicting in the urban. Places developed on the basis of doctrines such as New Urbanism provide and sell images of harmonious, conflictless society (with all unintended Orwellian nuances which have to go with such an attempt). Such “sale of urbanity” reduces cities to their economic aspects, urban spaces to mere property and it falsely promises that with purchase of property one gains both the status and social stability. But, the very notion of any stability is against the core values of the urban. By refusing the controversial and the conflictual, mainstream gentrification opts for a stasis. It reduces and, it eventually, kills off the authenticity and the vitality of their objects of desire.

Some segments of gentrifying processes seek cultural invigoration, and they actively contribute to uneasy, controversial and conflictual qualities of the urban. Such instances within gentrification may become agents of true vitality within the urban. That is what I am finding in Nezu and Yanaka, and that is what keeps the core Urahara - inner Harajuku - afloat despite an onslaught of the world (fashion) powers.

CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY

How is that possible? The positive trends in N.Y. and Harajuku do not blindly copy desirable urban or architectural forms. They build upon the basic principles of local urbanity. N.Y., very much because it did not qualify for the heritage listings, remains vibrant, simultaneously of today and of the
past. Currently, the area seems to be both protected and endangered by an accidental combination of luck, complicated ownership patterns, inapt planning and actions of strong local interest groups (Radovic 2008:16). The ways in which N.Y. respond to, and react against homogenisation, draw attention of those interested in cultural sustainability, demand evolution and assume change.

It seems that those cases where gentrification plays a positive role in urban regeneration and contributes to cultural sustainability happen accidentally. They depend on good will and sensibility of individuals, and existence of certain power within the local community. Their achievements are, thus, highly vulnerable and exposed to constant threats. Their success is ephemeral, it frames and it is framed by moments which can not be frozen nor even, far too often, sustained. In order to nurture and perpetuate the quality they generate, there is a need for careful balancing of such enlightened individual efforts, local bottom-up powers and appropriate urban regulation. Good urban design is always about balancing of control and freedom. Although it philosophically may draw from global heritage of ideas, good urban design is critically marked by local relevance and responsibility, it remains specific and dependent on concrete situations.

Good interventions in N.Y. are highly place-and situation-specific. Broader relevance of those environments comes from their cultural vulnerability. They need to be taken care of. At the moment, in N.Y. one can find situations in which the respect and care hang in fine balance. But, one can not count on endurance of such situations. Good and lasting balance needs both informed, educated gentrification forces, and informed and educated urban regulation. In N.Y. only first of those requirements seems to be present. The same applies to the most of rapidly disappearing precious cultural environments worldwide.

**CONCLUSIONS**

The quality and strength of urban resistance in Nezu and Yanaka come from quality and resilience of everyday lives of the inhabitants. Only “lived space offers possibilities of resistance” (Ronnenberger, in Goonewardena 2008:137), for “a dogged power of resistance seems to emanate from the everyday lived rhythms and the organization of time” (Meyer, in Goonewardena 2008:158).

The everyday life of N.Y. contains living lessons of cultural sustainability. That precinct of Tokyo is a significant node of resistance to the threats of globalisation which pulls the Japanese capital city - and many other cities around the world - into the race without any (reasonable) end, into the race the finish of which can be marked only by catastrophic environmental destruction and cultural devastation (Radovic 2009).

When speaking about the importance of such resistances, I need to reiterate the key conclusions from Another Tokyo (2008:62): “[M]y invitation to respect traditional environments and its messages is fundamentally different, even diametrically opposed to an “authentic Japan” dreamed by Yanagita Kunio (Vlastos 1998:133sqq.); the ideas of “civilization theorists” of Japanese 1990s who
“found in Edo a modernity not only for Japan but for the world” (ibid.); and the latest examples of national-romanticism where, say, Fijuwara Masahiko expresses his hope for the times where (nothing less but) “the samurai spirit will save the world” (Fujisawa 2007:187).” As someone who comes from (what used to be) Yugoslavia, I believe that I know the traps of chauvinism.

The lessons I am speaking about here are all local - “the lessons of Nezu, for the future of Nezu. The lessons of Yanaka, for - Yanaka. The most important messages which places like N.Y., Japan (and there are many such places, all around the world,) communicate are about specificity of place, and primacy of localisation. Those are the lessons about cultural resilience and relevance of vernacular quality (à la Ivan Illich 1981), about inventiveness of everyday life à la de Certeau, and about the importance Lefebvrian triad of resistance-revolution-transformation (which also includes the call for a paradigm shift) (Radovic, ibid.).”
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CURRENT STRATEGIES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF URBAN REGENERATION IN HUNGARY

Tamás Egedy

Abstract
In the last decade decision-makers on state, regional and local levels in Hungary gradually recognized the inevitability of urban regeneration and the opportunities the latter offers for architecture, economy and society. During the socialist era state investments focused on the forced construction of high-rise estates and inner city areas have been neglected. As a consequence of these processes urban regeneration started later in the Eastern European countries and these run-down areas could be characterised by disadvantaged positions on the new capitalist housing market. Twenty years after the change of regime stakeholders taking part in the urban regeneration process in Hungary slowly realise that problems of the built, natural and social environments overlap. Due to the change of mind first integrated urban development programmes appeared. Through these projects focusing on the rehabilitation of built and natural environments of cities experts already try to generate also socio-economic impacts. The article highlights current trends and characteristic features of urban regeneration in Hungary together with short introduction of strategies on national, regional and local levels. Main socio-economic impacts of rehabilitation processes closely related to the quality of life will also be presented through the results of empirical researches carried out in Budapest and the major Hungarian cities.

Keywords: Urban Regeneration, Rehabilitation Strategy, Social Environment, Quality of Life, Hungary.

INTRODUCTION

Before the change of economic and political system Eastern European countries - including Hungary - had not paid enough attention to the renewal of deprived urban neighbourhoods. Consequently, problems related to the built environment in these countries appeared in a cumulated way. As a result, quarters with dilapidated residential and building stock have competed on the housing market with a handicap, and this often coupled with the appearance of social problems (Holt-Jensen and Morrison 2000). Local governments and investors have faced complications as a result of postponement of renovation activities. In the last decade decision-makers on state, regional and local levels in Hungary gradually recognised the inevitability of urban regeneration and its opportunities for architecture, economy and society.

Instead of isolated urban rehabilitation programmes nowadays the raise of conditions for an integrated regeneration process of economic, social and physical (built) environment comes to the front in the public opinion of Hungary. Hungarian urban development experts gradually recognise that spatial planning is more than a mere planning process of the physical environment: it is a complex entirety of social, economic, physical and political processes, which requires strategic thinking (Roberts and Sykes 2000). This is closely related to the fact that local social and economic circumstances differ in certain countries, just as urban quarters and neighbourhoods to be renewed do. International experience shows that there are no universal strategies and models to follow during urban regeneration. However, local contexts must always be taken into consideration when working out local strategies and formulating objectives.

Although topical objectives of long-term urban regeneration strategy have been changed many times in Hungary, development experts still unambiguously consider urban regeneration as renewal of the physical (built) environment. The main objective and task of development interventions in Hungary is currently not always the improvement of the quality of local residents’ life yet, we hope that beside interventions aiming at the rehabilitation of the built environment also the res-
olution of local social problems and tasks will emerge. Social and physical environments are closely linked to each other therefore their regeneration requires integrated projects (Figure 1).

STRATEGIES FOR URBAN REGENERATION ON NATIONAL LEVEL

The New Hungary Development Plan: The main aim of the New Hungary Development Plan (2007-2013) is to improve the employment and to support the long-term sustainable growth. The Development Plan contains 6 spatial and thematic priorities, concrete measures for urban regeneration can be found in the fifth priority (Regional development): an integrated urban rehabilitation strategy for creating a competitive and co-operating network of liveable cities clearly appears. The Plan intends to support major cities appearing as economic and development poles in the settlement network, as well as small and medium sized towns; on the whole it tends to strengthen the regional operative role of these settlements. Within the cities brownfield investments have priority instead of green field developments, and the Plan pays an emphasised attention to the substantial building stock of cultural heritage.

For the implementation of objectives and priorities national government worked out 13 operative programmes containing also mid-term regional strategies for the Hungarian NUTSII Regions. The importance of urban development appears as a priority in the different regional strategies. Among the urban regeneration activities to be supported two fundamental forms have to be underlined: the rehabilitation of city centres and in the frame of social urban rehabilitation (integrated urban development) the renewal of run-down housing estates and deprived inner-city quarters.

State governmental interventions to improve the housing situation: Hungarian government made arrangements to change negative tendencies on the housing market in the 1990s: in 1994 housing construction was predominantly supported through subsidies related to social policy, later in 2000 mortgage credit measures were provided.

One of the most important national strategies was the Széchenyi Plan adopted in 2000. This mid-term governmental plan contained development projects designated for the period of 2001-2006. The Housing Programme of the Széchenyi Plan summarised those measures and support possibilities which had to be carried out for improving the housing situation in Hungary. Regarding urban regeneration the sub-programme “Modernization of the housing stock” must be mentioned, because in this sub-programme both an energy-saving renewal and reshaping of high-rise housing estates and the block-rehabilitation programme were addressed as urgent necessity. Another sub-programme of the plan called “Improvement of the social housing sector to overcome social problems” was a new important element of the government’s rental housing programme. According to the sub-programme settlements and local governments could apply for governmental subsidies if they undertook to build up social dwellings. The new Széchenyi Plan started again by new right-wing state government elected in 2010 contains also measures for development of the housing situation.

In Hungary altogether 837 thousand of the total 4 million and 65 thousand dwellings can be found in housing estates and 1.9 million inhabitants reside in them. At the same time only 62% (517 thousand dwellings) are located in pre-fab panel buildings. The Panel Programme adopted almost 10 years ago plays an extraordinary role in the renewal process of the building and dwelling stocks. According to governmental information since the announcement of the Panel Programme in 2001 altogether 35 billion HUF have been spent to projects and 190 thousand dwellings have been renewed until the end of 2008.

There were few other national credit pro-
Programmes and proposals in the last decade for improving the dwelling stock. In 2000 the central government announced a state credit programme which was very popular because of the financial shortage of Hungarian households. Due to the high number of those households taking the loan the conditions of this HUF-based mortgage credit it was restricted in 2004, which had led to the sweep of the credit constructions based on foreign currencies. Due to the devaluation of the Hungarian currency (HUF) during the worldwide economic crisis in 2008-2009 this process resulted in a wide-ranging mortgage crisis in Hungary.

**REHABILITATION STRATEGIES IN BUDAPEST**

Demolition of old, run-down buildings and construction of new dwellings: In Hungary the first urban rehabilitation project with forced demolition started in the mid-80s in the 9th district of Budapest (Middle-Ferencváros) (Figure 2). During the 1970s still pre-fab panel buildings were planned to be erected on the rehabilitation area, however in the beginning of the 1980s the concept has been changed and retaining of the traditional street layout and building structure through passages and greeneries in the inner courtyards came to the fore.
The classical block-rehabilitation started in the mid-80s continued also after the change of regime, but the leading role in the finances has been taken over by private investors from the local government.

In the last 20 years a considerable part of the building and dwelling stock were replaced, which brought a substantial transformation in the social environment of the area (Table 1). Due to the gentrification processes started in the area low-status strata were replaced by younger and higher status strata with better financial background and more educated. The rehabilitation of Middle-Ferencváros is nowadays considered as one of the most successful regeneration processes in Hungary.

Renewal and housing construction by retaining the former architectural structure and building stock: It is generally emphasised in different rehabilitation strategies in Hungary and Budapest that one of the most important objective of rehabilitation is to retain the original built environment, the architectural structure and the worthy building stock of the neighbourhood (Földi 2006). However, many negative experiences show that will of private investors and real estate development companies often overwrite declarations about saving the built and social environments. This can be traced back both to the shortage of local governmental budget (selling properties and lack of measures against demolition) and to real estate speculations (demolition of buildings under protection and construction of low quality dwellings instead).

In the 7th district of Budapest (Inner-Erzsebetvaros) similar processes could be detected. The quarter is one of the oldest, most interesting and intimate quarters where the organic street layout of the spontaneous urban development taking place in the 18th century and the classicistic and romantic building structure still remained. Since the beginning of the 19th century the quarter gradually became the traditional, teeming and varied residential area of the Jewish community in Budapest. After World War II the neighbourhood became increasingly deprived both in architectural and social sense, therefore since the 1970s the restructuring of the area by demolishing the old buildings regularly appeared on the agenda. The last three decades can be characterised as thundery period of different reconstruction and rehabilitation ideas: groups for re-building and for retaining perpetually conflicted with each other. In the last two decades after the change of regime a renewal (renovation) process started in the area, however many valuable buildings fell victim to the real estate developments. Voices and civil organisations for saving the architectural structure and for renovation in original form have emerged. As a consequence of these movements the area became a World Heritage site in 2002 (Old Jewish quarter of Pest) and at the same time local government started to protect many buildings as historic monument.

Urban regeneration linked with social housing programmes: Not only in Budapest but also in other major Hungarian cities (e.g. the case of Szeged in Southern Hungary) rehabilitation process was successfully linked with social housing programmes. In these processes rehabilitation of neighbourhood has an emphasised role, but on the other hand local governments are actively present on the housing market through their social housing programmes (building or renewal of rental dwellings). This is extremely important because as a consequence of the privatisation commenced after the change of regime the ratio of social rental sector decreased dramatically in Hungary and in 2009 only 6% of the whole dwelling stock was in the hand of local governments (on the national level).

To avoid further deterioration of built environment and to solve the growing social problems, the local government of the 10th district (Kobanya) started a long-term rehabilitation process in 1998. The aim of this programme was to revitalise the quarter both in architectural and social sense with retaining the original small-town character with eclectic and art nouveau architectural features. A significant element of this was the so-called "Hundredflat" project comprising the construction of hundred tenements to substitute demolished dwellings, to increase residential mobility and to improve the image of the quarter as well (Figure 3).

Table 1. Data on new dwellings built in Middle-Ferencváros (Budapest - 9th District)
This undertaking was at the same time the leading project of government in its market-based social housing programme.

Social rehabilitation: International and domestic researches have proved that there is no guarantee for urban regeneration programmes if they only focus on rehabilitation of the built environment and do not pay attention to renew the social and economic environment of the area. Considering this experiences city government and the affected district governments of Budapest started in 2005 a so-called social rehabilitation pilot programme in three different neighbourhoods. The Magdolna quarter (8th district), the Dzsumbuj ("Jungle"- 9th district) and the Bihari street (10th district) have been integrated into the programme and an amount of 1,8 billion HUF (6,5 million EUR) from the city government budget plus financial support of local governments were spent for the projects. The renewal of the building stock is complemented by strong social programmes which improve the situation of local society. From the three projects the Magdolna Quarter Programme will be shortly introduced.

The Magdolna quarter is a neighbourhood in Middle-Józsefváros showing the most serious social and environmental problems in Budapest. The ratio of deprived families (of which a considerable part is Roma) is extremely high and the neighbourhood started sinking into an increasingly disadvantaged position within the district. The local government started a social rehabilitation programme to improve local services, increase the quality of education and culture and to support the cooperation between civil organisations. On the other hand the project contains elements of an economic rehabilitation by supporting local SMEs, providing new workplaces, starting new employment, training and crime prevention programmes. By active participation of the local society the poverty and exclusion could partly be stopped and a more secure neighbourhood could be evolved in this part of Budapest (Egedy 2008).

**REHABILITATION STRATEGIES IN THE MAJOR CITIES OF THE COUNTRYSIDE**

Rehabilitation of historical inner-city areas: The regeneration of historical city-cores is one of the most typical rehabilitation interventions in Hungary. The process started in the 1980s, first attempts are dated back to this decade (e.g. the renewal of Gyor’s inner-city in North West Hungary) and gained stronger impetus after the change of regime in the late 1990s and in the new millennium (e.g. Debrecen, Székesfehérvár, Miskolc, Nyíregyháza)
All these projects focused on the rehabilitation of the built environment exclusively (renovation of buildings and blocks). The rehabilitation of historical inner-city areas shows all the characteristic features of Hungarian regeneration processes.

First of all it must be underlined that rehabilitation concentrates on the renewal of built environment as already mentioned above. Characteristic feature of these projects is that they focus on the improvement of the linear infrastructure with a special reference to transport development (e.g. Szeged in Southern Hungary). In the rehabilitation process of inner-city areas local governments play the leading role and (local or state) governmental funds are also decisive. Private capital joins in the process only if considerable real estate development is to be carried out on the site as well (e.g. shopping centre, commercial and trade centres, housing etc.). During the progress of regeneration the process generally is expanded also to the areas near to the city centre, in this way inner-city rehabilitation claims multiplicative effects in big cities.

Since in the downtowns of major cities in the countryside the number of social rental dwellings is high, renewal projects are often linked with social housing programmes as introduced in the previous chapter. In the historical inner-city of Szeged the substantial and spectacular renewal was carried out between 1998 and 2003. In the first stage of the programme the dense and eclectic building stock of the inner-city erected in the last third of the 19th and first decades of the 20th century was renewed (Figure 4). During the rehabilitation the social rental sector in the historical inner-city has been renewed and the (compulsory) small dwellings without any conveniences have been converted to modern and bigger dwellings of higher standards and quality.

Revitalisation of old quarters, shaping new urban centres: After the turn of the new millennium, when historical inner-city areas were already renewed the rehabilitation of the outer quarters started. An important objective was to form new centres in the settlements beside the former ones.

A similar process has been taking place in Pécs located in Southern Transdanubia where...
renewal of the inner-city enjoyed priority in the urban rehabilitation strategy, but local government supported also the investments to be executed in the eastern part next to the city centre (Budaiváros). Budaiváros is a quarter of traditional building structure where both densely built-up areas and family houses with a garden can be found. A key objective of these activities was to consolidate the position of the area from touristic point of view and to link tourism of the eastern quarters to the inner-city and to improve the attractiveness of the city. Junction reconstructions, strengthening the trade functions and renewal of the building and dwelling stocks composed the core of these investments. Due to the renewal process particularly in the second half of the 1990s higher status strata moved into the neighbourhood and residential mobility increased and the area can currently be linked very well to the programmes of the European Capital of Culture 2010 in Pécs.

**Spontaneous rehabilitation by local residents:**

Spontaneous rehabilitation processes take place predominantly in those quarters located further away from the city centres providing attractive living conditions. In this process local residents start to renovate the buildings and dwellings on their own budget or by taking bank credits. By bringing a snowball effect in motion their activity contributes to the gradual rejuvenation of the area. Spontaneous rehabilitation generated by local residents occurs generally in areas of family houses or in smaller owner occupied blocks.

A similar process could be detected in Gyor (in the north-west of the country). Since the beginning of the 1990s in the northern part of the city spontaneous rehabilitation has become an expanding phenomenon. Predominantly low-middle class strata (skilled and semi-skilled workers employed in the industry) and small entrepreneurs (employing a couple of persons) resided the area at that time. In spite of run-down buildings there was a pleasant atmosphere in the area and thanks to the positive tendencies a social revaluation process started in the neighbourhood. This can be traced back to the spontaneous rehabilitation started in the 1990s where building and renewing activity of local residents and private investors (real estate developers, building companies) played the leading role. Many family houses and smaller blocks have been renewed in the last decade from own budget of local residents and new owner occupied blocks have been constructed in the central and peripheral parts of the area.

**IMPACTS OF URBAN REGENERATION ON THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE**

**Transformation of the social environment:** Persistent postponement of rehabilitation on the long run has led to the massive loss of value of residential buildings and dwellings, and it caused serious financial and property management problems for local governments (e.g. unfavourable residential mobility, financing of loss-making social rental sector). The run-down and destruction process of built environment has also resulted in deterioration of the social environment (Egedy 2005). Thus, lack of rehabilitation has negative effects both on the built and the social environment. These processes turn up together and they are closely linked to each other, therefore should be handled simultaneously. In this sense communities play a special role, because social environment of quarters appears in the form of different communities and the social improvement of quarters should also be treated on community level (Enyedi and Kovács 2006; Szirmai 2006).

Experiences show that social problems in the neighbourhoods cannot be solved solely by urban architectural measures. Handling social problems is indispensable because urban regeneration often generates gentrification processes. In the renewed quarters a gradual transformation of the social environment can be detected (see also Uzzoli 2006) and because of the raising costs of living former population often leaves the neighbourhood and higher status strata move in to the area. Lower status strata move into other quarters (predominantly within the same district or settlement), but in this way problems will not be solved, they will only be re-located within the city from one place to another. Recently also opinions were voiced by professionals that regeneration processes in the major cities often start to clear away the poor and low status strata from the neighbourhood, as a result of the gentrification to be expected. Considering the impacts of gentrification on neighbourhood level it can be assessed as a positive process, however social problems on city level will
not be solved by projects bringing along gentrification processes exclusively.

Due to the regeneration activities restructuring and mobility processes get started in the local society in a sense that residents on the housing market as a rule get into dwellings which suit increasingly to their financial background. Thus, urban regeneration has a balancing effect on the housing market and it brings an emerging consistency between financial and housing situation of residents.

**Urban regeneration and the quality of life:** Between 2006 and 2008 many questionnaire surveys (n=350) and in-depth interviews (n=20) were carried out both in Budapest (inner city areas in Józsefváros and Ferencváros close to the city-centre) and major cities in the country (e.g. historical inner city areas of Szeged and Debrecen in South and East Hungary and a high-rise housing estate in Székesfehérvár in Middle Transdanubia - see Figure 2) to do research predominantly on the subjective quality of life. The following paragraphs summarise the most important results of these research projects.

Since the change of political system expectations and requirements of local residents towards their dwellings and physical environment increased (Figure 5). In this way housing conditions and residential environment essentially influence the satisfaction of residents with their everyday life and living conditions. The composition of dwelling stock is decisive for the satisfaction and it influences also the intention to move-out, on the other hand it has an impact upon the position and valuation of neighbourhoods on the housing market and the successful development of these quarters in the long run. Thus, through the improvement of dwelling and building stock urban regeneration is able to raise the quality of life of local society. At the same time rehabilitation as a positive feedback stimulates the increase of requirements of residents towards their living environment. This could easily function as a driving force for gentrification processes.

Our results based on the subjective satisfaction of local residents verified that inner-city areas in bigger cities of the country provide higher level living conditions for the residents of these neighbourhoods than quarters located near to the city centre in Budapest whether before or after regeneration. On the other hand satisfaction with housing situation is higher in the country than in Budapest. It could be proved through our surveys that the often criticized high-rise housing estates represent a real alternative against other residential envi-

![Figure 5: Changes in the situation of respondents in the past 10 years](Source: own survey, Magdolna Quarter, 2006, n=60)
environments and despite unfavourable living conditions suggested by mass media they provide on the housing market suitable housing conditions for certain social strata (first of all for the capital-deficient low-middle and middle class, young couples with children). Quality of life of residents living in renovated and revitalized housing estates often exceeds of those living in renewed inner-city neighbourhoods and the rehabilitation of housing estates weakens the intention to move out. As a consequence of the on-going regeneration carried out in high-rise housing estates a new type of gentrification, the "gentrification of housing estates" started in the new millennium in Hungary.

One of the key issues of successful rehabilitation processes is whether it is possible to involve the local society and civil organisations promoting interests of inhabitants into the regeneration. We can state that civil organisations are generally more interested in local processes than individual residents, the self-representation of these organisations increases faster than of locals. Thus, activity of local society can probably be better stimulated and increased through civil organisations than on the individual level.

In the near future the mobile capital within the local society will probably play a more important role in financing the renewal processes. It is getting to become an even more substantial question, to what extent local communities will be able to mobilize their own resources in the rehabilitation process. If taken into consideration also the share of wavering population we can estimate the ratio of those residents who could be involved into the financing of regeneration processes around 40-45 percent.

Expectations about effects of urban regeneration are often overestimated within the local society and among experts and politicians, and the real satisfaction of residents with results lag regularly behind them. Nevertheless it is unquestionable that urban regeneration has positive effects both on the satisfaction of local society and its mental condition (rise of feeling of happiness).

Filtering down of an area, run-down environment and dwelling stock, disadvantaged position and social difficulties do not regularly mean the irreversible crisis of local society and complete regression of social relations. Urban regeneration increases the social cohesion in neighbourhoods and social resources within local society can be explored through renewal processes. Rehabilitation can extend and strengthen the social umbrella, nevertheless its positive effects are limited in neighbourhoods with steadily embedded ("fixed") social structures.

CONCLUSIONS

Apart from few successful projects the renewal of building and dwelling stocks were pushed into the background in the years after the change of political system. In the second half the 1990s state and local governments recognised that problems deriving from the deteriorating state of dwellings and decreasing housing construction must be handled and the rehabilitation of high-rise housing estates and urban residential environments require arrangements both on national and local levels. First concrete regeneration programmes appeared around 2000 in Hungary and also the improvement of housing conditions came to the front of political dialogues and state interventions. The problem is that these interventions have not been shaped in the practice into an integrated and comprehensive strategy yet and programmes for rehabilitation of the social and economic environment lag behind the renewal of physical environment on the national level.

Another important question is the financing of these projects: subsequent financing of EU projects and provision of own resources necessary for the financing of domestic programmes make it more difficult for local governments, owner occupied blocks and residents to take part in proposals and in carrying out rehabilitation projects. Credit programmes provided by the state can only provisionally handle these problems, the finance should be revised and more emphasis should be laid on the role of private capital and PPP-model.

Rehabilitation strategies introduced in the article drew attention to the fact that even though neighbourhoods are very complex and diverse systems regarding their location within the city, demographic contexts, housing and social conditions, fundamental problems are everywhere the same. Different strategies and approaches underline that traditional methods and measures will not be successful and effective any more in handling of these complex problems. Thus, institutions and neighbourhoods must be faced with new procedures and
working methods to be applied during the regeneration. Among others the ownership structure (ratio of private and public property) within the neighbourhood and accordingly the scale of project to be carried out (micro- or mega project) must be considered. Decisions about financing (inducative impacts of local governmental resources, accumulation of funds, involvement of private capital, PPP) are needed, clear strategy with comprehensive objectives should be worked out and also the ratio of demolition and new construction must be settled. On the other hand co-operation must be created between participants together with balancing different interests of the stakeholders.

Regeneration programmes aiming an integrated rehabilitation of physical, social and economic environments are in initial and experimental phases yet. But only these integrated multi-sectoral projects based on strategic thinking, cautious planning and mutual partnership can be successful. Through integrated rehabilitation by involving local residents and civil organisations more effectively it will be possible on the one hand to stop the worsening tendency in the quality of life turned up in the last decade and to decrease the high level of intention to move out of the investigated neighbourhoods and on the other hand to increase the retaining power of residential areas.

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Abstract

By comparing urban regeneration mechanisms implemented in two declining urban centers, this paper attempts to examine the usefulness of hybrid planning strategies over a more traditional statutory land-use plan, considering their respective effectiveness for introducing urban change. The paper compares the planning and implementation methods used to generate urban revitalization in Lev Ha’Ir (City Heart) in Tel Aviv and Hadar in Haifa. In reviewing these two case studies, the paper considers the role of the residents in each area and various bottom-up local initiatives. The paper examines how these initiatives were met and utilized by the planners and by the municipality, and how they achieved the goal of urban revitalization. The approach towards and the use of local assets of each locality is considered, as well as the way they were implemented in the revitalizing plan. The paper draws attention to official enterprises and planning mechanisms that utilize and even encourage unofficial residents’ actions and activities. The findings from the two case studies suggest the importance of mediating between bottom-up initiatives of individual residents, community organizations, and local institutions, and top-down institutional municipal systems, as early in the process as possible, in order to make both the statutory land-use plan and the hybrid planning strategies more effective.

Keywords: Hybrid Planning; Local Knowledge; Professional Knowledge; Knowledge of the Locale; Local Assets.

TWO INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS

By the early 1970s both Tel Aviv and Haifa suffered an inner-city decline, as other cities worldwide. Aging buildings and deteriorating infrastructures, coupled with changes in living standards, caused upper middle-class populations to leave old inner city neighborhoods and move either to newer areas of the cities (the top of Mount Carmel in Haifa, and the northern neighborhoods of Tel Aviv), or to the suburbs. In both cities, new university campuses had been built and new shopping malls were opened on the outskirts, which had a major effect on the commercial and cultural life of the inner city. Offices and small businesses moved to vacant apartments, and previously lively central areas changed their image, status and real-estate value. This necessitated planning intervention to regenerate city centers and revitalize their urban life.

LEV HA’IR IN TEL AVIV

Tel Aviv was founded in 1909 as a garden neighborhood by Jews who left the old and crowded city of Jaffa. The neighborhood, which became the nucleus of a new city, attracted Jewish immigrants who arrived in Palestine in growing numbers at the beginning of the 20th century. It soon became the cultural and commercial hub of the emerging new state and a bustling metropolitan center. By the 1960s quality of life in the inner city had deteriorated due to growing air and noise pollution caused by heavy traffic and declined infrastructures. Offices and commerce entered apartments vacated by residents who left the city for better housing, overloading the infrastructure and emptying the streets at night. Series of plans initiated by mid-1970s to restructure the metropolitan area led to plans for improving quality of urban life in the inner city and reversing the process of decline. Lev Ha’Ir (‘city’s heart’ in Hebrew) was the first project, commenced in the early 1980s. The area was chosen...
for its potential for change because of its physical, social and cultural assets. It is an older part of Tel Aviv with urban fabric built during the 1920s and 1930s. Its layout is based on a garden city plan prepared by Patrick Geddes, developed incrementally mostly by private developers. Most of it is residential, with few commercial streets. The buildings, predominantly of 3-4 stories, are free-standing structures on separate lots with communally owned open spaces around them (see Figure 1). The Rothschild Boulevard bordering Lev Ha'Ir to the south is an important urban spine, with a variety of cafés, restaurants, and kiosks.

**HADAR IN HAIFA**

Haifa, some 80 kilometers north of Tel Aviv on the Mediterranean coast, was until the end of the 19th century a small fishing port at the foot of Mount Carmel. New quarters were built outside its city walls in the late 19th century. The Jewish quarter was followed by more modern one in 1909, and later integrated with other new small settlements on the middle step of the Carmel slope, creating the larger residential neighborhood named Hadar HaCarmel (‘the beauty of the Carmel’ in Hebrew). The area is mainly residential, with a core of few bustling commercial streets (Figure 2). Most of it was built according to a garden city plan prepared by Richard Kaufman in 1923, with vehicular roads paralleling the topography and a system of green pathways running perpendicular to the topography, connecting the neighborhood to the top of the mountain and to the old city below. Similar to Lev Ha'Ir, the majority of the residential buildings in Hadar are 3-4 stories high free-standing structures placed along the streets, each surrounded by a private, communally owned, open space (Figure 3). The buildings, mostly from the 1920s and 1930s, are characterized by eclectic, urban Arabic, and modernist architecture. In the mid-1990s a rehabilitation plan was prepared for Hadar, adhering to a long term working plan offset by the Haifa Municipality.
SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

In addition to their histories and physical attributes (apart from topography), the demographic data of the two neighborhoods also have common characteristics. Both areas experienced a population decrease, which reached its nadir in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and began to increase from this point on. The median age in both areas was much higher than the city average until the mid-1980s (see Figure 4). By the mid-1990s it had declined and reached the city average. This can be explained in two ways. In Lev Ha’Ir the plan for revitalization started at the beginning of the 1980s, causing younger populations to move into the area and begin a process of gentrification. In Hadar, the changes were caused by a large wave of Jewish immigrants from the former USSR arriving to Haifa in the late 1980s, consisted largely of families with young children and attracted to Hadar by its affordable housing and central location. While in Hadar about 40% of the population was composed of immigrants, in Lev Ha’Ir there were less than 10% immigrants since, by the beginning of the 1990s, apartments in central Tel Aviv were already too expensive for new immigrants to rent (see Figure 5). There is also an interesting correlation, found in the 1995 census, between the large number of academics and people in prestigious professions in Lev Ha’Ir and Hadar. However, while Hadar has the same percentage of academics as Lev Ha’Ir, fewer of them work in their professions. This, a typical indication of new immigrants, which supports the previous data about their larger percentage in Hadar.

In 2004, when we began our research, Lev Ha’Ir was already rehabilitated and in great demand, with high real estate values and partially improved infrastructures. Hadar, on the other hand, was still a rundown inner city neighborhood with very few signs, if any, of revitalization. We wanted to understand why two places that seemed to have...
such similar features were so different in regard to revitalization. Other than their different location - Lev Ha'Ir in the centre of a bustling metropolitan area, while Hadar in a rather provincial city - we assumed the difference had to do with how planning was carried out and implemented in the two cities. Thus, our study was aimed at understanding planning initiatives and comparing implementation of urban regeneration mechanisms.

MECHANISMS OF URBAN REGENERATION

Western countries began to seek planning solutions for deteriorating urban areas after World War II. Declining urban centers with historical and cultural significance are considered not only to preserve memory, identity and social values, but also as cultural assets with high potential for leveraging and promoting local development. In this context, terms such as renewal, redevelopment, rehabilitation, restructuring, revitalization and other "re's" signify processes intended to implement the social, economic and cultural resurrection of these areas. As Mendes de Vasconcelos and Fernandes de Mello (Costa, 2006), explain, the prefix "re" (renovation, rehabilitation, revitalization, regeneration, etc.) explicitly refers to the preexisting, as strategies that include the dimension of time. But, as these processes rely on different means of coordinated action between public authorities, private enterprise and civil society, the strategy also indicate the type of intervention in terms of meaning and/or methodology.

Erez and Carmon (1996) suggest an ongoing saga of urban renewal divided into three generations. The first is characterized by large scale demolition projects in which entire areas of deteriorating housing are cleared to make place for new housing projects. However, using a physical solution to social and economic problems proved inadequate, with poor socio-economic conditions and low education levels increasing poverty and neglect. Moving residents to new housing estates disrupted previous social networks and turned newly developed areas into new slums. The second generation of urban renewal, the result of criticism of the first generation, was intended to address social and poverty-related problems. Post World War II civil right movements promoted the understanding of the poor as members of society, demanding a more comprehensive urban renewal. Public funds directed to slum clearance in the 1970s were used for various projects apart from physical improvement, including local leadership empowerment, health, education, social, and economic programs. Only a small portion of the funds was dedicated to housing improvement. While the first two 'generations' are characterized by purely public funding, the third is characterized by renewal handled by cooperation between the public sector (municipal or national) and the private sector, common since the late 1980s. Other retrospective accounts of urban renewal parallel Erez and Carmon by suggesting three overlapping types of urban intervention: urban renewal (1950-1970), urban preservation (1970-1990) and urban reinvention (1980-2004) (Costa, 2006). Urban change, however, is not always planned. Gentrification, self-rehabilitation, and revitalization are frequently spontaneous, although once started they are often harnessed by planners.

For Arefi (2004) urban renewal is an asset rather than a need-based initiative. While the later tries to influence target groups by solving problems of housing, health, education and employment, the first tries to define the social and physical values of an area and strengthen them. Rather than looking for what is lacking, it encourages the creation of social capital by evaluating the activities of residents as an effort to better their lives and reduce poverty. According to Arefi, policies that operate "top-down" are short-lived and less likely to create real and lasting change. They tend to create mistrust between the residents' target group and the authorities because of lack of attention to the residents themselves, their needs and aspirations. Arefi points out that in places that underwent successful revitalization it is difficult to differentiate between the authorities' efforts and the community's contribution. Others have argued that residents understand intuitively the order and hierarchy of their living environment, even if it is not apparent. In order to understand the complexity of specific living environment planners must talk to the residents (Holmgren and Svensson, 2001).

This resonates the idea of urban husbandry, based on Jane Jacobs seminal work (1961). She promotes urban revitalization based on local assets
and maintains that cities are engines for economic, regional and national development. Urban husbandry calls for addition of new urban growth layers without destroying existing ones. It acknowledges and respects existing local life as a vehicle for change requiring flexible solutions for gradual and long-lasting change (Gratz and Mintz, 1998). This sensitive approach stands against top-down interventions that tend to damage social and built fabrics. Urban husbandry turns to the streets, to small businesses that rely on local support, and for solutions that are suitable to a locality. As Keating, Krumholz and Star (1996) assert, the combination of grassroots neighborhood organizations, local community-based development, residents' participation, along the obligation of government and private sector support, is essential for revitalization. It requires local solutions, since the adoption of processes implemented elsewhere could be inappropriate in a different context. "The wheel has to be reinvented" for each place, by contextualizing solutions and involving local powers and ideas in the process (Gratz and Mintz, 1998).

**PLANVERSUSPLANNING**

The traditional planning process in Israel is usually a top-down tiered approach from a comprehensive plan to incremental strategic implementation. Planning institutions are part of the state apparatus coordinated by the Ministry of Interior, but connected also to the Ministry of Housing and Construction and other government offices. Planning is a highly centralized governmental system, used as a major apparatus for controlling territory and populations. Citizens are rarely included in the planning process, although they have the legal right to oppose a plan, albeit only in its final stages. A plan is a legal document prescribing land use and building codes and a major tool for changing the built environment. In Israel, as in other countries, there are different types and levels of plans that correspond with the various planning institutions and statutorily outline schemes at the national, regional/district, and local levels (Shmueli, 2005). Another tool is the policy master plan, which is not a statutory document but offers guidelines for decision makers and official planners in defining strategic operations.

As opposed to plan, of which the sole purpose, as a rule, is to regulate land use, planning is the expanded process of envisioning transformation of a site. Although a plan might be one of its products, planning is a process geared towards policies and strategic actions that will promote change. Urban planning usually integrates several disciplines such as urban economy, land use, transportation, community etc. It requires professional training, both taught and practiced, and this professional knowledge derives from various theories - social, economic, legal and political (Fenster and Yaccobi, 2005). Recently there has been increased awareness in planning of the need to cope with globalization, information overflow, the strengthening of civil society, and the imperative necessity of a sustainable environment (Innes 1995). Planning has thus become multi-disciplinary, representing, or at least acknowledging, power struggles between different groups over space (Healey, 1997). Municipalities and local organizations are much more involved in running their localities thereby playing a bigger role in the route to privatization. This has increased local residents' demands for involvement in processes concerning their living environment and in defining their future. Especially in planning for revitalization of existing neighborhoods, residents can no longer be disregarded and the role of the planner as a mediator, rather than as sole decision-maker, is evident (Forester, 1989).

Fischer (2000) calls to rethink the role of the expert and shows how technocratic expertise has been challenged by citizens who have valuable local knowledge, as relevant as that of professional studies. Civic efforts of communities worldwide have become one of the most important catalysts for fostering and managing urban growth (De Souza Briggs, 2008). However planners have not managed to step out of their professional mode and acknowledged the relevancy of other types of knowledge (Corburn, 2005; Van Herzele 2004). Their tendency to de-politicize the act of planning (Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000) has made them less engaged in bottom-up processes of social change. A more open-ended planning approach needs to integrate a combined attitude that give rise to a democratic collective planning process (Carpenter and Brownill, 2008). Our study examines the viability of hybrid planning strategies as compared with the traditional statutory land-use plan, and their respective effectiveness for introducing urban change.
BETWEEN TWO INNER CITIES

The two inner cities of Hadar in Haifa and Lev Ha'Ir in Tel Aviv seemed similar at first. Both were built as residential areas by middle class Jewish European immigrants away from the dense and crowded Arab old towns during the 1920s and 1930s, so that their urban design and architecture is similar. However, the renewal processes and their outcomes were different and we wanted to understand why. We were interested in the planning and administrative mechanisms implemented, but also in how the residents participated in the process. Emphasis on assets rather than needs, as argued by Arefi (2004) suggested that both the physical layout and the residents were beneficial to the revitalization process and that these processes were mediated by experts and local knowledge of the inhabitants, but were determined also by the specificity of each locale.

To understand professional processes we investigated official planning procedures utilized by the municipality. We reviewed planning documents, including protocols, memos, reports and the actual plans, and interviewed planners and decision makers. To understand local processes we talked to residents, mainly activists in local groups, reviewed protocols and memos of meetings, and investigated media coverage, mostly in local newspapers. To contextualize the material we compiled background information on the history, geography, demography, architecture, and urban culture of each site.

TOP-DOWN INITIATIVES BASED ON PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE

The renewal plan, both in Hadar and in Lev Ha'Ir, was the outcome of a planning initiative to promote the revival of a deteriorating inner city area. Tel Aviv was the first to start this process, as a result of a series of policy plans to improve the metropolitan area and define its future growth. Urban decline and outward migration, recognized as a major problem, necessitated the revival of inner city neighborhoods to return their residential use. Comparative analysis of different neighborhoods defined the Rothschild Boulevard area as the most likely to change and affect its surroundings, due to large concentration of building with historical and architectural value. Though many of the buildings were occupied by offices, it seemed that if they were offered better options they would leave. The centrality of the area and the possibility of differentiating it from the surrounding areas, important for branding and marketing, led to defining the Lev Ha'Ir quarter.

In Haifa the process was different. The Hadar renewal plan was part of a long-term strategic planning initiative of the Haifa municipality, cooperating between the planning, education and welfare departments. It was motivated by data from the 1983 census indicating an outward migration to new suburbs of Haifa and to settlements in the Galilee region, mostly of young families with children. A steering committee of various officials outside the planning department was formed to develop a policy plan for Hadar and a planning team headed by a Tel Aviv architecture firm was formed. However, with the large immigration wave from the former USSR in the late 1980s immigrants began to move into Hadar, assisted by the government's five-year rental loans that enabled them to find temporary housing before buying permanent homes. Hadar, attractive to these immigrants looking for inexpensive central locations, seemed to begin a spontaneous process of rehabilitation (Shuvi-Herzberg, 1998). But, national housing policies directed the more established immigrants to peripheral towns, aided by government housing subsidies that made it more attractive to buy new homes in national “priority zones”.

The process in Lev Ha'Ir enabled a quick move from planning to implementation. It was partially a political move supported by the Mayor, who wanted, for his political reasons, to demonstrate that the area was undergoing change, and partly a planning decision to promote change. The scheme aimed to revive residential use based on the existing housing stock and urban infrastructure, comprised of three stages. The first two stages were a skeleton plan, outlining a schematic concept, and implementation plan defining specific projects, with its main task to evict offices from apartments and to secure financial aid for renovations. An administrative body was created to implement the plan and its projects. This effectively created an open channel of communication between the residents, the municipality, planning authorities and planners. The last stage was the statutory plan, which increased density and permitted building extensions (Mazor 1980). The plan recognized the architectural value
of the area and listed more than 200 buildings for preservation.

By the end of the 1980s the population had increased by 17% (in the rest of the city, growth was only 4%), and 1,550 apartments were put back to residential use. Young families were given financial aid by the municipality and the Ministry of Housing for rents or for renovations. The school-age population increased by 50%, which helped prevent the closure of schools in the area. These changes created a visible impact that demonstrated real commitment by the municipality, helped to build trust between the residents and the local authority, and secured residents support in the process. Within 20 years of the first planning intervention 385 buildings were renovated, 130 new buildings were constructed, and 152 buildings had been extended or had added extra storeys (Figure 6).

In Hadar it was decided to prepare a policy plan and then develop a more detailed land-use plan to define specific projects. The plan intended to renew Hadar as a residential quarter with additional commercial and cultural use (Mann and Shenar 2003). Similar to Lev Ha’ir, the Hadar policy plan indicated offices eviction from apartments, enhancement of building rights, and addition of two storeys to all buildings, regardless of their design and location. This has jeopardized historic buildings, and was received negatively by preservationists and environmentalists alike. The plan included consultation with local residents. It initiated focus groups in four local populations identified according to pre-set social indicators in the Israeli census, namely Arabs, Russian immigrants, secular Jews, and religious Jews. Representatives of these groups were also included in public sessions initiated by the municipality. Obviously, these groups did not accurately represent the population of Hadar. The fragmented and unmediated planning process made the residents worried about its implications and created an atmosphere of mistrust. Apart of a community center, opened in 2000, no investments in rehabilitation were made, causing the area to dilapidate and the social infrastructure that had initially supported it to deteriorate.

Influenced by the success of the Lev Ha’ir
plan, the Hadar plan suggested an administrative body to carry on the revitalization. This body, de facto a local office of the municipality, was supposed to initiate new projects, coordinate them, and communicate with local residents on issues concerning renovation of building and infrastructures, improvement of social services, marketing and branding the area. This office, with limited power and authority, was only created in 2005 to deal mainly with social issues, leaving responsibility for physical projects for the city engineer department. But, since the office was opened there has been some indication of change. Nonetheless, more than 15 years after revitalization was initiated, these changes are too small and may also be too late.

By comparison with Hadar, the revitalization of Lev Ha'Ir was the result of incremental and hybrid planning processes based on strategic decisions aimed at achieving predetermined results and ad-hoc seizing of opportunities. Rather than focus on a plan that would ultimately answer to what seemed, at the time, to be the urgent needs of municipality and population alike, the planners focused on the area's assets. They did have some long-term goals, but they concentrated on short-term tasks that seemed feasible. This has gradually changed the area, and eventually also altered the priorities of the population and the authorities. Making implementation parallel to planning was important, because it proved that the area was not stagnating. The on-site administrative body simplified matters by creating a framework for informal exchange between the municipality and the residents, thus allowing for ongoing local input throughout the process. Not only did it make the residents feel involved in the process, it also enabled informal discussions of new ideas, quick feedback, and alleviation of future disagreements.

Developing the policy plan in Hadar took about five years, in which no real intervention was made. Residents raised their hopes, but also their resistance. With no real changes on site, many of them, who might have been important partners, were ultimately discouraged. The able ones, obviously the strongest, eventually left. A feeling of stagnation further encouraged physical and social decline, to a point that much of the data used in the initial planning stages became irrelevant. Today Hadar, despite its great potential, still suffers from manifold problems such as low socio-economic status, high rate of violence, negative image, deteriorating infrastructures; few and untended open spaces, and little outside investments. Successful completion of its revitalization is still a long way off.

**BOTTOM-UP INITIATIVES BASED ON LOCAL KNOWLEDGE**

When selecting our study sites we looked for active grassroots organizations in the areas. Initial information came from the planning personnel in each municipality about people who were in touch with the authorities and involved, usually unofficially, in various processes (or in objecting them). Initial discussions with activists led to others whom they thought could help with more information about residents' involvement. As it turned out, in both locales the activists belonged to the hegemonies of Israeli society. In both places the majority consisted of young academics and artists, socially aware and with good organization skills. They attracted others with similar ideas, which eventually enlarged their power base. In both areas residents' groups consisted of grassroots organizations, not dependent on the city or establishments such as unions or religious institutions. They were mostly people living in the area who were not happy with what was going on, and tried to improve matters.

Discussions with activists in both locales made it clear that people take action when they are dissatisfied with what they consider as long-term neglect by the local authorities. In both places the residents' felt that their residential environment deserved care which the municipality had failed to provide. However, they also focused on community bonding and image building, of major importance in the perception of change in both areas. They expressed strong feelings about their ability to initiate change and the need to be counted in renewal processes. In fact, the activists in both areas felt it was their duty, as residents, to initiate and support change and wanted to be involved in the decision-making. In Hadar the residents created a voluntary organization called Forum Hadar, established by young residents who come to live in the area mainly from outside of Haifa, later joined by a group of senior local residents. When interviewed they all expressed good feelings about the multicultural atmosphere of Hadar, which they saw as advantage. By comparison with the exclusion and xeno-
phobia rampant in Israel, they felt that Hadar embodied social and political tolerance. In Lev Ha’Ir residents, supported by the local authority, opened specialty shops in central streets, which has created a positive attraction and brought in other businesses (Figure 7). Social and cultural activities such as fairs and festivals (Figure 8) have also affected the atmosphere and attractiveness of the area. Conversely, for Hadar, commercial plans, for the most part, involved enlisting outside resources rather than counting on residents.

Activists felt that connecting with various municipal departments would give them more power and secure the municipality’s involvement in their cause. However, while in Lev Ha’Ir the local municipality remained on good terms with the residents, in Hadar there was little or no communication with the residents, whose organization became weaker due to the very slow process. Activists from Forum Hadar felt that they had been neglected and disregarded by the authorities. In both cases the residents attempted to put pressure on municipal decision-makers in order to change and influence planning decisions. They also tried to stop various initiatives through legal action and by filing objections to official plans through legal planning procedures, and outside the planning system. A well-publicized action by the residents of Lev Ha’Ir was against an attempt to build a parking garage under a local park, and a similar action by Hadar’s residents against an attempt to demolish an historical building and replace it with an old-age home. In both cases the municipalities gave up and built a community center instead.

The local media, especially newspapers, played an active role in the regeneration of Lev Ha’Ir. Many of the young professionals who moved to Lev Ha’Ir were artists and media people who knew how to put the media to their own use. Lev Ha’Ir is in the center of Tel Aviv, the cultural hub of Israel, and attracts actors and celebrities. This aroused interest in the formal renewal process as well as in the bottom-up processes, and the residents’ involvement received good coverage. The local media in Haifa played no important role in the Hadar process, being generally less effective.

Lev Ha’Ir is now an upper middle-class residential neighborhood, with an older established population and young families with children. Real-estate values are very high and the housing demand exceeds supply. In Hadar the population is still very diverse, and shows little sign of change. Recently completed infrastructure development may be conducive to improvement, but it is not easy to make predictions. There are some indications that young people are moving in, and that the neighborhood, at least in terms of atmosphere, is starting to change (Figure 9).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The two cases discussed show the importance of planning in mobilizing revitalization of deteriorated inner city neighborhoods. But their differences, in term of initiatives, procedures, and implementation have greatly affected results. In Lev Ha’Ir, a flexible, incremental and hybrid strategy relied less on formal planning and more on cooperative enterprise, attentive to local residents. In Hadar, the more traditional planning process took too long and delayed implementation had a devastating effect.
on both physical and social structures. The difference between the locales has to do not only with their spatial and human characteristics, but also with the local administration and its ability to accommodate the revitalization process. The study showed that revitalization has a better chance of succeeding if it stems from an understanding of a place in terms of its physical and human assets, but also an understanding of the local government, its ability to acknowledge these assets and use them for its benefit.

Tel Aviv and Haifa are very different cities. Tel Aviv, the financial and cultural center of Israel, has been based on private enterprise and characterized by pluralism and liberalism from its beginning (Shavit and Bigger 2001). Haifa on the other hand was a bastion of left wing labor regime, with strong trade unions and a centralized local government (Leibovitz, 2007). Tel Aviv municipality has undertaken several hybrid planning processes since the 1980s, supported by local councils whose goal was to create good communication with residents (Amoyal-Yinon and Kallus, 2007). In Haifa, attempts at democratizing municipal government by decentralization of city administration are still few and far between.

The involvement of local activists in the revitalization process shows that local knowledge is vital to this process, although, as previously suggested (Sandercock, 2000; Fenster and Yacobi, 2005), and exemplified in this instance, the professional system is unlikely to recognize it. Revitalization, however, involves cultural as well as social and economic issues. Therefore the profession, which has been lacking in this respect (Sandercock, 2005), needs the help that residents, whose knowledge derives from everyday lived experiences. Residents’ ability to make a change in their environment is tied to the growing involvement of citizens in education, community and environment issues. Surprisingly, grassroots organizations in both Hadar and Lev Ha’Ir had a stronger effect on their environment than their actual size warranted, and their collective power was larger than the sum of their members’ power. All the activists we interviewed had experienced a process of personal

Figure 9. Street Party in Hadar 2005 (Photograph by Yael Sivan-Geist 2005)
empowerment. Their public activity was important for the advancement of the neighborhood and community, but also for their sense of self. It was clear that municipal support and cooperation meant a lot and intensified social and physical revitalization processes in Lev Ha’Ir, while failing to do so in Hadar. This supports other studies showing the importance of bottom-up initiatives for vital and long-term revitalization (Arefi, 2004; Gratz and Mintz, 1998; Grogan and Proscio, 2000).

Gratz and Mintz (1998) say that, when dealing with a deteriorated environment, creativity is the name of the game. The wheel has to be reinvented for each project. Our studies have shown the importance of local context and the need for knowledge of local circumstances in order to preserve the uniqueness of the locale and its assets. Haifa’s officials and the planners of Hadar’s revitalization were very impressed with the results of Lev Ha’Ir. They wanted to replicate the process and follow its success. Professional knowledge frequently relies on precedence and on best-practice stories. However, solutions that work in one place do not always succeed elsewhere. It might be more useful to study the differences between places and their uniqueness rather than look for similarities.

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NOTES

1 Geddes’ original plan for Tel Aviv, prepared in the early 1920s and approved in 1928, included the northern part of Lev HaIr and was later extended as guidelines for the rest of the area.

2 The plan is legally valid to this day.

3 During the last few years it has become more politically correct to allow the public to participate in the planning process, especially for important plans. However, such participation sessions are formal procedures initiated by the authorities (Alexander, 2008).

4 Based on the Israeli Planning and Building Law (1965).

5 Note, for example that both Christian and Muslim Arab populations are represented in Hadar, but are considered merely as Arabs in the census. Each has different goals as well as completely different socio-cultural and religious characteristics, of which the plan took no notice at all.

6 Although in Hadar some of the activists were also older residents.

7 In Lev Ha’Ir, where revitalization was already at a more progressive stage, we noticed that, after years of effort, activists were tired of involvement in local politics. Their priorities changed. As their children grew up, they lost interest in education and other social issues, though they continued to support these agendas of the younger generation.

8 Interestingly, they did not care much for the religious faction, concentrated mainly in the eastern part of the neighborhood. They did not see this group relevant to their lives, although the Jewish religious group, a fast growing population, is currently gradually moving into the center of the neighborhood.

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Abstract

Today central neighborhoods of Istanbul like other cities of Turkey has entered a critical stage in urban preservation and urban regeneration issues. This discussion rather than being an academic argument, it exposes many contradictions about the real life especially in central neighborhoods. The reason for being dilemma for these settings, first, these neighborhoods are typical dilapidated historical environment and they may need urgent decisions for preservation and conservation, second, "the urban transformation law" that we faced for historical environments which is passed from the Turkish Parliament in 2006, coded as 5366.

This paper elaborates two set of aspects about the real situation of central neighborhoods. First set is based on the physical and social aspects of the historical environment before the urban regeneration project, the second set of aspects will be related to the aspects of the implementation of the project. The aspects in general sense present insufficiencies in physical and social contexts. These aspects can also be observed in central neighborhoods of Istanbul, like Tarlabasi, Fener, Balat and Zeyrek. The realities which we observed in these neighborhoods force us to conclude that we should rapidly regenerate these neighborhoods that they perceived as the edge of the threshold of "ghetto".

The paper presents contradictions about the aspects of the dilapidated environment, and it also predicts possible aspects in new urban regeneration projects that they might be emerged after application of the new law. The insufficiencies stated in new projects bring out a classical question: does the law coded 5366 efficiently change or regenerate the dilapidated central neighborhoods?: Will we have better living conditions in central neighborhoods after the implementation of the law coded 5366?

The paper ends with the discussion on complicated aspects of the central neighborhoods regarding the issues of new living conditions, the implementation of new law and monetary based opportunities for new land or property developers. The paper draws the attention to unseen qualities of the central neighborhoods and it evaluates ongoing manipulations and legal implementations for building blocks based on short term speculations.

Keywords: Central Neighborhoods, Regeneration, Gentrification, Historical Environments.

AS A HIDDEN CENTER

Tarlabasi is one of the central district located very close distance by walking to Taksim square of Istanbul, it might be regarded as one of the downtowns of Istanbul. Tarlabasi is the unique district with its urban pattern, concerning housing units reflecting the typical tradesmen housing corresponding to the late 19th and early 20th century, it has uniqueness reflecting a great value of architectural and urban characteristics of the period. It is also standing at an important node showing a valuable portrait, it is also a unique place for the westernization period of late era of the Ottoman Empire. Still today, the urban topography in the district still resembles the aspects of Mediterranean cities, with the housing patterns of the narrow and labyrinthine streets, even with the form of cul-de-sacs (Ünlü et. al. 2000, Ünlü et.al. 2001, Ünlü 2006).

The social structure of Tarlabasi is also distinctive for today’s social dilemmas, as it had comprised of Greek, Armenian, and Turkish inhabitants in the past, the composition of households reflect the multinational ethnicity like Turkish, Kurdish, Roman inhabitants, together with other nationalities like African or Asian immigrants. This housing district as the center of Istanbul is still reflecting the heritage of many cultures, and it resembles an interesting cultural mosaic concerning the regions like the mixed heritage of the Mediterranean and Mesopotamian cultures.

AS A SPECIFIC NODE

The need for rehabilitation of the district might be
linked to the existing conditions of the degraded physical environment, like upgrading crime or other indicators in the district. The occurrence of degradation is mainly derived from the dilapidated appearance of row houses as result of physical aging and poor maintenance. The ongoing insufficiency in maintenance and repairing works can also be linked to the unknown ownership of some buildings and it may also linked to the upgrading poverty of the occupants. From these views, we may physically conclude that the 19th century buildings of Tarlabasi are tended to collapse or create a fatal threat to the people living in the district. Another problem is to increase in the rate of crime in the region (Ünlü 2000, Ünlü et.al.2003, Ünlü et.al.2004), although Erkut et.al. (2001) found that the crime is not well correlated with the increase of population density but it could be linked to the increase of social heterogeneity in the last decade. The research in the area (Ünlü 2000, Ünlü 2004) pointed out that this central and historical environment was transformed and labeled as a “slum-like” district by authorities and “real estate media” channels.

The urban pattern might be considered as continuum of other Mediterranean cities. This specific housing is also unique as it reflects the 19th century east-west dialogue. The houses are the products of the cultural mosaic of late 19th century life style of Istanbul. It exemplifies the cosmopolitan approach within the initial inhabitants: Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. This historical site has been changed from its initial social context and it has been almost invaded by new migrants who use the economic dynamics of the city centre.

The social grouping is an important characteristic of the district, and the perceived life style is an unique picture of the neighborhood. There is no tendency for moving back to the original town, and there is also no tendency for moving to the outskirts of the metropolitan area. It has evolved into the ghetto-like characteristics by the effect of newly migrated social groups.

In spite of the cultural and architectural value of the buildings, their proximity to the central business district, and the unhealthy living conditions, the real estate value is comparatively low. In some streets, the increase in the crime rate is contradicting with the decrease in the population, this issue points out that the district exhibits “slum” characteristics. The studies have found out that the crime is concentrated on the main arteries and the inner streets are comparatively safe areas as a result of the existence of social grouping (Ünlü et. al. 2004, Ünlü 2006). The socioeconomic analysis of the region shows that the inhabitants have low-incomes and they might be called as “urban poor”. They work in low-paid jobs, or in the marginal sector, or in seasonal or partly short term jobs.

**TARLABASI RESEARCHS IN THE ARCHIVE**

The previous works (Ünlü 2004, Ünlü 2006) pointed out the definition of the city centre of Istanbul as Tarlabasi which is faced to resolve issues of dilapidation and deprivation in the historical environment. Today, Tarlabasi is a problematic urban node reflecting increase in crime statistics, and problems are need to be solved in issues of cultural heritage. Ünlü’s (2004) research team set out an approach to the concept of upgrading of urban
slum and rehabilitation specifically addressed to Tarlabasi, the research team made a detailed study on the role of the district within Istanbul as it emphasizes its historical importance and showing the traces of recent physical and social changes. The research and proposal (Ünlü 2004) covers the social structure of the rehabilitation area through its socio-demographic, sociocultural, socioeconomic structure, including the crime analysis of the district. The studies (Ünlü 2004, Ünlü 2006) showed in-depth analysis of the quality of the buildings and even for the urban environment. The analysis includes the infrastructure, ownership, number of floors, functions, registered historical buildings, the size, age of the buildings, the facade characteristics, the risk-management systems, the structural analysis of these buildings, and the strategies for continuity of ownership including current tenants.

The importance of rehabilitation of Tarlabasi come back from previous studies which are mainly sociological based site surveys (Ünlü 2000, Ünlü 2004). Ünlü and his colleagues (Ünlü et.al.2000, Ünlü et. al.2001) studied the influence of the physical conditions on the social life in the district and they evaluated the concept of rehabilitation in terms of how these mechanisms integrate as part of physical and social conditions.

The research presents eight aspects as indicated below (Ünlü 2006):

- We may always observe the physical dilapidation and ongoing deterioration in the central neighborhoods. Despite historical characteristics, the buildings physically do not present good qualities for occupancy.
- The central neighborhoods are suitable niches for the urban poor. The poverty on the streets and in the daily life is the common aspect of these neighborhoods. In other words, these areas might be considered as available settings for vulnerable populations.
- The issues like ongoing migration and the aspects of urban poverty in these neighborhoods boost rapid changes in household compositions. High mobility in these neighborhoods may cause the issue of social heterogeneity.
- As result of high rate of occupancy of urban poor in these areas and inexpensive house rent prices in the area are still an attractive place for newcomers. The issue of ongoing migration from small towns to these neighborhoods in Turkey, or recently immigration from African and Asian countries is a new aspect of these settings.
- The processes like social heterogeneity and the obsoloscence of traditional neighbor relations and ongoing migration boost the crime rate. As result of the ongoing migration, the crime is transformed to be organized crime which might be perceived in small groups like street gangs and organizations.
- Insufficiency of social structure and institutions are common aspects of the existing neighborhood. The basic social institutions are scarce in the area.
- As result of migration and urban adaptation problems are critical issues for newcomers and new generations. The marginal jobs are very common in the area and the socioeconomic level of the inhabitants is comparatively very low.

The critical topics for today’s incentives for Tarlabasi can be chosen as primarily the concept of “gentrification”, “migration and urban assimilation”, “urban adaptation”, and “mobility.” These topics have become necessary for the social analysis of the district. The inhabitants of this central historical site may be accounted as late migrants are always tended to move “gecekondu” areas located in outskirts of the city. The ways in which the migrants how adapt to the urban environment and under which circumstances they can be mobilized to other parts of the metropolitan area, these are still critical dynamics should be elaborated in the studies.

The planning and design process for rehabilitation in the district should have extensive inventory survey especially the updated crime data of the district. The proposal should also have a wide site survey in the district not only obtaining the socio-cultural, socioeconomic and socio-demographic characteristics, but also it should consist the inhabi-
The New Tarlabasi Project

The primary argument for the rehabilitation of Tarlabasi is oriented to the ways in which rehabilitation should be run in this slum area. Contradictorily, it resembles a typical cultural and historical center of the city, and it still may be argued that it has evolved within a parasitical relationship to the close central districts of the city. The second argument is entangled within the first argument. If this slum zone is once well-developed and it was converted to be a rich housing district, how both cultural continuity can be obtained and social problems of the slum area can be resolved? This question opens many arguments on the method of rehabilitation and beyond this point, we repeatedly agree the concept of rehabilitation in a city which is candidate for the capital of Europe 2010.

In the implementation, the design and planning group should argue especially “the role of gentrification in rehabilitation process”. The design and planning team should ask the social dimensions of gentrification, and they should propose the necessity of gentrification strategies within rehabilitation. The rehabilitation of historical houses will bring out new functions and new economic dynamics and eventually new social groups.

Tarlabasi urban transformation project has emerged within a process, which was started after the approval of the new law 5366 by The Turkish Parliament in 2006. The law, coded as 5366, and titled as “the law about the protection by renewing and the usage by sustaining of the eroding historical and cultural immovable resources” and containing legislations about “transformation of cultural sites located as city center” made the realization of the project possible. After the approval of the law, the local municipal authority opened the bid for the planning, design and construction process of Tarlabasi district.

The reasons of rehabilitation as presented in the exhibition of The Beyoglu Municipality can be counted as, the small lots in the area, the parking problem, the unification of the renovation in the area, the high costs and the problematic procedures within the project containing the negotiation problems with owners and tenants, legal conditions of the site, etc. (Salgamcioglu, Ünlü 2008). The project concentrates on 9 city blocks in different size. The selection of these blocks are randomly in the district, more blocks are located mainly close to the main artery, Tarlabasi Boulevard. It is also important to note that each block is designed by a different architectural group.

Unfortunately, the proposals are unifying several numbers of buildings, not determining whether they are officially registered buildings or not. The proposals are also identical, regarding the concept that one typical layout might be applicable to three, or more building lots. Although the local characteristics of the superstructure and the historical pattern of the district seem to be protected, the proposals are tended to change the characteristics of the original urban pattern, such as inner courtyards are faded away in design proposals by the surrounding of clear cut city blocks. The original plan scheme of the buildings and the height of the facades are also critical ones which are not adequately considered by designers. All proposals see the car parking as a problem, and the car parking is planned at the basement of the buildings. This is
also the most harming decision destroying the unique characteristic of the buildings and dimensions of the streets (Salgamcioğlu, Ünlü 2008).

Although the designers’ conservative points about original facade characteristics might be regarded as only positive remark in proposals for the sustainability of the historical pattern, the rest of the building behind the facade is tended to be demolished and the uniqueness of the building is completely lost. Some parts of the facade reminds us a superficial image, and the back of the facade is totally changed. In most cases, a secondary facade from the back of the original one rises by exceeding the height of the unique facade or outwarding and projecting as a new one.

The projects in general is also announced as solving the problematic legal and social procedures of the renovation process, but the fact is they were reflecting a typical operating process as top to bottom decisions. If we think about the unification of the land and manipulation of the plan schemes which were made at the planning and design process, the ownership mechanism will be totally problematic. The property owners in the area will not be able to get the same location and same dimensions which is determined in their tenures. The new ownership in new building and new tenures will be different in size, and location. How will the owners accept new conditions in new areas? The answer to this problematic question is simply responded by the municipality as "negotiation". Despite the selection of negotiator in this project, the project is far remote to conduct a "negotiation strategy". The tenants are also have problems in the district that none of the tenants are willing to stay in the area at the end of this project, because the real estate and the rent prices in the area will be expected to rise. The new project presents these problems;

- The projects based on the law coded 5366 excludes the existing social structure in the planning stages. We cannot observe any stage specifically for inhabitants’ participation.
- The projects do not present any strategy about the social structuring and social institutions.
- In the architectural approach, the typical approach is based on the facade type of architecture. The content of the building is eliminated in the architectural design and the rest of the building is out of the design conceptualization.
- The aim of the planning directly is focused on "new users", the planning strategy excludes the existing inhabitants.
- The strategies do not present models in relation to the user participation and property ownership, moreover they commonly exclude the property owners and tenants.
- The projects are strategically emphasize the importance of upgrading physical qualities, the social contexts of the neighborhood are not integrated in the planning strategy.

Today, you may perceive the district as a "slum" area and real estate and the rent prices are at its lowest value. As a result of "rehabilitation" process, the prices will rise. This process is critical for the sustainability of the existing local characteristics of the area. In such kind of gentrified area with a project like this, we may argue the concept of sustainability and we may also come to primary questions that "gentrification is really erasing the social geography of urban land, and unique architectural pattern" or "it may cause to upgrade, "renaissance" of the urban land". These questions should be debated underlined the concept of regeneration, renewal or rehabilitation as the title of this paper.

CONCLUSION

The new Tarlabasi project points us how regeneration, renewal or rehabilitation process has been the problematic issue for a specific urban piece. This project also teaches us how politics specifically the wild monetary system use the term of "rehabilitation" and how its philosophical and universal essence might be manipulated, and how its contexts like architectural professionalism fades away in the urban history. History and culture, these two terms might be perceived as arbitrary in this attempt, although Tarlabasi is a part of Istanbul and it resembles a unique characteristic of Istanbul that we lost in the past. The distinctiveness is still alive, it is vivid, but it is perceived as a part of the dilapidated environment. The rehabilitation process and attempts for realization of sustainable development, this unique city part should not be based on a "law" or a part of the top to bottom decision mechanism.

Tarlabasi project should be based on a critical strategy, it could be developed with local
administrative strategies with collaborative efforts and it should also reflect massive-full participation process. Unfortunately, the new law and its contexts give a pressure to the inhabitants, where inhabitants participate the project reluctantly or they might be forced to leave the area. If we look at the new Tarlabasi project, cultural and historical characteristics will be faded away with new proposals and the social structure will be demolished as result of free influx of monetary order.

In order to discuss a sustainable development in Tarlabasi and in other probable areas affected by the new law, the new law should be criticized in the public and the law should be revised in the parliament by the recommendation of the stakeholders. Otherwise, as written, the new law will give full authorization to solely local authority to transform an area without limits, and unconscious physical proposals will vanish the uniqueness of the historical and cultural patterns of the urban land, and eventually we will be the witness of many trails in the international courts as based on human rights in general the grasped property rights in specific. The time will pass and hopefully we will see...

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COPING WITH THE POLITICS OF RENEWAL
Insights from a Case Study of Whitefield, Nelson

David Webb

Abstract
This article is an exploration of how power has been exercised over the future of part of a rural town in Lancashire, North West England. The article reviews a decade of debates about what should be done with the area, and draws loose comparisons between practices at various stages of the story and three conceptual frameworks from planning theory. The stages are likened to the theories of rational-comprehensive planning, agonism and communicative planning. This story is characterised by the attempts of spatially or deliberatively remote actors to define the area's future, and to justify this by recourse to one or more master narratives. The article appraises how successful each of the three planning theories have been at regulating these attempts to impose the area's future. It builds on existing critiques of rational planning and communicative planning and shows how, in this instance; well resourced agonistic debate was more effective at promoting the importance of disparate values and non-expert knowledge.

Keywords: Planning Theory, Housing Market Renewal, Discourse.

INTRODUCTION

Whitefield is a residential area lying just west of Nelson town centre, in East Lancashire. As the photograph below shows, the area is made up mostly of 19th century terraced housing, together with a typical assortment of shops and facilities. The area has a historical connection with a major programme of slum clearance, which was carried out across urban parts of Britain for approximately thirty years following World War Two. In the 1970s, the area was proposed for redevelopment but the scheme never materialised. However, in the late 1990s, proposals to demolish the area re-emerged. This article attempts to explain why the area was subjected to new plans for clearance, and how those plans were managed by different elements of the UK planning system. It does this by describing three stages of decision making in Whitefield and ending with some conclusions.

STAGE ONE: A REMOTE BUREAUCRACY GEARS UP FOR CLEARANCE (A RATIONAL PLANNING APPROACH)

The beginning of this story remains shrouded in confusion. Towards the end of the 1990s, Pendle Borough Council (PBC) began to develop proposals for the demolition of 400 houses in the area to make way for new housing, but the reasoning for the project is still unclear. In 2007, a number of interviews were carried out with residents who had been involved in an extended planning battle over the area's future. Despite nearly a decade of close engagement with proposals for the area, these res-
idents remained uncertain of the real reasons motivating PBC. When asked to hazard a guess, a range of possible causes emerged. One of the explanations offered was provided by a representative of the local resident group and an officer from a prominent heritage organisation. They said that, following racial confrontations in the nearby city of Burnley, the Council had become concerned that too many Asian people were living in Whitefield and saw creating a different ethnic mix, with more White people, as the solution. Others, however, suspected PBC of trying to make money from the development, or saw redevelopment as the consequence of refusing to build more homes in the countryside.

Official explanations for the new proposals drew on national government statistics, which stressed that the area suffered from extreme deprivation and that the quality of the housing was poor.

Councillor Azhar Ali said… 'Whitefield was named the 19th worst ward in England and it is important that the Council does something about that' (Mott 2000).

The housing strategy recognises the need to tackle the worst housing conditions in the area in an attempt to halt any further decline and to provide a stimulus for sustainable long-term investment by house owners and the restorations [sic] of confidence in the area by the residential and business communities. (PBC 2000, paragraph 13.5.1)

The information which was used to justify the draconian policy to buy and demolish housing which was not in council ownership was assembled from responses to the census and from a borough-wide, external survey of housing conditions, which covered only a very small percentage of the houses concerned. The last quote above shows that this information was used to support an interpretation of Whitefield as an area with an over-supply of housing, and that this was alleged to result in a lack of maintenance and vacancy. Publicly, the scheme was presented as being in the interests of the people of the town, but no explanation has ever been provided for how redevelopment would help the people of Whitefield access better housing, or a better quality of life.

The lack of clarity around early proposals for clearance in Whitefield betrays the existence of a distinct approach to managing the built environment. Decision making at this stage was being informed only by the views of officers and elected representatives and the (mainly statistical) information available. For whatever reason, the values and knowledge of those living and working in the area were not felt to be important. Similarities can be drawn between this style of approach and the rational theories of planning which were popular with planners during the 1960s and early 1970s. These theories placed their faith in social-scientific inquiry and the separation of fact and value. For scholars such as McLoughlin (1969) and Faludi (1973), statistics could be used to provide politicians with the best understanding of different possible approaches to planning an area.

Another characteristic of the governance environment surrounding early clearance proposals in Whitefield is the relationship which was emerging with central government. During visits to the area, government ministers were sold an image of Whitefield as impoverished and in decline.

The minister spoke of the 'spiral of decline' he had witnessed in Burnley and Pendle's problem areas…Pendle Council chief executive Stephen Barnes told Mr Raynsford: 'You give us hope.' But he warned that, without help, the area's housing decline would be so swift it would be unstoppable. (Marshall 2000)

Proposals for clearance emerged three years into the first term of a New Labour government, the election of which renewed ties with localities across the north of England. This situation brought with it the prospect of attracting additional funding for these areas.

It is possible that the guarded portrayal of the area as in decline, and the reliance on statistics and opaque governmental processes, was part of a bid to secure funding from central government. This way of using rational planning bears comparison with the original role intended for this approach. Rational planning theories first emerged as part of an attempt to force politicians to choose from clearly defined choices, which were distilled from facts.
This was an attempt to regulate the ‘pork barrel’ politics in the US, where favours and political bargaining had become instrumental to maintaining control of local government (Hillier and Healey 2008). A ‘rational’ approach to planning was thus intended as a way of increasing transparency and combating corruption. In this context, facts were guarded in an attempt to present clear political choices. In Whitefield, however, guarding the ‘fact’ of the area’s poor housing and people may have been a deliberate tactic by the Council to pressure the government for more funding.

Stage 2: A Public Inquiry Process (Agonism)

There was a fierce reaction from many of Whitefield’s residents when they heard Pendle Borough Council’s (PBC) official announcement that it would pursue the demolition of 371 homes in the area. Protests were organised and the local articles ran the story of the residents’ opposition (Dewhurst 2001). Residents asked to meet with the Council’s Chief Executive, who initially refused, and as a result protests were mounted every Friday and one resident threatened to go on hunger strike. The residents eventually succeeded at gaining a meeting but not at reversing the decision. Nevertheless, since the majority of houses in the proposed clearance area were privately owned, PBC had no legal right to buy or demolish them.

PBC attempted to buy up housing in Whitefield. Initially this was successful but it then began to stall and it became clear that an application would have to be made to government requesting the power to purchase homes compulsorily. The request for a compulsory purchase order is framed by legislative safeguards which prescribe set procedures, including a public inquiry. The use of this legislation marked a transition to a new regime of governance, which is compared here with the concept of agonism: the framing of decisions as matters for healthy debate between adversaries cases would be advanced by a range of actors (Mouffe 2000; 2005; Engberg and Ploger 2007; Schaap 2007) to an impartial planning inspector who would recommend a course of action to the Secretary of State.

Resident activists were prepared for the opportunities this new regime would provide. Sylvia Wilson, chair of Homes Under Threat, had built links with a local heritage organisation ‘Heritage Trust for the North West’ and with English Heritage. She described their working relationship as follows:

…we all worked together, we were like a jigsaw puzzle, if one of the pieces was missing we would have failed. (Webb 2007)

The three groups opposed to the clearance of the area all presented different cases at the inquiry, but each case supported the other. They are considered here in turn.

Local Residents

This group consisted both of organised activists and many others, who’s involvement was considerable more limited. Their disparate interests meant they had no unifying discourse and, as a result, the majority of them appear to have primarily voiced their personal reactions to the proposals. Overwhelmingly, though, there was opposition to the classification of their homes as so unfit that they needed to be demolished. Seven objectors stated explicitly that their housing enabled them to live as an extended family to provide support and/ or meet care needs, either in the same house or same street. They emphasised how it was difficult to find large enough dwellings for their needs and it was rare that two adjacent properties would come on sale together for adaptation. Many more residents hinted either implicitly or explicitly at the quality of life value they attributed to living close to friends and family.

English Heritage

English Heritage concentrated on the idea of community-led heritage. They presented a report which argued that the people living in the area were best placed to define and understand the importance of the historic environment surrounding them. This case built on the residents’ own arguments that they valued the proximity of their friends and neighbours and the affordability and adaptability of the housing.
OTHER HERITAGE ORGANISATIONS

Three heritage organisations engaged around the issue of art-history heritage: the Heritage Trust for the North West (HTNW), the Ancient Monuments Society and the Council for British Archaeology. Common to all is an understanding of Whitefield within the terms of an established 'art-history' heritage discourse. They highlighted Whitefield's growth around the local mill, and the high standards of housing that were achieved through the philanthropic efforts of the local employer. These organisations argued that the area had a heritage value which could be technically defined and which should be accorded very high value. They referred to the heritage value of the area in terms of scale: local, regional, national and international, with each scale calling into mind ever greater pools of heritage-interested people. The remoteness of the interests served by this discourse legitimises the independence of a set of skills in researching and interpreting the historic environment. These heritage advocates defined the boundaries of what is heritage and acted as its champions in lieu of the appearance of the often silent heritage-interested parties.

PBC argued that a 'balance' of demolition and investment was needed to arrest the decline of the area, which their officers attempted to prove with statistics. The balance would involve spending five years demolishing 371 houses and then continuing with a combination of new development and investment in some of the housing surrounding the cleared land. This would mark phase one of a much more ambitious proposal to demolish around a thousand homes. A letter from PBC's Chief Executive to English Heritage showed that the Council was embarking on a conscious strategy, which attempted to combine funding from English Heritage for heritage improvements with top-down proposals for demolition based on housing 'fitness' statistics.

The conservation area boundary has been chosen to allow a concentration of limited financial resources, extending it further would conflict with the desire of the Borough Council to prepare proposals for the preservation and enhancement of the area... (Barnes 2001, cited by Ratcliffe 2003, p. 19, emphasis added)

This strategy of 'balanced' intervention chimes with an emerging lobby for housing market renewal funding, which was joining up local authorities from across the north and west midlands of England. Economists working in Liverpool were supporting this lobby by preparing a methodology to 'technically' define areas which would see a loss of future demand for housing. These economists argued that vacant housing could always be attributed to a qualitative (housing type or tenure) or quantitative market oversupply. It seems that PBC felt that housing in poor repair was also a symptom of decline caused by oversupply. This interpretation logically leads to a policy response based on improving some housing and demolishing and replacing other housing with housing of a different type. There are clear parallels between this logic and that of older ideas of slum clearance, where housing becomes run down and needs to be replaced.

It seems that this way of interpreting information about Whitefield was so engrained in the understandings of those seeking redevelopment that the need to demolish just seemed obvious.

There is a considerable difference between the houses (in and outside the area to be retained), those in the excluded streets are manifestly unfit... (Barnes 2001, cited by Ratcliffe 2003, p. 19, emphasis added)
standing was the presentation of very little supporting evidence to the public inquiry. The request for a CPO was based on housing powers which are principally concerned with improving housing standards and it was repeatedly stressed that there was a need to make maximum use of limited funding to tackle the poor housing conditions. Consequently, PBC’s case rested on maintaining two, linked assertions. Firstly, that the condition of the properties was so bad that to pursue refurbishment would be unrealistic or poor value given the scope of public funding available, and secondly, that the social and environmental effects of redevelopment would compare favourably with the alternative of refurbishment. PBC relied on an economic appraisal and a ‘Socio-Environmental Assessment’. Each consisted of one side of A4. So little information was provided on housing conditions in the area that the presiding planning inspector took the exceptional step of carrying out assessments of the housing conditions himself. It appears that officers in PBC were so affected by the discourse of decline that they could not conceive of alternative interpretations. Figure three, however, lists alternative interpretations that were given during interviews with those involved in the dispute and highlights their implications.

The planning inspector recommended that the government refuse to allow Pendle to compulsorily purchase properties in Whitefield on the grounds of community opposition and heritage value. However, as a result of the ongoing lobby for funding to tackle vacant housing the Secretary of State asked the inquiry to reconvene to focus more clearly on issues of housing market collapse. At the reconvened inquiry, PBC presented vacancy and house price statistics which they claimed demonstrated market collapse and that the decline of Whitefield was inevitable. In response, objectors presented statistics which showed that the area was actually suffering from overcrowding and explained low house prices by pointing to the low incomes of the people who lived there. They showed that, of the 33 properties classed as vacant, 22 were of a particularly small size with no kitchen or hallway, which made them unattractive to the Asian population. Finally, they claimed that Asian families placed a high value on living close to each other and, as
a result, those who could afford to sometimes bought houses near to them when they came up for sale. This meant that if their children wanted to marry in Pakistan, they would have a stronger case that their spouse should be given UK citizenship. PBC's arguments were based on a belief that common urban processes were occurring across the region, but objectors showed that more convincing evidence could be mobilised for their arguments, that processes were occurring that were distinct to the Whitefield neighbourhood. On 13 September 2003 the Secretary of State ordered that the CPO be not confirmed. He accepted that PBC had failed to demonstrate substantive evidence either of long term voids or abandonment, of a clear downward trend in house prices, high turnover of population or demographic decline.

**STAGE 3: A COLLABORATIVE RESOLUTION**

The decision not to give PBC powers of compulsory purchase left a situation where many houses had been bought and boarded up and where there was no obvious way forward. Earlier in the process, resident activists had involved the Prince of Wales in their lobbying to retain the area's heritage and as a result PBC commissioned the 'Princes Foundation' to hold an enquiry by design to find a way forward. Appendix 4 of the Final Enquiry by Design report states that the intention was that 'the process would be led by a heritage agenda and place design and quality of vision at the forefront of any regeneration proposition'. Straight away it is clear that concessions were made to the cases of formal heritage organisations, but the arguments that residents had put forward at the public inquiry were given much less weight. Another notable outcome of this approach to joint working was that it required English Heritage to accede to the government's criteria for releasing funding for housing market renewal. This criteria was based on research undertaken by economists who shared PBC's interpretation that vacancy rates and low house prices were signs that a vicious circle of decline would occur in Whitefield.

The enquiry by design meant that English Heritage was forced to concede to the master narrative that Whitefield was suffering from a glut of terraced housing. Despite the fact that the case behind this argument was poor, PBC's housing officers continued to portray Whitefield as an area of decline caused by poor housing. They made the following statement at the inquiry.

> The existing market has an oversupply of terraced housing that no longer meets the needs of local people. This has precipitated a general decline in the demand for terraced housing in the town and Whitefield in particular and is responsible for the dramatic decline of the area in recent years. This is a widely held belief and one that is supported by the Government through its Housing Market Renewal initiative, which is underpinned by the work of the recently completed ADF. (Princes Foundation 2004a, paragraph 4.1.1).

An extensive investigation spanning two public inquiries had found the above assertion to be unsafe, but the enquiry by design's emphasis on collaboration allowed it to re-emerge to frame the discussions.

Resident activists resisted the subjugation of the area to this narrative by knocking on doors to conduct a survey of the number of bedrooms in houses in the area, and found a huge diversity of dwelling sizes at odds with the Council's assumptions that the stock was homogenously 2 bedroom terraced houses. Although they succeeded at challenging these assumptions they failed to displace the dominant understanding of the area, which continued to be asserted by PBC and Elevate East Lancashire, a multi-partner governance organisation set up to monitor access to 'housing market renewal' funding. Elevate is noted as stating

> Elevate... is charged with supporting the redevelopment of housing decline areas such as Whitefield. (Princes Foundation 2004a, paragraph 6.2.5a, emphasis added)

Whitefield although a priority must demonstrate a implementable vision [sic] and provide a series of action plan [sic] that fit with the national and sub regional policy requirements of housing market renewal. Significant resource is available through Elevate but the case for their intervention into Whitefield must be established. (Princes Foundation 2004a, paragraph 6.2.5b, emphasis added)
In essence, the enquiry by design acted as a vehicle to undermine the brokered understanding of Whitefield’s housing market that had been established by a well resourced public inquiry process. It instead imposed dominant, regional assumptions of how the world worked that favoured the redevelopment of the area to draw in public and private funding.

Analysis of the planning application for Whitefield, which followed the inquiry discussions, shows that a new narrative had emerged to guide the redevelopment. Research from the Northern Way (The Northern Way Sustainable Communities Team, 2006) has strengthened bids to redevelop areas of existing housing by claiming that replacing terraced housing with detached housing will encourage knowledge economy workers to move to post-industrial locations. The research takes no account of the damage to local businesses and the financial costs to households of being forced out of their homes, but it reinforces a justification for redevelopment based on averting decline with one that promises economic growth. A consequence of this new narrative, merged with existing understandings of decline based on older, slum clearance mentalities, is that the plans to refurbish housing in Whitefield will radically rework the interior of the properties in an attempt to attract wealthier households to the area. So far, however, a stretch of six houses that have been redeveloped in this way lie mostly empty as they do not cater for local demand, which comes mainly from large Asian households. The development demonstrates one of he possible outcomes of using experts to impose ideas of how areas work rather than valuing local knowledge.

CONCLUSIONS

This article has followed official attempts to knock down 371 houses in Whitefield. Early attempts were frustrated by legislation which forced the local authority to open its case to scrutiny. Nevertheless, they effectively defined the kind of future the area would have. This was because the inquiry came after ownership changes in the area and was powerless to reverse the council’s decision to buy and boarded up properties en masse. This inconsistency between this outcome and the public inquiry decision highlights conflict between a discourse that legitimises decision making by elected representatives based on expert advice and a discourse that supports individuals’ rights to scrutinise evidence in instances where their personal property rights are at stake. The public inquiry process showed how understanding places is unavoidably a political process and not one that can be left to purportedly objective expert recommendations and decision makers who are themselves inevitably detached from the diversity of understandings and values that exist in places. The public inquiry process imposed the conditions that were necessary for actors to engage with each other as respected adversaries and this process led to a more thorough scrutiny of evidence about the housing market in Whitefield. This success was undermined, however, by the use of a collaborative ‘enquiry by design’ process as a vehicle to re-impose the dominant institutional problematisation of the area, with its legitimisation of the need for radical change to the built environment.

The case of Whitefield demonstrates the importance of a detailed scrutiny of dominant frameworks of understanding places and the equally important need for frameworks which allow such critiques to inform brokered processes of decision making. This raises questions about both the strength of communicative planning discourses in current practice and the utility of dominant critical perspectives, which often adopt a gentrification approach. A new academic project of knowledge governance is needed which combines a critical, agency-led scrutiny of renewal projects with a normative advocacy of an agonistic governance framework. Unlike gentrification (Slater 2006), the chances of success for this project are promising in an era where government is increasingly calling on academics to have relevance and impact.

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INTRODUCTION: CASE STUDY OLD PAUKKU*

The concept of culture is defined in several ways in different contexts. Here I tell about the case study of an old factory, Old Paukku (Teräväinen, 2006) 1993-2003 and the discursive formation of the cultural heritage in that. I myself took part in the project as an active participant: town planner and also as a designing architect until year 2000; and later in a different position at the regional level.

The actors in the case used the word culture in their speech and argumentation very differently. There seemed to be the juxtaposition between "culture" (cultural activities from the town library to an art museum) and "industry & entrepreneurship". In earlier phases the culture was seen unnecessary: "culture" was almost a swear word. During the process the situation was changing: in the end of my research project (2003 and later) it was "cultural environment" (i.e. the cultural heritage in the built environment) which now seemed to be the "not understood" and frightening concept.

The case study "Old Paukku 1993-2003" concerned the process of planning of an old industrial area, its renovation and re-use. Lapuan Patruuna, an ammunition factory belonging to the

Abstract
The concept of culture is defined in several ways in different contexts. In the case study of Old Paukku (1993-2003) the actors were using the word "culture" in their argumentation in several ways. The discourses were varying and developing during the planning, decision-making and re-building process. The word "culture" may not be "swear word like in old times" - this was how a local politician told me in the interview - but still it's not a blessing either. Anyway "the cultural heritage (of the built environment)" seems to arouse same suspicions nowadays as "the culture" earlier. The local authorities (i.e. the town municipalities as actor in the culture life) and the industry (i.e. the organisation of local entrepreneurs as actor) seemed at first to be heading towards different courses in the planning and developing project of the old factory area. In the beginning of the research period many different discourses of cultural policy (DCP) and town planning strategies (TPS) prevailed. There were a lot of talk about the image in the economics and cultural heritage sites on the national level. In this paper I shall clarify how the process and the discourses during the process were changing and how Old Paukku (the old factory) was developed into "a cultural heritage site" in these discourses. The word 'discourse' is explicated here in the Foucaldian meaning and it is consequently including the 'power'.

Keywords: Culture, Cultural Heritage, Foucault, Discourse, Re-Use.
Ministry of Defence had since 1923 situated in Lapua, a little agricultural town with 14 000 inhabitants. The industrial area was in the city centre but because the process was secret only workers could go inside: most of the citizens had never entered the area. It was a hidden and forbidden area to non-employees. In 1976 the factory came out to be also dangerous: the big explosion killed 40 workers.

In the 1990’s the state decided to privatize the factory and demanded the town municipalities to buy the area (15, 000 built sq. meters, the zone circa one hectare). To keep the employment in the town on adequate level Lapua town constructed a new factory building in a more distant industrial area, and this was included in the charge paid for the state owner.

After the purchase of the old factory in 1993 the next question emerged: how to handle the old buildings? Some wanted them quite simply to be pulled down because the cultural heritage values were unknown and the buildings were partly in bad condition. In public opinion heavy voices were heard about new possible industry to be introduced in the old buildings. On the other hand there was an idea to build the new town library (which was under design process) in the main factory building and perhaps start to develop the area for cultural purposes.

The town council set up a committee to dissolve the fore-planning and design before the final decision of the destiny of Paukku. This so called Paukku committee consisted of officeholders (planning and design, economics and school department) and a couple of main politicians. There seemed to rise two parties: the general opinion seemed to be for the new industry (“entrepreneurs”) and the other party was for the library and other “cultural evenemang”; something like we heard been going on e.g. in Glasgow, Scotland, the cultural capital of Europe in 1990.

The opinions and the visions for culture seemed to be let down both in the committee and also in public opinion in the local newspaper. But the whole country was going into deep recession. In calculations the experts and planners could indicate to be more productive to construct the library in the old factory than let the real estate to stay empty waiting for possible industrial investments for sever-
It was proved to be more reasonable to renovate the old factory building than take it completely down and to build a new library house instead - even though the drawings for the new library were already made in the end of the 80s'.

The town councils in Lapua decided in 1994 to renovate the Paukku area to an entrepreneur & culture centre. This first decision included the new town library and it was opened in 1997. In the next phases came new decisions of Chamber Music Hall, Music Institute and Art museums.

The first decision did not allow any kind of shops in Old Paukku; only things manufactured there could be sold. The idea was to keep the commercial centre of Lapua (Kauppakatu i.e. “Shopping Street”) alive and not let the boutiques move into Old Paukku. The old factory is certainly in the city centre, but in between there is also the Finnish main railroad (south-north) as a borderline. Old Paukku is located on the eastern side and the shopping area on the western side of the rail road. The distance between the shopping street and the new entrepreneur & culture centre was only about three hundred meters, but it was seen crucial and remarkable. That was a consequence of the “commercial developing of the town centers”, which was extremely popular in Finland during the economic recession in the 1990s. A very tiny area (a “stump” of the main street) was accepted to be the commercial area and all selling (including automarkets) was meant to build there, which ended up in big problems and quarrels elsewhere in Lapua town, not only in Old Paukku.

THE METHOD: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN THE CASE STUDY

My primary aim in the research was to understand other actors’ subjective intentions and to have hermeneutic interpretations of them which lead to construct collective structures of meanings, discourses. This is why I call my method in this research a discourse analysis which is not to be mingled with the research of rhetoric (Perelman, 1996). Central in this is the function of the discourse analysis which is to research the use of language and other meaning mediated action and analyse how the social reality is produced in different social practices. Thus the discourse analysis here is not considered as a strictly outlined method but also as a broad theoretic frame of references, which allows to construct the research method as ordered in the most appropriate way from the point
of view of the research problem or object.

The discourse analytic research can be described as a triangle which has as its corners the meanings, the communications and the culture. In the discourse analysis we are leaning on the whole triangle and its sharp edges are intertwining with each other. The discourse analysis is interested in cultural meanings and the social construction of reality together. The cultural meanings are no abstract worlds of meanings, instead they are bound up with human relations. The meanings are constructed, kept on and changed in the human actions: in the communication or in other words in speech, discussions, writings, pictures and in other symbolic actions.

The researchers who have considered the methodical dimensions of Foucault’s discourse analysis, are saying that in the discourse analysis it is possible to research knowledge in text form, and the discourses are seen independent in time and in law, regulated and autonomous formations (Suoranta 1992). The text can be understood as writing, speech or pictures. Nowadays in the mechanical renewing culture of voices and pictures, all products of signification are ‘text’. Of course the spoken, written or visual texts cannot be researched in quite same methods. In spoken and written language the relationship of the signifier and signified is conventional and easier to interpret. The pictures instead are able to mean (signify) something that they in some sense are reminding the thing they are signs of. Today the visual world of pictures has more and more centred role, industrialisation and urbanisation have facilitated the developing of the visual expression and the pictures have become “reality”. The picture can be understood as a representation of something else but it possibly considers also something else, in other words the picture can also be an independent piece of art. But after the definition of the discourse, which is saying that the meanings are produced exactly in the discourse and not by any outside subject, the picture as a discourse making text is also very much real and not only a reflection or representation of something else. (Teräväinen, 2006)

In the discourse analysis I see the construction of meanings and situations of signification to be very essential. The meanings are formed in connections where they are used. The examination of meanings is on the other hand connected to the local processes of the production of meanings (the communication between persons and the texts). On the other hand the ways of signification are more or less connected in the discourses of the era, in broader cultural meanings, ways of signification and languages.

Discursive rules are hence strongly linked to the exercise of power: discourse itself is both constituted by and ensures the reproduction of the social system, through forms of selection, exclusion and domination. As Foucault asserts, in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a great number of procedures. Foucault is involved in a concerted attempt to restore materiality and power to which in the Anglo-American tradition has remained the largely linguistic concept of discourse; it is equally clear that he wants to centre the analysis of discourse within the field of political action (in my case study the political decision making was truly playing a centred role). With not underestimating the functioning of discourse, these concerns lead also to his emphasis of the fact that discourse is both that which constrains or enables: writing, speaking, thinking. What he terms ‘discursive practices’ work both in inhibiting and productive ways, implying a play of prescriptions that designate both exclusions and choices. (Foucault 1980, 1997, 1998 etc., Hook 2002, Young 1981)

The discourses can include or exclude each other. For instance the intensity and power of economical and cultural discourses are fluctuating from time to time in different environments (and also in the case hereby). Some times they are living harmonious together, some times they try to suffocate each other to death. The discourses have their own rules and they are producing their own representation of reality. No one can possess them. The discourses are regulating the thoughts and how they are connected together: what is the reason for some consequences and what the consequence of some cause. So the discourse is making borderlines for the speech for instance of sexual relations or decision-making and local democracy. (Teräväinen 2006)

TOWN PLANNING STRATEGIES (TPD) IN THE BEGINNING OF THE RESEARCH

Every actor in the case had his own opinion about
the good" for the town as well as the essence of "the culture". I argue that likewise the economics and the recession infected on the local discourses likewise did the discourses in cultural politics and the new concepts in the conservation of the built environment.

Research question in this paper: How did the word 'culture' come out in different discourses during the planning and renovation process of the Old Factory and how it was developed as "a cultural heritage site" in these discourses (the 'discourse' in the Foucauldian meaning including 'power')?

The study of the case Old Paukku (Teräväinen 2006) was carried out one decade after the deal of the factory area and the initial planning and renovating process, mostly in years 2002-2003. On the ground I had my own experience as the planner and architect in this case, in 1990's I also had a municipal position as town architect, later more as an outstanding researcher. And of course there was plenty of documentation of the case to study: reports and other writings, official minutes of decision making, drawings, photographs, articles in the local and regional newspapers etc. After writing "my own story" of the process, in 2002 I carried out a restricted literal inquiry among the other most important actors (40 different roles): there were employees and decision-makers (politicians representing the citizens), entrepreneurs and culture people, representatives of organisations, citizens; men and women.

The questionnaire which was pointed to those 40 actors started with the planning strategies of Lapua town: how did the actors think the town was developing itself in the year 1993 (when Lapua bought the old factory) and what was the strategy later, in the year 2002 when it had been working as a culture centre for five years (when I started my research and the inquiry was sent). The alternative planning and development strategies were given as following (Lehtonen 1999):

1) In the course of planned well-being is continuing the social-democratic agenda, where in the front are the social goals of the community. The frame of thinking in the welfare state is to produce the largest good to as many as possible. The task of the planner is to produce the best prospective knowledge for the decision-makers.

2) In the course of the economical entrepreneurship the growth and the employment are playing the main roles. The strategic planning is giving possibilities and influencing the markets. Different kind of partnerships can be used to open the prospects. The infrastructure is emphasized and the traffic planners and economists are the most important actors. The commercial centre renewals are made on the ground of the consumer identity.

3) The third possibility is the cultural planning. By offering cultural amenities the towns are able to interact with business elites. Creating high standard places is seen very important in the town planning. The old division into the town and rural area are mixing together and in the planning is counted to interaction and arguing more than to formal representatives. The hopes of people are more weighty than argumentation for welfare.

In the 40 answers could be seen that the supporters for those three strategic planning tendencies spread even. In the next phase I took three actors to deeper thematic interviews from each group and also even number both politicians (P; decision makers) and municipal office-holders (V). In the table 1. are introduced the representative actors & the paradigm of planning in the case study (TPD =Town planning discourse in Lapua ). I put myself in this table to show my position as the town architect in the beginning of the process, but not later in any other tables or discourses; my voice is certainly heard on the background. These are not any ideal actors in some ideal process- these describe the positions of the actors and give grounds to the covering and reflection in the case study

In the next phase of the research I interviewed these actors (central representatives). I recorded deeper thematic interviews with them in 2003 and ended with material which included 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Actors &amp; the paradigm of planning in the case study (TPD = Town planning discourse in Lapua)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The planned well-being</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1, Member of Local Government Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V1 City Manager</td>
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<tr>
<td>V1, Municipal Trade Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Myself as the planning architect and designer of Old Paukk)</td>
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70
hours on tape and over 200 transcribed pages. The design and planning project of Old Paukku formed a home place (base) for knowledge and power like Foucault is describing by his rule of immanence (Foucault 1997; 1976) in the History of Sexuality; La volonté de savoir), at least for a while, during the process 1993 - 2000.

THE VARYING CONCEPT OF CULTURE

Also my standpoint or view to the culture was renewed during the research: the concept of culture seems to be wider, neither the so called cultural activities in town or art nor the whole life of some nation or group of people like in anthropology. The culture could be the glue which fasts people and the milieu; and the man made environment is the cultural milieu.

The most important thing to notice in the culture is the processuality. It is moving and changing all the time: "The culture is like a network of currents dividing, connecting and cruising each other. The culture is not a permanent structure but changing continuously. No one is stepping twice into the exactly same cultural current." (Fornäs 1998) The cultural proceedings are communicative. But we are not only passively adjusting the ready-made frames: we are taking part in the construction of the culture through languages (widely understood as text) and communications. Because the culture is man-made and human it is possible to propose and argue that human community should understand its products and also appreciate all kind of cultural artefacts.

The culture is seen also as an organized network of meanings and symbols where all social interaction is taking place. The cultural and social structure are not only reflections of each other, they are independent but still adding each other. (Geertz 1973)

The culture is the aspect of human interplay which deals with creation of meanings by using symbols and which includes many kind of production of styles and forms of communicative action. According social anthropologist Ulf Hannerz the culture consists of three parts: ideals, schools of thoughts and also external forms and social distribution. (Hannerz 1992)

Inglis writes in his book "Culture" about the concept of culture that the history of a word is the history of its uses, and in connection with some of the vaguer contexts in which "culture" appears, usage may turn into uselessness. Yet, one cannot doubt the usefulness of the concept of culture, nor the fact that all important concepts swim slowly up from murky waters in which one knows there is a precious and useful treasure, but not yet what it is. So Inglis argues that many strong concepts, including culture, enclose contradictory meanings. (Inglis 2004)

How is the culture defined by municipalities of the state or the local government? The Ministry of Education is responsible for promoting and developing culture in Finland. The Finnish strategy of culture which was published by Ministry of Education in 2003 saw culture belonging to everybody and to good life: Culture, education and good life. Cultural heritage plays a key role in efforts to create conditions conducive to good life for citizens. It enables people to anchor themselves in a time and a place, creates a frame of reference for their actions and provides a value base for their lives.

There is another organisation on state level to protect the cultural environment: Ministry of Environment. The management and protection of Finland’s cultural landscapes and architectural heritage are controlled by national legislation and international agreements and recommendations. The preservation of valuable landscapes and buildings is mainly ensured through local authority planning decisions. Culturally or historically significant buildings and built-up areas may also be protected under the Act on the Protection of Buildings. The local authorities supervise land use planning, construction and demolition work, and are also responsible for increasing awareness of the cultural environment. The definition of "the built cultural environment", which is used on the state level and by the national authorities in Finland does realm the history and culture (human activities) seen in the landscape. The built cultural environment, the cultural heritage is a whole, who’s significance is made of the large structures of the communities, the strain of buildings and of several details. That includes in addition to buildings, their interiors and details, also their exteriors, like the yards, streets, parks, gardens and the cultural landscape and technical structures, like bridges, roads and canals. The building, the structure and their environment are usually depending...
The respect and the values are changing when the culture is changing: historic (cultural historic, construction historic), architectonic and environmental values, the uniqueness, representative-ness, typicalness, the state of the authenticity, different time layers, the whole and so on. And about the values one can separate different levels: the whole country, the province and the local level. The last word on the level of the state comes from the Natural Board of the Antiquities.

DISCOURSES COMING FROM CULTURAL POLICY DCP

The 20th century’s idea of cultural policy focused on a comparatively narrow concept of culture, referring to practices principally pertaining to communication, meaningful exchange, and pleasure. State intervened in the arts and cultural field, subsidizing for various purposes including nationalistic, propagandistic, and redistributive, the art, artists, art institutions, art education, etc., and in general regulating the production and the circulation of symbolic forms.

There have been many changes in cultural policy in the recent past. The domination of high culture (“Only art is culture”) norms is weakening, and the elite criteria in the definition of artistic excellence are not as visible as earlier. The emphasis of cultural policy is notably shifted toward cultural access and participation. Promotions of multiculturalism and cultural diversity as well as the greater recognition of local cultures and community values are significant aspects in defining the scope and objectives of cultural policy. Cultural policies play a part of a distinctive configuration of the relations between government and culture characterizing modern societies. (Ahponen & Kangas 2004)

During the time of well-being state in the 1960-70’s Finnish state was running institutional cultural policy, which tried to justify the existence of art and culture by giving them social and political tasks and universal values. This “Social task for culture” was earlier the ruling discourse in public, but then the rising discourse was the cultural policy with market economics. That is emphasizing that cultural services are economical cost-effective and they are worth of supporting public and also sponsor money. (“Market economical view”)

After boom conditions (late 1980’s - early 1990’s) the governing sectors in regional and local communities paid more and more interest to the regional and local image is and how it could or should be to support and stimulate effectively the economical competitiveness. Following the international examples (like Glasgow ) were many plans, strategies and policies made to promote the economical and image utilization of culture and art, both regional and local. (“Image strategies”) (Ilmonen, 2001).

But then came the economical recession and state subsidies to municipalities were decreasing and the resources of the cultural sector were cut. The threat of clearance was rising social movement and even cultural political quarrelling.

Now the new lines in cultural politics could be illuminated by an old concept of cultural industry. Traditionally this concept was restricted to movie, video and disk record industry, publishing books and new papers and also TV and radio operating. In the area of popular culture there has always been business, but nowadays this new wider concept of cultural industry includes every kind of cultural activities, also theatre, concerts, fine arts and musical festivals. So the concept of cultural
industry isn't any more grading or eliminating but evaluating, kind of ground attitude; it is an aspect to cultural entrepreneurship. And its ideological orthodoxy is capitalism and also new-liberalism. This framework is not appearing as evaluating but it is seen neutral and clarified without any doubt. Of course the cultural policy also in well-fare state was evaluating but from its own basis; and there was on the background among others the ideal autonomy of art, the social aspect of culture. (Ilmonen, 2001)

Also from the perspectives of cultural industry is the interplay between the culture and economics diversified. When the organization of cultural politics starts to implement the characters, signs and brands from industrial and business world, there is a risk for the art institutions to remind commercial enterprises and loose their own character (uniqueness). Because the cultural industries are very labour-intensive also the other political means are willingly to support it.

Almost every actor lifted up the importance of "image strategies" together with the Old Paukku, and it was seen also in the local governments planning strategies, but in the interviews it also became clear how differently people are using the concept of "image" (imago). The other very popular discourse was "Market economics". "Art as culture " was heard only in the speech of V 2, Manager of Municipal Cultural Services and P 4, Devotee Actor.

To compare these discourses in cultural policy to those of planning strategies (or courses/discourses) we can look at the Table 1 and 2 together.

V1, City Manager and P 2, Member of Local Government Board, seemed to share the opinion about the paradigm of well-being. P 2 is also thinking culture as part of the well-being but V 1 sees the cultural activities more by way of market economics, and he is the one who is speaking about "cultural entrepreneurship" (different from cultural industry). Only V2, P3 and P4 thought the paradigm of cultural planning was be real. Artistic view (Only art is culture) to cultural policy had only V2 and P4 (both working in administration of culture).

P 3, Cultural Counselor had several discourses of culture in his speech: he was talking about the importance of culture in society, working together with market economics, and also about the meanings of image.

The course of the economical entrepreneurship and market economics were obvious in the speech of P1, Chairman of Town Council and professionals of this domain: V3, Head of the Communication and V4, Municipal Trade Counsel.

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Figure 4. Discourses in the case study
Helena Teräväinen

All three used the concept of “image strategies” and “market economics” in their speech. P1 had in addition too the possibilities of cultural entrepreneurship. V4 did regret that during the original pre-planning process of the Old Paukku and also after that the views of the entrepreneurship were not extensive enough and nobody could see all those potential possibilities between culture and entrepreneurship. Image strategies can also be seen as a part of the discourse of market economics, any way they both are connected in the systems of town marketing (e.g. Kotler et al. 1999) and town policies today.

This re-understanding of culture in national cultural policies is reaching also on to the regional and local level. When the planning process in the case of Old Paukku was going to begin the phase of “image strategies” was yet coming - still the running discourses were both “Only Art is Culture” and “The social task for culture”. The leading planning process was the well-being - but the recession of course raised up the course of economical entrepreneurship. And now the running discourse in cultural politics is “Cultural industry” - but on the local niveau it seems to be a little bit more narrow, so called “cultural entrepreneurship” This means that the market economics are still having the leading role but everybody is waiting administreral control of the municipalities.

CONCLUSION AND THE END OF THE STORY?

My starting point in this case study was “cultural heritage” or “cultural environment” - neither concepts which I did have in my vocabulary in the planning process. At the time of the pre-planning, decision-making and planning of the Old Paukku we were using words like “milieu”, “history of architecture” and “cultural history”. Is there a connection between the culture as activities and the cultural heritage? The Culture is produced and distributed -- and this is taking place in processes. The planning and decision-making process of Old Paukku offered a forum (like a home place or base by Foucault) where the discourses could shape and constrain, to be produced and excluded; these processes are inseparable, and more than this, they are both complimentary and constitutive of one another; discourses are formed and exist through their mutual constitution.

The public conversation, many meetings, discussions and the seminars during the planning and design demonstrated that the decision to renovate the old factory area for the cultural activities was not a piece of cake. The demands for employment and entrepreneurship were raised onto the surface rather quickly. But when the library was opened - and afterwards other cultural facilities - the people and the whole community began to value and love the area, which used to be unknown and forbidden for them. The discussions about architecture and beauty are exceptional, but people accept the culture inside the re-built factory. Now when the culture centre Old Paukku has been in active use more than 10 years is ‘the culture’ (in the meaning of cultural and educational activities like the library and art museum) accepted by citizens - including also politicians. Today “the cultural heritage (in the built environment)” seems to arouse more suspicions and conflicts instead of ‘the culture’.

An example of the cultural heritage conflicts is Old Paukku’s Canteen building during almost ten years. In 2000 the technical office holders’ decided to demolish the Canteen and the politicians shared this opinion. As a matter of fact Old Paukku’s Canteen had already been protected in the town plan since 1994, like other buildings in the area, but obviously the plan regulations were not strong enough. Some politicians and the entrepreneurs association (of the local entrepreneurs in Lapua) started to convince everybody that the building was ugly, not suitable on the rest of the area, in rotten condition etc. The Canteen is not one of the originally oldest buildings and instead red tiles it is made of wood, but it is designed by one of his time’s most famous architect Onni Tarjanne in classical style in 1920’s. It has now stayed empty for almost ten years although many different ideas and plans are made for it. In 2000 Local cultural associations wanted to prevent the final damage and asked the national authorities to investigate the value of the building and make final decisions of protection. The town municipalities started to fight back at every administrative level and in court instances. Last year (2009) the town was forced by Ministry of Environment to make a town plan to protects the culturally valued heritage, i.e. the whole Old Paukku area with its buildings. This kind of forcing is very exceptional in Finland because the local municipalities usually have the strong power.
(or all the power) in town planning.

The quarrel around Old Paukku’s Canteen during ten years has brought some negative publicity to the town, but in any case the National Board of the Antiquities gave their opinion in the statement: the whole Old Paukku area has now in its entirety, the remarkable cultural historical values, measured on the national level.\(^2\) And in the beginning of the story the Paukku area with its buildings was not even marked on the maps nor mentioned in any category of cultural values at any level. The area has achieved a lot of publicity - and the citizens value it very high.

REFERENCES


SUORANTA, J. 1992, ”Piilekō kasvatus kielessä? diskursianalyysistä kasvatustieteellisenä lähestymistapaana.”


* The factory, Old Paukku, is situated in a small countryside town called Lapua in Western Finland approximately 500kms from the capital city Helsinki.

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\(^2\) The official list of the most valuable cultural heritage sites in Finland, compiled by Natural Board of the Antiquities and ratified by the Finnish Government in 2009; available in Finnish: http://www.rky.fi/read/asp/r_default.aspx
INTRODUCTION

Globalization, internationalization and the rapid flow of information, as the case in the rest of the world, have played a significant role in changing the city Istanbul and her people. In recent decades, Istanbul's socio-cultural and urban identities have been undergoing radical transformation. Although Istanbul has always been a city of duality, fragmentations and polarity, never before has the city displayed such intense qualities of heterogeneity as it does today (Keyder, 1999). Economic policies seem to have always had a strong effect on urban growth and change in Turkey. In each period, the urban space has been shaped by the economic policies of the state. As in other countries, social and cultural change in Turkey has followed economic cycles (Uzun, 2001). While today's cities are being shaped within the effect of global restructuring process, the urban housing which has not been considered in a planned way in this process, has been evolving by itself with the interaction of these changes. The development of housing areas and the creation of the environment are therefore being formed under the effect of a confused interaction between globalization and the city's own history. The differences and inequality in income distribution and consumer patterns have become very clear and this too has made housing areas more clearly separate from one another.

Within this context, the article attempts to study the concepts that arise within the interaction between urban dynamics and housing in a conceptual framework. Based on an ongoing research on "new urban housing concepts", the article begins by conceptualizing the notion of globalization which is regarded as the main concept triggering the change and its relationship with the city. Also on the meaning of home that has changed as a consequence of globalization process. A conceptual framework is developed and explained schematically in an attempt to provide explanations to the emerging new housing trends and preferences under the global restructuring process. Within the...
theoretical aspects of the framework the changes in
global restructuring process, along with today's
urban dynamics presented and the new meaning,
use of home, preferences are introduced as the
effecting factors of the new housing trends and
preferences. By using evidence from the various
cases from Istanbul, the connection of components
laid in the framework is emphasized and their inter-
actions assessed. This provides a good platform
upon which to discuss the issues of emerging resi-
dential patterns, dynamics of the city and the
dialectics of home.

A CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW: URBAN
DYNAMICS, THE MEANING AND
DIALECTICS OF HOME

Change and transformation concepts that are asso-
ciated with city bring up the urbanization concepts.
Nowadays urbanization which can not be consid-
ered apart from its global effects has initiated the
interaction process in the cities that are under
restructuring in Turkey and the world. Particularly
the focus point of this article is to display the part
of the urban transformation process after 1980s in
Istanbul as the case in the rest of the world. The
developed conceptual framework defines the city,
home and its near environment as a transactional
unity with its spatial, socio-cultural, psychological
and temporal features. These features reflect the
dynamic changes taking place in individual/society
and occupant/house interactions. The process of
economic and social change requires a continuous
re-defining of urbanization and housing problems
in the light of these changes. In this context it is
essential to focus on the new home concepts in
urban areas. Lawrence(1989) and Dovey (1985)
argue that the home ‘does not merely represent ‘a
spatial organisation’, but is rather a complex entity
that defines and is defined by a range of cultural,
socio-demographic, psychological, political and
economic factors, where the time dimension is also
very important. In order to explore the meaning and
changing picture of home space, we need to
express the different faces of the dynamic character
of space usage, in other words, its dialectics. In the
light of all this, the multi-dimensional characteristics
of the city and its home environment will be ana-
lized in two main parts: Firstly globalization which
is the main concept triggers the change and its rela-
tionship with the city is examined. Later on the
meaning of home that has changed as a conse-
quence of globalization process and the new hous-
ing trends and preferences are analyzed.

CITY-globalization and global culture: The dic-
tionary meaning of ‘change’ is the whole of the differ-
ences occur in a particular period of time. Being
change dependent on period of time points out that
it has a process. This process characterizes the
change concept. Nowadays to predict, control and
manage future understanding the change has
become an essential component of it. Change has
a value since it carries the essence of the existence.
Where as, the dictionary meaning of transformation
cost is when something passes one state or
phase to another. Change occurs in a process and
the concept emerges from it known as transforma-
tion. To become different from its prior condition is
the indicator of its transformation and this transforma-
tion has physical as well as contextual content.
Human beings are not only surrendered by built
environment but also communicating with it by
these contextual ties. Therefore, as the built envi-
ronment changes, the change of contextual ties
becomes inevitable. Consequently in that process
man changes the environment within which he
interacts and also he, himself is changed in the end
of this process. Today's majority of world population
living in cities symbolizes this major change. So
today's city's restructuring process brings front this
physical as well as social transformations.

Today's city dynamics as a consequence of
the changes in global restructuring process can be
categorized into six headings. These are: global
economy; to be world city; diversification; new joint
ventures and participation; new industries; social
exclusion and societal fragmentation (Cakir, 2007;
Turgut &İnalhan, 2007 ) The concepts arise from
this process has reflections on the formation of
today's urban housing. The concept of global econ-
omy brings prestige, competition, governance, flex-
ibility, economic revival and foreign capital reflect-
ed on urban transformations. These concepts that
are introduced by the expansion of global econo-
my have found the reflections of urban transforma-
tion that are targeted to ‘marketing of place and
prestige’. The concepts of being world city which
are competition, the representation of the city,
urban identity, urban image, environmental quality,
urban tourism, consumption and culture industry
have also reflections on urban transformation. Urban memory, sustainability, local culture and conservation are the components of the Diversification. The dynamics of new joint ventures and participation that are organization charts, governance, participation, productivity, responsibility, and strategic frame have reflections on urban transformation. These concepts have found its reflection upon formation of urban vision. Production of knowledge, advanced technologies, productivity as the dynamics of new industry dynamic in the city has reflections on urban transformation. Social exclusion and societal fragmentation brings equality, liveability, accessibility, sensitivity, balance and treatment has reflections on urban transformation. The concepts put forward as social exclusion and urban fragmentation especially taken into consideration and developed to rehabilitate housing sites and neighborhoods.

Dovey (1985) who explains the differences between “home” and “house” indicates that a house is a material thing existing as part of the environment; whereas, home is the best conceived of as a type of relationship between people and their environment. He examines the relationship between dwellers and their dwelling places in terms of three characteristics: order, identity and connectedness. Based on these concepts, the home guides us and connects us with the past and the future, and with the physical and the social environment around us. Dovey emphasizes the dynamic processes through which a house becomes a ‘home’. Time is an important dimension to understand the changes in the meaning of domestic space and its essential dynamism, reflecting the use of space and its spatial, socio-cultural and temporal orders. Housing preferences, the meaning and use of home space are defined by a set of interactions which are a number of key concepts related to home i.e. “appropriation”, “identity”, “attachment” and “affordances” (Werner, Altman and Oxley, 1985). These place-based concepts which are concerned with the meaning and affective orientations of people to the place have been described by Altman and Rogoff (1986) who have also explored the temporal qualities of home and examined them in terms of the person-environment linkage. According to Altman, there is a unavoidable integrity among these home concepts, appropriation appears to be the most crucial. Dovey (1985) noted that home as appropriation implies a relationship that is rooted in the experience of everyday life over a long period of time. It requires adaptability, control, freedom and security of the occupant. Similarly, identity implies a certain bond between the person and place so that the place or home takes its identity from the dweller, who takes his or her identity from the place. Therefore, identity is primarily an affective/symbolic and emotional concept. The concept of attachment is also one of the affective aspects of involvement with the place; and attachment to a place is generally viewed as a strong emotional condition. The other home concept is the affordances which reflect the psychological and behavioral utility of the home environment for the people. According to this concept, objects and places are perceived based on their psychological meanings rather than their physical characteristic and functional utilities.

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: URBAN DYNAMICS AND NEW URBAN HOUSING IN GLOBALIZATION PROCESS

After having conceptual overview, the structural analysis of city and its housing patterns in the process of globalization will be presented in this section as a conceptual framework. The formation of the framework has been based on the conceptual framework developed by the researchers (Turgut, 2004; Turgut & Akbalik, 2005; Çakir, 2007; Turgut & İnalhan 2007). As described in Table 1, there is a transactional relationship which occurs because of economic, politic, socio-cultural and technolog-
global changes, between city and home in the process of globalization. Today’s city dynamics follows the changes in global restructuring process and has triggering effect on urban change and transformation. Cities become the stages of major transformations against the process which brings globalization. City dynamics which arise from global platforms has effects on the formation of new urban housing area trends on local platforms.

It is also apparent that time brings changes to the home concepts in two different aspects: First of all, changes in the ideas and values of people towards their dwellings through the course of their life cycles, and secondly, changes in social and familial contexts which affect the housing pattern over time. The second aspect of changes in the housing pattern has even a more vital importance in many globalized countries where the changes in socio-cultural and spatial contexts follow each other. This interactive structure of housing patterns becomes more important in countries where rapid and successive physical and socio-cultural changes are experienced. Rapoport who developed the specific conceptual and theoretical framework on culture-environment relations has tried to understand how culture results in environments with certain attributes in most his work. He emphasized that the important role of ‘culture’ is to precisely define groups who have conflicting sets of wants, values, ideals, images, standards, meanings, etc., and therefore different groups have different notions of environmental quality. Then the perceived environment is evaluated against these norms, ideals, standards, etc., (Rapoport, 1995, 2002). These Cultural elements that have also a dynamic structure within time change due to acculturative influences of global culture and according to this, behavioral and residential characteristics also change. In these cases, Acculturative effects (such as, Consumption, and Media in marketing) cause or even force a social change. During this process, many important replacements in the meaning and preferences occur, through the optics of the global world in the profusion of photogenic images from advertisements to tele-visual media.

NEW RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS EMERGING IN ISTANBUL AS A GLOBAL CITY

Istanbul, as the greatest metropolis of Turkey and one of the great cities of the world, has been rapidly transforming in last three decades. During the economy’s restructuring process the transformation that has occurred by the interaction of politics, culture and economy, directed and legitimized the global city discourse. Over the last 30 years many global city discourses have produced for Istanbul. Central government and local authorities have proposed various projects to make Istanbul a global city. With these projects, Istanbul’s urban identities have been transforming radically and the city has been developing with intense heterogeneity, especially in its urban housing, as never before. Since the beginning of the 1980s, the city has been driven by the intricate effects of transformation including globalization, liberalizing economy, rapid urbanization and technological advances. This change is more prominent in the 1980s and gained momentum in the 1990s. The economical policy, which produces radical changes in the social structure, plays a key role in the change and transformation process. It transforms the urban space and

| Table 1. The conceptual Framework: urban dynamics and new urban housing in global restructuring process (based on Turgut & Inalhan, 2007) |
creates new urban forms. In the midst of 1980’s people started to habituate in peripheries of Istanbul and this type of residential settlements has become popular and desired for urban middle high and high-income groups. Particularly after the earthquake in Istanbul in 1999 not only the periphery city lands but also the lands in inner-city came into value. After 2000’s these types of residential settlements have become affordable and desirable for middle-income groups. Although this type of retreat and resolution of the groups handled in a need for ‘being secure’ discourse in the world, since in Turkey the urban crime and tension better off the other countries in the world, this tendency depends on other reasons. According to Kurtulus the reason for this tendency more distinct to Istanbul case is the urban elites trying to integrate global consumption culture by their new house and residential area demands and the supply capacity of the investors who realize the potentials of the urban elites demand on the urban environments [Kurtulus, 2005a]. Prestigious neighbourhoods guaranteed real estate values, secured and privileged settlements are some of the triggering factors for gated settlements in Istanbul. Developments caused by the changing economic structure and global influences have created a new metropolitan life-style of middle and upper income groups, which has resulted in a demand for luxurious new houses. The development of these new housing patterns over the last thirty years in the city is analyzed in four categories:

- Garden cities -suburbia (beginning from the 1980s)
- Luxurious housing-villa towns- settlements: (beginning from the 1980s)
- Multi-storey residences (beginning from the 1990s);
- Mixed city housing (beginning from the 2000s): mixed inner-city and outer city housing

1. Garden cities - suburbia: First type of settlements, which are developed as new housing areas in Istanbul, are for middle high income groups located in the peripheries of the city. They are not totally gated however they are on privatized public areas and consist of various footprints of houses, villas and apartment buildings. These suburban settlements has expanded to the Istanbul’s peripheries and introduced itself as the new concepts to Turkish urbanization experience. According to Kurtulus this
The suburbanization process has arisen as a synthesis of western modern cities started in 19th century and with the effect of fordist capitalism for reaching middle class sub cities and the gated communities [Kurtulus, 2005/b]. Starting from 80’s and intensifying 90’s this newly planned suburban settlements are also supported by housing policies to solve the shortage of houses in Istanbul.

2. Luxurious housing-villa towns-settlements: Becoming a center of service sector in mid 1980’s, Istanbul faced an increase in the pace of social and spatial transformation. These transformations resulted in people moving away from the center and a rapid augment in the number of the residential areas in the periphery. The first gated communities were villa towns produced for the high income group (ultra-luxurious villas) with a user profile of married couples with children [Yönet ,2009]. Another type of gated villa towns was produced in the periphery for the middle-high income group (luxurious villas) with smaller size. There are villa towns built in the city for high income group. These villa towns consist of fewer houses (10 to 20 villas) because of the inadequacy and very high value of the inner-city land.

3. Multi-storey residences: In the 1990s, multi-storey dwelling blocks near the business center started to develop. These residences were a type of living arrangement that spoke to urban elite aware of living in village and housing projects. For those living in these housing units it was the same as being in a first-class hotel that offered secretaries, food, hospitality, room-cleaning and laundry services. These are people who have limited time, high-level professionals in terms of income and high-level managers who live alone. Most of them live outside Istanbul but frequently come to Istanbul. The images and life concepts about the new residential settlements, which are build for the group with upper income described above, that are been represented to the society by written and visual media, are overspreading to the other layers of society and form the preferences and expectations about the residence and residential area.

4. Mixed city housing: The urban transformation process, which Istanbul enters in the beginning of 1980’s, has started to become very distinct by urban segregation in 2000. In Turkey where the first examples of these types of gated settlements are for new elites (high income groups) it rapidly has trans-
formed itself to the places, which urban middle-income groups desire to live in. So to supply this demand they are produced with lower costs [Kurtulus, 2005-b]. Mixed inner-city housing is mostly affordable for middle-high and high income group. For middle, middle-high, high income groups, mixed outer-city housing alternatives are also produced. Mixed city housing includes apartment blocks with various numbers of storey, flats and single unit dwellings. In comparison with other groups these settlements have the most social and spatial diversity.

The classification of these new housing patterns is analyzed above. According to these five types of residential settlements, main concepts and characteristic are derived and main features are explained as in Table 2.

**Emerging Trends and Expectations in Last Decade:**
The results of the analysis that are done above can be evaluated as follows: As emerging patterns of social and cultural differentiation in Istanbul since 1980, new urban housing settlements can be defined as good examples of a residential site of duality, fragments and polarity, social and spatial dialectics which constitutes social exclusion, spatial diversification, sense of belonging. The citizenship and being a city dweller being the modern society's basis leaves itself to a different sense of belonging in the social exclusion process crystallized by the spatial diversification. That is a spatial sense of belonging and this exclusion can only survive by excluding the others. This type of social exclusion and the cultural fragmentation, can lead to extinction of common elements that forms the urban identity and in effect gradually it can lead to a loss of identity. Instead of having a holistic urban identity, it can result in a definition of diversified spaces that are made up so many pieces of identities [Kurtulus, 2005-b]. In summary, because of spatial segregations the urban social environment are being fragmented and there is a risk of losing public spaces as the consequence of this privatized urban spaces. (Table 3).

After the evaluations of these projects, it is concluded that there are different trends for different types of income groups. In the last decade for middle income groups outer-city apartment blocks are mostly favoured. The user profile of the middle income group is mostly young couples married with children, educated and having a profession. With a dense structure in a smaller land and composed of apartment blocks, gated residential developments turned out to be affordable for middle income group. For middle-high income groups, preferences vary according to the choice of location. The outer-city villa towns are preferred while in inner-city apartment blocks are mostly chosen. Mixed city housing is also preferred both in inner and outer city. The first gated communities were villa towns produced for the high income group, with a user profile of married couples with children. For this user profile villa towns are still the most preferred type of new settlement. For singles and couples without children, the alternative of these communities are the multi storey residences. These types of residences are also preferred by senior professionals, businessmen, industrialists, senior managers as abovementioned. Mixed city housing is also preferred both in inner and outer city by high income group. It is observed that in the last decade mixed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Concepts And Characteristics</th>
<th>Features</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Modern, contemporary, western life but very heavy nostalgia to / for traditional communal life such as big family, relations with neighbours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A way of living selectively (exclusivity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Living in areas that are isolated from the rest of society (social homogeneity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community of residence</td>
<td>High class (inner-city and periphery)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle class (inner-city and periphery)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle class (periphery)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design concepts: Spatial and architectural pattern</td>
<td>Famous architects and companies (both from Turkey and from foreign construction companies.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Even the copying is the project that was drawn by American or European architects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expensive and trendy indoor decoration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Materials are imported entirely from Italy and or America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Luxuries, ultra luxuries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology and resistance to earthquake</td>
<td>Location, condition of the ground, static project, beginning to give importance to quality of application.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Common measures taken against the danger of earthquake.</td>
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**Table 2:** The main concepts and features of new urban housing
city housing replaced garden cities-suburbia. These mixed city housing is popular among middle-high income group. Multi storey residences and villa towns are still the most favourable trend for high income group.

**SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Cities have experienced a fundamental social, cultural and economic transformation in recent decades. This process has also affected the continuity and development trends in the urban housing environments and in the quality of life. The most important issue is to understand these new dimensions of culture-space relations which are affected by the global world culture, and to develop new conceptual framework in order to analyze these new trends. Today where everything is changing rapidly and global relations and networks are in the spotlight, it is essential to redefine the dynamics of spatial development. It is gaining importance to study inclinations and trends of spatial progress, change and transformation by trying to understand today and the past in order to construct the future. When evaluating the issues of spatial developments since the 1980s; especially when examining the urban residential problems; two policies on different bases are necessary: to solve the spatial problems that are based on socio-economic development that is transferred from the past; and also how to meet the complex needs of a developing and globalizing world.

We have seen how the main issues of the study relate to the given meaning of home, preferences and which factors affect these preferences. Cultural change is a general phenomenon in the world; but in Istanbul rates of change are high, and change is very rapid. Especially in housing areas, lifestyles, social relations, housing types and patterns are very mixed. It is very difficult to say that this situation is the preferences of the residents although it is a reflection of changing cultural values. It is crucial to understand that the transformations in the new housing developments in Istanbul are oriented by housing marketing and the media including TV, films, residential advertising etc.. The consequences of the analyses encourage us to examine how these residential tastes and preferences are a fiction that is formed by progress and change according to the acculturative characteristics of a globalizing culture. In this point, the main issue is that the city dynamics arise in global level and but undertaken in local level and the negativity this can bring if it is only determined by political and economical benefits it can bring. Especially the urban transformation concepts, which require detailed analysis process over a long term, can result in the omission of concepts that depends on society’s benefits when many of these projects become short-term agenda for Turkey. The cities become resources of investment in global economy. The urban transformation projects that are taken in that process should not only be considered in provision of economical terms and benefits but also be used as the requirements for benefits of the society in the long term.

Today’s city dynamics come into existence as result of restructuring process and have a catalyzing effect on the city’s change and transformation. The urban dynamics are shaped under the influence of these dynamics and displays similar existences in global and local levels. In this context the urban transformation process taking place in Turkey, the concepts that form that basis of urban transformation benefiting the society are hold back by political and economical benefits coming front. Depending on these evaluations for the transformation projects taking place in Turkey a conceptual framework is developed to emphasize the concepts; ‘integration of the city’, ‘actively used social spaces’, ‘mixed usage’, ‘strategic frame’, ‘the future of the society’, ‘active participation’ to stand in the forefront in the urban transformation process. Process of economic and social change that occurs in our country and all over the world requires to, continuously, defining urbanization and housing problems in the light of this change.
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Web sites for pictures

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"Planet of Slums," which was published in 2006, presents a documentary research, which is based on a very rich analysis of empirical research about urban poverty. Thus, it is very well referenced. The objective of the book is to develop a healthy understanding of the concept of “urban poverty" by presenting the conditions in which the 21st century poor live, their place within the city, the political causes behind this growing problem, problem's history within 20th and 21st centuries, scale of the problem, and relationship of the problem with various disasters. The book fully achieves its objectives and presents a very successful picture of urban poverty, and contemporary cities which conceal urban poverty.

The first part of the book gives information about the conditions of contemporary cities in relation to the change in their population. The second part describes where do poor people live, proportion of squatter districts within the city, and the political and economical changes that has happened in squatter districts since 1960's. The third part of the book explains the state's role in this change. The fourth part gives information about the myths and illusions about squatter housing and makes the final political situation explicit. The fifth part explains how the squatter districts are criminalized and cleared out for the sake of achieving beautiful cities. The sixth part describes the affect of disasters on squatter districts and poor as well as the very bad health conditions in these districts. The seventh part discusses and questions the recent political trends in solving the problems of urban poverty. A very recent example for this can be the protests made infront of Pakistan parliament at the end of August 2010 in order to ask IMF to cancel the payment of country's debt because of the flood, which left 5 million people homeless and 17 million people affected badly from this situation. According to Davis such payments of poor countries are important barriers infront of their struggle against urban poverty. The eighth part gives information about the informal sector and its current political economical role. The last part contains the worries of Davis about urban poverty.

The book can be very useful for professionals, such as city planners, architects and sociologists. However anybody who wishes to know what is happening on our planet should also read it. Although the book does not contain any illustrations, it makes the imagination work, so that the reader can easily imagine the physical world of the poor, as if s/he is reading a classic novel.

Whilst reading the book one might find out that his/her conception about poverty is seriously wrong. Tens of people living in a room; People paying the highest prices for the metersquare of these poor rooms, for private toilets (if they exist) and for clean water to drink; People selling their organs or children; People starting to think that their children are witches... It really gets crazy...

There is not any shortcomings of this book and this success is expected from Mike Davis, who is one of the editors of New Left Review. Some of his other successful books can be listed here as: "City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles," "Beyond Blade Runner: Urban Control, The Ecology of Fear," "Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster," "Magical Urbanism: Latinos Reinvent the US City," and "Dead Cities and Other Tales."
"Designing High-density Cities for Social and Environmental Sustainability" is an edited book with four parts containing twenty two chapters written by various authors. The objective of the book is to provide the necessary tools for designing high-density urban environments and high-rise buildings for social and environmental sustainability. This objective has been achieved by covering all related issues to sustainability, such as climate, thermal comfort, urban ventilation, acoustic problems, daylight problems, waste minimization, fire engineering, effects of greenery, energy in general, and social and psychological issues. All chapters in the book study Hong-Kong as a high-density city. This makes this book a very scientific book and also very interesting.

Each chapter is outlined as follows:

**PART 1: Understanding high-density**

**Understanding Density and High-density** by Vicky Cheng
Various concepts of density are studied and the concept of high-density is related to infrastructure, transportation system and social and personal issues.

**Is the High-density City the only Option?** by Brenda Vale, Robert Vale
Discusses the low and high-density cities by considering production of food and sewage disposal.

**The Sustainability of High-density** by Susan Roaf
Discusses the sustainability of high-rise buildings and considers rate of increase of health problems, security problems, social problems, inequality, need for water and energy problems.

**Density and Urban Sustainability: An Exploration of Critical Issues** by Chye Kiang Heng, Lai Choo Malone-Lee
Discusses the relevance of density to the sustainability discourse by considering diversity, flexibility, types of expansion and opportunities of local employment.

**PART 2: Climate and high-density**

**Climate Changes Brought about by Urban Living** by Chiu-Ying Lam
Explains how the urban temperature raised, winds slowed, visibility deteriorated, solar radiation reaching ground decreased and evaporation rates have gone down with the urbanization in Hong Kong.

**Urbanization and City Climate: A Diurnal and Seasonal Perspective** by Wing-Mo Leung, Tsz-Cheung Lee
Presents the effect of urban development on the "urban heat island effect."

**Urban Climate in Dense Cities** by Lutz Katzshmer
Gives information about the concepts of "urban heat island," psychological equivalent temperature in relation to urban density and explains the use of urban climatic maps and ways of achieving ideal urban climate.
PART 3: Environmental aspects of high-density design

Thermal Comfort issues and Implications in High-density Cities by Baruch Givoni
Discusses the issues of conduction, evaporative cooling and radiation; introduces the comfort issues in high-density cities; focuses on methodologies of comfort research for a given population in a given location.

Urban Environment Diversity and Human Comfort by Koen Steemers, Marylis Ramos
Tests the hypothesis about the correlation between environmental diversity and reported comfort data through monitoring, surveying and modelling of 14 urban sites in Europe and a data base of 10,000 respondents to outdoor comfort surveys; relates this data to high-density cities.

Designing for Urban Ventilation by Edward Ng
Introduces Air Ventilation Assessment System and develops some design guidelines for high-density cities.

Natural Ventilation in High-density Cities by Francis Allard, Christian Ghiaus, Agota Szucs
Considers lower wind velocity, noise and pollution in relation to natural ventilation in dense urban environments and introduces some natural ventilation strategies for this type of environments.

Sound Environment: High versus Low-density Cities by Jian Kang
The sound environment in high-density cities is examined by considering sound distribution, sound perception and noise reduction. Condition in high and low density cities are compared through a series of case studies.

Designing for Daylighting by Edward Ng
Proposes and explains the concept of ‘unobstructed vision area’ (UVA) as a daylight design tool for high-density cities as a fundamental change in guiding parameter in comparison to low-density cities.

Designing for Waste Minimization in High-density Cities by Chi-Sun Poon, Lara Jaillon
Introduces ways of reducing construction waste due to construction and demolition activities.

Fire Engineering for High-density Cities by Wan-Ki Chow
Explains the new fire safety concerns due to new architectural features which take place in high-density cities.

The Role of Urban Greenery in High-density Cities by Nyuk-Hien Wong, Yu Chen
Presents a research about the effect of urban greenery on temperature by analyzing effects of urban parks, road trees, landscape around the buildings, roof top gardens and vertical landscaping and then discusses the possible effects of greenery in high-density cities.

Energy in High-density Cities by Adrian Pitts
Analyzes the appropriateness of various energy solutions for high-density cities and considers demand for and supply of solar and wind energy, use of biofuels, waste, hydropower, heat pumps and nuclear power.

Environmental Assessment: Shifting Scales by Raymond J. Cole
Discusses the methods of building environmental assessment in the context of sustainable urban development.

PART 4: High-density spaces and living

Social and Psychological Issues of High-density City Space by Bryan Lawson
Covers the social and psychological problems due to architectural design and introduces the issue of high-density design in relation to social and psychological satisfaction.

Sustainable Compact Cities and High-rise Buildings by Sung Woo Shin
Gives examples of sustainable high-rise buildings and explains how sustainable high-rise buildings can lead to sustainable compact cities.

Microclimate in Public Housing: An Environmental Approach to Community Development by John C.Y. Ng
Explains the experiences of HKHA (Hong-Kong Housing Authority) in microclimate studies through the use of advanced simulation technology.

Designing for High-density Living: High-rise, High Amenity and High Design by Kam-Sing Wong
Presents the changes in the urban environment during the last 20 years of Hong-Kong including the phases of ‘density as an aesthetic outcome,’ ‘wall effect’ which eliminates ventilation and causes health problems, outbreak of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in March 2003, and the rise of ‘green sense.’

The book can be useful for architects, urban designers, and students of architecture and urban design. Chapters are full of recent research. Most of them are well referenced. Subjects are interesting. Graphic design of the book is good, and the book is very well illustrated.
THE WHOLE BUILDING HANDBOOK
How to Design Healthy, Efficient and Sustainable Buildings

Jorica Aspelas, Maria Block
Publisher: Earthscan Publishing, Co-published with RIBA Publishing
ISBN Number: 978-1-84407-523-2 paperback
978-1-84407-833-2 hardback
Dimensions of the Book: 119 x 24.5 cms
Type of Cover: Hard and Soft Cover both types exist
Number of Illustrations: every page contains approximately 3 illustrations- mostly photos, sometimes graphs or charts

The objective of this book is defined by the authors of it as to provide the knowledge to understand what is involved in planning and building sustainably from a holistic perspective based on a comprehensive and integrated approach. The objective has been achieved by preparing a book which covers all aspects of planning and architecture from the point of view of sustainability. The book also provides a wise approach to the concept of sustainability in general.

The four parts of the book are: health, conservation, eco-cycles and place. The part which is about health provides knowledge about materials (including selection of construction materials and construction techniques), services (including building systems such as heating, plumbing etc), construction (including the ways of avoiding moisture problems, radon, noise etc) and implementation (including issues about economics and project management besides construction waste and site conditions). The second part which is about conservation focuses on waste (including recycling and ecological design), water (including water conservation and purification), electricity (including large information about household appliances, electrical equipment and lighting besides what can be done without electricity) and heating and cooling (including insulation, heat recovery and related issues of architectural design). The third part which is about eco-cycles covers renewable heat (including cooling, solar energy, bio energy and heat pumps), renewable electricity (including solar cells, hydro power and wind power), sewage (including natural and mechanical purification and nutrient recycling) and vegetation and cultivation (including gardens, ecological agriculture, green structures and vegetation on buildings). The last part which is called place is about social fabric (including cultural patterns, traffic, the holistic town and city / country interaction), how to handle existing buildings (including rebuilding, decontamination, energy conservation and issues about operation / maintenance) and nature (including flora fauna, hydrology, geology / topography and adaptation to climate).

The book can be very useful for architects and interior architects. Since it has an index and a good bibliography it can also be used by post-graduate students who research about sustainable architecture. However, the book can also serve as a kind of guide book of sustainable architecture for everybody. It is nicely written and interesting. The book is very well illustrated and its graphic design is also very pleasing. There are many explanatory graphics besides good visual examples for different solutions to different problems. The book also contains several case studies at the end of various parts.
All manuscripts must meet the following requirements:

1. The title of the paper should not exceed ten words.
2. There must be an abstract of between 200 and 300 words.
3. The manuscript must have a maximum of five keywords following the abstract.
4. The manuscript must have a reference section at the end with the author's names in upper case followed by the year, the title of the reference in italics and the source or publisher in normal lower case e.g. JACKSON N.1999, Reconstructing Architecture for the Twenty First Century, Toronto University Press, Toronto, Canada. In this case the whole book/article is being referred to i.e no pages numbers are given.
5. The citation format in the body of the text must have the author's name in lower case followed by the year in brackets e.g (Hamdi N.1999). Where a specific page or pages are being referred to then the page number or numbers must be cited after the author's name e.g (Wills, 2002:31. or Wills 2002:31-44)
6. There must be a conclusion at the end of the manuscript.
7. The length of the manuscript should be around 4000 words.
8. All illustrations must be stored on a separate file to the text.
9. Locate any illustration by placing a figure number in the text.
10. All photographs, maps and graphs must be in TIFF format and not be less than 300 dpi. Photos should be scanned as multi-colour (8 bit colour) and then transferred to grey scale. Width=12cm, the height is free.
11. All tables, graphs and line drawings should be in rich text form or .doc format using Word, Power Point or Excel original programs. Please only use grey scales (no colour).
12. In the first instance and for refereeing purposes send a copy of your article to the Editor with all images embedded in the text in PDF format to the Editor in Chief.
13. For the final submission i.e after refereeing and revising of the manuscript please ensure that all illustrations whether tables, graphs, photographs, maps or line drawings must NOT be embedded in the text of an article. Authors MUST put all illustrations on a separate file and only put the figure number with caption in the text to show where the illustration should be. Any article which does not follow this guide line will not be published.
14. With the CD send one hard copy of the text without images and one copy with images in the text.
15. Care should be taken that all information, particularly about place names is clear and correct.

(Elsevier Scopus, EBSCO Publishing, The Social Science Citation Index, (SSCI), the Arts & Humanities Citation Index, (A&HCI), Social SciSearch, Current Contents/Social & Behavioral Sciences, (CC/S&BS) and the Current Contents/Arts & Humanities, (CC/A&H) and Journal Citation Reports/Social Sciences Edition. The Journal is also listed on the following Architectural Index Lists: RIBA Index, API, ARCLIB, Avery Index and the Ekistics Index of Periodicals. OHI is online for subscribers at www.openhouse-int.com)
This conference - embedded in Build Boston - will engage participants in considering architecture as a long-term investment imbued with the capacity for incremental change. We will focus on residential and healthcare architecture, and their potential intersection.

Building for the long haul is an urgent societal agenda and a vital part of the goal of a sustainable built environment. But preparing buildings to last while adapting to inevitable change is not easy. New methods, business practices, policies and attitudes are called for.

The conference will immerse participants in lectures, panel discussions, paper sessions, exhibits of student competition winners, exhibits of exemplary built projects, and hands-on charrettes hosted by local architecture firms. Members of academic communities (faculty and students) and professional communities (design, development, construction, business) are cordially welcomed.

For more information contact openarch@bsu.edu
DESIGN STUDIO PEDAGOGY: Horizons for the Future
Ashraf M. Salama & Nicholas Wilkinson (editors).

This groundbreaking book is a new comprehensive round of debate developed in response to the lack of research on design pedagogy. It provides thoughts, ideas, and experiments of design educators of different generations, different academic backgrounds, who are teaching and conducting research in different cultural contexts. It probes future universal visions within which the needs of future designers of the built environment can be conceptualized and the design pedagogy that satisfies those needs can be debated.

Addressing academics, practitioners, graduate students, and those who make decisions about the educational system over twenty contributors remarkably introduce analytical reflections on their positions and experience. Two invited contributions of N. John Habraken and Henry Sanoff offer visionary thoughts on their outstanding experience in design pedagogy and research.

Structured in five chapters, this book introduces theoretical perspectives on design pedagogy and outlines a number of thematic issues that pertain to critical thinking and decision making, cognitive and teaching/learning styles, community, place, and service learning; and the application of digital technologies in studio teaching practices, all articulated in a conscious endeavor toward the betterment of the built environment.
32 years of back issues. Available on DVDs as well as on-line. This digital collection consists of 128 issues with approximately 1,024 articles dealing with settlement, planning and housing design, education, adaptability, open building, sustainability, affordability, user participation, design roles and many other aspects of housing and settlement design. Many case studies from around the world are included. Open House International is covered by EBSCO Publishing Thomson ISI and Elsevier Scopus databases.

University References:

"One major contribution of Open House International is its ongoing emphasis on open-ended design as an important attribute of environmental quality of built environments. Through this, Open House International has ensured that this topic has not been forgotten and has continued to develop". Prof. Amos Rapoport, University of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA.

The high academic level of the journal is an example to be followed. We are privileged by our affiliation with you and the journal. I think that our disciplines are hungry for the level of academic rigor that OHI demonstrates on a sustained basis"Guillermo Vasquez de Velasco, Dean, College of Architecture and Planning, Ball State University.

"Open House International provides a unique, international forum for presentations of the multi-dimensional nature of housing with illustrative examples from all continents around the globe. Today this perspective is rare in mainstream academic and professional publications."Dr. Rod Lawrence, University of Geneva, Switzerland.

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