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of Glasgow

**BECOMING PLACE: Analysis of impacts of urban  
laboratories on places making in western tradition  
of urban design**

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**Doctor of Philosophy**

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# **BECOMING PLACE: Analysis of impacts of urban laboratories on places making in western tradition of urban design**

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## **Dedication:**

“Hakuna jaribu lo lote lilowapata ambalo si la kawaida kw wanadamu...”

1 Wokorintho 10:13.

To my wife Natalia Herra-Cruz and our first child Eduardo Jacobo Ochieng Odhiambo-Herra whom without their love, patience, understanding and support this work would have been impossible. To my parents (late James Onyango Akanda), Dina Ogalo Obera; my in-laws Dona Angela Cruz Barrios and Don Eduardo Herra Montiel; my twenty-four siblings and many others unnamed thanks for your prayers and encouragement.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

UL: Urban Laboratory

LUB: Laboratorio Urbanismo de Barcelona

CPSR: Centre for Public Space Research

## **APPENDIX**

### Appendix 1: Typical Questions for Urban Laboratory research

## DECLARATION

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

DECLARATION FORM FOR SUBMISSION OF HIGHER DEGREE BY RESEARCH

I declare that:

- i. The thesis is not one for which a degree has been or will be conferred by any other university or institution;
- ii. The thesis is not one for which a degree has already been conferred by this university
- iii. The work of the thesis is my own and that where material submitted by me for another degree or work undertaken by me as part of a research group has been incorporated into the thesis, the extent of the work thus incorporated has been clearly indicated
- iv. The composition of the thesis is my own work

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

—

Date: 14<sup>th</sup> March 2011.

## **ABSTRACT:**

The importance of high quality urban design in place-making can be seen by the increased interest in design control tools such as design guides and policy statements. In addition, there has been an increase in the number of organizations known as the Urban Design Laboratories that promote and campaign for better place-making. Fundamental to the approach of the urban lab is the utilitarian idea that design becomes the vehicle for transforming the social and economic conditions of the citizens and also provide the panopticon to continuously look at the performance of the built environment and related spheres as well come up with solutions collaboratively with other professionals.

There are arguments to whether these organizations are effective vehicles in promoting the production of high quality built places through training of designers and empowering of communities. There is thus the need for evidence to support their claims in theory, policy and practice. This dissertation is an examination of how urban laboratories as vehicles of knowledge generation contribute to an enhanced place creation process in the built environments.

It begins by looking at what historical circumstances fostered the constitution of urban design laboratories since the 1960s, followed by examination of the reasons for their inception in the USA and continental Europe. A time-line illustrating their developments and relationships was carried out to identify three established and active laboratories in the western world and their corresponding predominant theories and examined in detail. Four themes were used: the historical contexts; the participatory design processes; the strategies and tactics and the consequences of their methodologies, and what role the laboratories take in the training of architects, students and community. In addition a correlation if any to some of the ethical issues that rise out of participation in the design processes and policy decisions were interrogated and how these affects outcomes of the projects so undertaken.

The study revealed that the historical, economic, and political events were not as important to the formation of the urban laboratories as had been assumed, however, their methodologies and tactics developed from the local contexts. The ethical role of a designer as a citizen as well as the citizen as an expert in the local contextual knowledge was crucial hence training of future designers on the role of advocacy was important. It also revealed that participatory process does not need to be explicitly embedded in the process as a strategy to result in better-designed communities, however, community empowerment has ethical connotations as it brings the participants to the recognition that actions that affect them should be informed by knowledge and understanding of the causes that are locational and contextual.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I would like to take the opportunity to recognize my debt to a number of people and organizations that made it possible to complete this dissertation.

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## 1. CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

### 1.1. Introduction

The journey for this research began with my brief study at the now defunct Prince of Wales Institute of Architecture<sup>1</sup> in London between 1995 and 1997, where I first encountered the idea of “Action Panning” when working on a project proposal for extension of Chelsea Hospital that dealt with difficult and sometimes controversial complex site forces that are important to the society. This single event over one week in a rented empty shop on King’s Road London, left me wondering what is the role of the users / community in decision that architects, developers and policy makers made on the redevelopment agendas, that actually directly affected the community. This was followed up with further similar events in different context in Richmond USA when I attended the first American Prince of Wales Summer School in 1996. I witnessed poverty, homelessness, segregation and a social and political structure that ensured landownership and the will to act to save a dying city centre did not exist other than in lips service.

Over the next 12 years, the events kept recurring in my mind as I thought about my home town, Nairobi, where the community did not really have much of a say in how the places that were dear to them, that had meanings were created and recreated, and whenever they attempted to colonize these spaces and give them meaning, the authorities in power acted heavily against them. It became apparent that architecture and as a creative endeavour revolved around ethical issues of value judgement, democratic rights, social justice and self-determination.

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<sup>1</sup> Initially started in 1987, it is now known as The Prince’s Foundation for the Building Community that looks at the nature of the built environment and its impact on the quality of life and the physical environment well-being. One of the strategies used is a community engagement framework that is also known as the Enquiry by Design.

A wonderful opportunity came my way enabling my joining the then newly created Living Cities research Cluster at the Mackintosh School of Architecture<sup>2</sup> that had recognized this importance and were dedicating resources to researching and developing capacities of the citizens of Scotland to participate in decision making process related to the built environment. The cluster was later renamed the Glasgow Urban Laboratory after consultations with other stakeholders who shared similar interests on the life in cities.

The Glasgow Urban Laboratory is civic partnership that brings together academia (the Mackintosh School of Architecture); the city of Glasgow and Lighthouse, which is the Centre for Architecture, Design and the City in Scotland. The laboratory was formed with three key objectives in mind; firstly, drawing from Scotland's history of innovation make Glasgow an exemplary innovator in city-making through knowledge based economy that would enhance its competitiveness globally. This is carried out through the reliance on collaborative approach between the civic leaders, academia and design professionals. The second objective is to engage all interested and affected parties, the citizens, business leaders, research organizations to the building of the international practice of and research in craft and art of place-making. Finally, use the data from research to respond to the emerging opportunities identified by creating the supporting infrastructure of creative, education and research industry to build the capacity of the citizens through visionary leadership, provision of social justice and willingness to change.

Fundamental to the approach of the urban lab is the utilitarian idea that design became the vehicle for transforming the social and economic conditions of the citizens and it would provide the panopticon to continuously look at the

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<sup>2</sup> Living Cities Research Cluster was started by Prof. David Porter in with the aim of examining interdisciplinary approaches to the contemporary domestic environment. More about it can be found at <http://www.gsa.ac.uk/research/research-centres/glasgow-urban-lab/>. The Urban Lab founded in 2007 has been growing from strength to strength establishing working agreements with the Fulbright Commission for support of a scholar annually based at the urban laboratory.

performance of the built environment and related spheres as well come up with solutions collaboratively with other professionals.

This dissertation investigates the methodologies used in urban design laboratories, their origins and some of the ethical issues that rise out of participation in the design processes and policy decisions and how these affects outcomes of the projects so undertaken. It looks at the historical and social circumstances that drove participation processes where they existed, the ethical approaches to design and how they influence the methods and strategies used.

### **1.1.1. Background of the Problem**

Place-making has become one of the leading agendas in governments worldwide because it has been recognized to contribute to the quality of life in urban areas. The extent to which the design of the environment positively affects the uses of public spaces in city centres and in particular in regenerated areas has been on the forefront of research judging by reports by Bianchini and Parkinson (1993); Danson and Mooney (1997); Landry (2000), CABI (2005) and others. They have argued that good urban design is essential for the production of attractive, high quality places that people seek to experience, live and work in. The growths of vibrant communities have been linked to better designed places that inspire and attract.

The importance of high quality urban design in place-making can be seen by the increased interest in design control tools such as design guides and policy statements such as CABI's (2000) "By Design-Urban Design in the Planning System: towards better practice" and the Scottish governments' "Designing Places" (2001). The literature critiques of built environment are numerous, Jacobs (1961), Appleyard (1964, 1967), Whyte (1980), Gehl (1987), Krier (1977, 1992) etc. pointing out that the "poor quality of the urban environment is a function of the *processes* of production and the forces that act on those



processes” as pointed out by Carmona et al (2003, p.12). Other critiques have focused on the product by pointing to the areas of discontinuity of urban form, the leftover undeveloped, underdeveloped, or decaying residual spaces. These products could be either intentional or accidental physical divides of the social spheres and fragmentation and interruption.

The processes of production are informed by activities of the design professionals, policy makers, developers and community users; therefore, the role of the designer as an expert citizen is very important. This view is supported by Herbert Gans (1969) who in “*Planning for People, not buildings*” criticized the fallacy of architectural determinism that was prevalent in the post war period. He argued that the focus of planning should shift from only the physical aspects to economies, social and cultural relationships that affect human behaviour more than the former. The argument acknowledges the multifaceted nature of urban design.

Urban design is not only multi-disciplinary in nature, but also the processes involve a wide range of interested parties who are not necessarily professionals, which implies that the involvement of the people in the creation and management of the places is crucial.

However, the roles taken by the designers in relationship to the clients and the projects have an impact on the place made, a view that has been argued by several scholars; Jacobs (1961); Tuan (1965); Appleyard and Lynch (1961); Herbert Gans (1969) among others as they relate to how places are understood and therefore its importance to their design. For Tuan the “place was a centre of meaning constructed by experience” (1977, p.152). Meaning of a place therefore developed over time because of the experience of the users and as such involving them in its creation enables a shared meaning.

Yet there is a strong connection between the practices of architecture, urban design and education as the practitioners are the instructors at universities; therefore, the methodologies used in the traditional practice of urban design are translated into educational realm.

In early Twentieth Century, industrialization had resulted in great leaps in technology; there was the discovery of new materials and methods of construction. The new methods of construction had captured the imagination of architects and other designers in Europe as well later in the USA. There was a movement of modernism that was anti-traditional and was forward looking to the technology and modern methods of construction.

According to Guillen (1997) this modernism aspired to revolutionize the process of artistic creation itself by applying method and science to both the design and construction of buildings and other artifacts. There was firm belief that the “technological advances would have led to the emancipation of the humankind” as, pointed out by Findeli (1990, p.18). The changes influenced the design practice and new models of education was introduced that combined both art and technology as Guillen further pens: “Gropius, the founder of the Bauhaus School in Germany firmly believed in scientific management methods and greatly influenced architects in the twentieth century...” (1997, p.5).

The educational system emphasized the external conditions that aimed at producing experts who through the study of the external social contexts could propose a solution. This model had its critics such as John Dewey who Dworkins posits saw the educational system:

“...as a process of coming to share in the social consciousness; and that the adjustment of the individual activity on the basis of this social consciousness is the only sure method of social consciousness...”(1959, p.30).

In other words, within architectural education, the learner secures directions and develops skills and knowledge by their participation in the social, economic,

cultural and historical contexts that frame their lives. The model proposed by the modernist movement had ignore this as they saw societal problems being resolved from the outside the context.

However with the Second World War looming in Europe, the Bauhaus which had been started by Gropius in 1919 folded in 1933 and the tutors migrated west to England the eventually to the United States. A new Bauhaus was formed in Chicago in 1937 led by László Moholy-Nagy who proposed a model of education that was new to the US, though very much based on the original ideals of the German School. It provided opportunities for “participation of the individual in the social consciousness that is framed by the social context...” as argued by Dworkins (1959, p.19). It was therefore a new approach that was multifaceted, psychological and sociological and allowed learning activities to be placed within the psychological structure of the subconscious.

Moholy-Nagy took the old functionalist based model of the Bauhaus, modified it by “...adding the method of analysis of the design problem...” as pointed out by Findeli (1990, p.15) that encouraged a sense of responsibility within the learner, it was process oriented that would lead to the transformation of the individual and the society. The model therefore introduced a new way of thinking in design education and practice by placing emphasis on ethical values in the subconscious. As Moholy-Nagy pens:

“...to be a designer means not only to sensibly manipulate techniques and analyze production processes, but also to accept the concomitant social obligations...thus the quality of the design is not dependent alone on the function, science and technological processes, but also upon the social consciousness...” (1947, p.56).

Moholy-Nagy unfortunately died in 1938 however Gyorgy Kepes who had been his friend and collaborator carried out his methods.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> More on his work is discussed elsewhere in the Chapter 1 under education.

Unfortunately this view of education did not seem to have held in most schools of architecture as can be seen from the criticism in the 1996 Boyer report entitled '*Building Communities: A New future for Architectural Education and Practice*'. The report is critical of the model of design education for continually training students without inculcating a concern for larger social issues.

There is no doubt that an alternative approach to the education and practice of architecture and urban design is needed: one rooted in larger social values that demands a proactive practitioner and is based on social architecture. The social architecture approach has since the 1960s been based on four groups of participants; the private visionary; the public professional with a vision; the professional based at non-profit organizations and the activist university. They have taken different forms in response to their individual unique context and are known by different names depending on not only philosophy that underpin them, but also the approaches adopted. These are, community design studios, participatory design studios, design-build studios, and urban laboratory studio. Over the years there has been an increase in the number of organizations also known as the Urban Design Laboratories mainly based in academic institutions that promote and campaign for better place-making.

There are arguments to whether these organizations are effective vehicles in promoting the production of high quality built places through training of designers and empowering of communities. There is thus the need for evidence to support their claims in theory, policy and practice as there is a gap in the research into how the education of architects and urban designers contributes to better place-making which raises the question of whether students who are involved in or at least encounter real practical experience in the course of learning have a sense of responsibility that enables them to contribute to the community's built environment. Secondly, are they educated of the ethical values needed to be socially responsible?

The mapping of the various urban design laboratories, their relationships with the field (city) and with the forces that affected the laboratories is thus important to this research. There is a dearth of research on the relationships between the contextual frameworks of the civil rights movements, the stakeholders, the rise of urban design laboratories and the methodologies they use. The dissertation contributes to this gap with the aims of finding out how the design laboratories were constituted; why they were constituted; and in particular, why they prospered in those particular geographic locations at that particular period in history. This dissertation is therefore, an examination of how urban laboratories as vehicles of knowledge generation contribute to an enhanced place creation process in the built environments.

During the proposals stages of the formation of the Glasgow Urban laboratory, a decision was made to select and examine three laboratories from a long list for detailed study and analysis.<sup>4</sup> . The three cases selected are information rich and pioneering in their approach, thus illuminating, and have been judged to be able to yield data that would answer the research questions. In addition, most other centres are either not located within Schools of Architecture, hence do not have specific programmes dedicated to the education of future designers, or have shifted their focus with time to providing opportunity for students to experience the process of design and building of housing within communities that are deprived. These are known as Design-Build Studio, which technically do not carry studies and analysis of urban related issues, but focus on the individual building unit, examples of are the late Sam Mockbee's Rural Studio<sup>5</sup> at Auburn University in Alabama.

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<sup>4</sup> The long list is available in literature review discussed later in the dissertation taken from online research and the 1971 work of Grace Taher at the Urban Land Institute. [University Urban Research Centers]

<sup>5</sup> Rural Studio is an example of Design Build typology, which Sam Mockbee started as a response to NCARB and AIA call for students to be engaged with local community. It takes a practical approach to educating students to have ethical stance in improving living conditions of those in poverty, yet using innovative solutions that are not stigmatizing. It is a Bauhaus Model

The cases are located geographically within the western world of the American and European continents and have emerged from different contexts and are urban Laboratory at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, USA, founded in 1963; the Centre for Public Space Research at the Royal Danish School of Architecture and Fine Arts in Denmark, founded in 1966; and Laboratorio Urbanisme de Barcelona at the Universidad Politecnica de Cataluña at Barcelona, Spain, founded in 1969. The three selected urban laboratories were started around the same time (**table 1.3**). The three laboratories were started during the 1960s decade of challenge worldwide, with the Pittsburgh laboratory emerging from the context of the Civil Rights movement of 1960s and issues of social justice associated with it; the Copenhagen laboratory arises from the student environmental protests movement of the late 1960s and the Barcelona laboratory from resident group activities opposed to decisions of the government of the late Franco's dictatorship in Spain

### **1.1.2. Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to understand the impact of the social-political movements on the founding and the running of the Urban Design Laboratories and how it contributes to the methodological framework for the best practice of education in place-making of the built environment.

### **1.1.3. Hypothesis**

The research is guided by a central hypothesis:

If the model of the urban laboratory is used in the education and practice of architecture, then the future designers are likely to be rooted in the ethical values of designing the built environment.

The dissertation starts with a key question:

1. How and why did urban laboratories come about?

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that was very popular in Australia between 1960s and 1980s and teaches collaborative, communicative skills of working among peers and community according to Wallis (2007).

The primary question addressed through looking at several secondary questions that emanate from it;

- a. To what extent did the historical context contribute to the formation and methodological practices of the Urban Design Laboratory at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh?
- b. How do the methodologies of the urban design laboratory model at CMU in Pittsburgh compare with others in the European continent (i.e. in Barcelona and Copenhagen)?

The definitions and meanings of urban laboratory are interrogated around each and in the conclusion section; suggestions are made for aspects that have universal applications.

It begins by looking at the historical circumstance that fostered the constitution of urban design laboratories since the 1960s. This is followed by looking at the reasons for their inception in the USA, continental Europe and the UK. The establishment of a time-line illustrating their developments and relationships is carried out followed by a review of literature on urban design theories, and their impact on urban design in the western world. It is followed by the identification of established and active urban design laboratories in the western world. Their corresponding predominant theories are examined under four themes: historical contexts; the participatory design processes; the strategies and tactics and the consequences of their methodologies, and what role the laboratories take in the training of architects, students and community to attempt to reveal a correlation.

The research contributes to the knowledge of urban designers, organizations involved with the promotion of urban design and the education of future urban designers at universities across the UK. The study takes off from Castells' seminal work '*The Urban Question*', 1972 that interrogated the sources of urban crisis and problems and David Harvey's '*The Right to the City*' in which the art and process of city creation is tied to man remaking himself. In Harvey's mind, the right to the city is a collective enterprise driven by social forces. The urban

designer has a huge role to play in shaping and creating the built environment. The role is very closely tied to the issues of the rights to the city, raising questions such as who does the designer serve. The balance between serving the private client and the collective community in practice needs to be addressed through the skills gained in academia. The research contributes to the knowledge of urban designers, organizations involved with the promotion of urban design and the education of future urban designers at universities across the UK.

#### **1.1.4. Importance of the Study**

This research is significant because it contributes to the methodological framework for best practices of the urban design education and practice that may improve the quality of the designed places. It is expected to make a positive contribution to the practice and theory of the urban design process. The significance of the study is expected to make the following contribution:

- 1.1.4.1. It will document and critically examine the impacts of the revolutions of the 1960s on the participatory decision making and specifically in the transformation of the urban design processes through urban design laboratories.
- 1.1.4.2. It will document and critically examine the ethical and moral values are introduced by the pedagogical methods and approaches followed in the three selected cases studies of urban design laboratories from the western world (USA, & Europe). The outcome will help in the assessment of the various methods and approaches used by the laboratories in addressing the complexities of urban design education and practice.
- 1.1.4.3. The research will finally suggest aspects that have universal application that that may be incorporated in the use of the urban design laboratory model as a tool for educating future urban designers.

#### **1.1.5. Intellectual Merit**



The research applies a novel perspective of examining the historical contexts that underpin the workings of Urban Design Laboratories under four themes; historical contexts, interrelationships between actors and community; strategies and tactics adopted and the consequences and results of those strategies. It will be the first study that documents the comparisons between the methodologies in the various laboratories from the western world of similar age. It contributes to the area of urban design education, practice and process.

#### **1.1.6. Scope of the Study and Limitations**

There are many urban labs and organizations around the world that claim to carry out research and influence place-making. The research on their relationships could take years to unravel. This study is limited to looking at three urban laboratories from the 1960s to 2008 within the context of architecture, urban planning and politics in western spheres. The study will touch on other areas that are closely related to the core areas of study such as psychology, sociology, cultural studies. It uses a case study approach to study three selected urban laboratories from around the world that have been identified as exemplars to make deductions and applies a content analysis method to discover tacit information about the workings of the laboratories

The next section is a review of literature on theories of urban design, social architecture, place theory and place-making, approaches to learning and participatory processes. These are looked at from historical perspective to develop the case for the study. This is fundamental as the transformations in the design practice and education take place within historical contexts of culture, economics, politics and technological developments.

#### **1.2. Research Design and Methodology**

This section explains the research methodology chosen to study urban design laboratories, the methods employed and how it was carried out. Research methodology is 'the strategy, plan of action, process or design behind the choice

and use of particular methods, and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes' as pointed out by Crotty, (1998, p.3). This includes not only the practical aspects of the research such as the method and action plan, but also the philosophical and theoretical perspectives of the researcher. It comes from the questions being researched and in this dissertation they fall into four interrelated categories that emerge from the questions being examined.

The research is guided by a central hypothesis that if the model of urban laboratory is used in the education and practice of architecture, then the future designers are likely to be rooted in the ethical values of building or serving the nation through sound built environment. The dissertation starts with a key question; how and why did urban laboratories come about? This primary question is addressed through looking at several secondary questions that emanate from it; to what extent did the historical context contribute to the formation and methodological practices of the Urban Design Laboratory at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh? How do the methodologies of the urban design laboratory model at CMU in Pittsburgh compare with others in the European continent (i.e. in Barcelona and Copenhagen)? What constitutes urban laboratories and how can an 'ideal model' of urban design laboratory be replicated elsewhere in the world?

The research is focused on how urban laboratories work, what the historical context surrounding the constitution of urban design laboratories are, its supporting structure, how the urban laboratory model bridges the gap of curriculum requirement and community service at the same time and finally how the model contributes to the best practice in urban design and place creation.

The research relies on both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. In particular a technique of content analysis has been selected because the methods are appropriate for the purposes and priorities of the research questions. They are appropriate because the research looks for, firstly, the

unanticipated outcomes, side effects and unexpected consequences in relation to methods in urban design process. Secondly, it mines data from interviews with primary actors and publications to reveal the methodologies of urban design processes used in the laboratories. Thirdly, the methodology is useful for capturing and communicating stories placing faces behind the statistics, thus suitable for examination of the participatory and collaborative process such as how the real need of participants are met and how they are empowered to participate in the process.

The research relies on mixed methods triangulated to find the fundamental processes of the urban laboratory and how they contribute to quality environment. The methods used in the research are underpinned on content analysis methodology therefore; the unit of analysis is critical. The lowest unit of analysis is selected from the key words that emerge from literature review of urban design (**table 1.1**).

The data was first selected from online web reviews of library catalogues at the School of Architecture at Carnegie Mellon University and Escola Tècnica Superior d'Arquitectura de Barcelona. This was followed by online and email communications with the librarians at the two schools to find out what was available. The primary sources for data in this research are archival records of historical texts written during the formation of the laboratories, minutes of the meetings where available, recordings of events by the local press (press cuttings) and interviews with key individuals who have experienced or have knowledge about the history, and workings of the urban laboratories.

The secondary sources are records that emerge from the primary sources such as publications about the laboratories in journals and conference proceedings. The next section gives details of the methods used to gather which when analysed should reveal useful information such as what happened, when it happened, to whom and with what consequences. The methods seek to

illuminate the historical social and political context that impacted the processes and outcomes of the urban laboratory, what lies behind the actions and participants, and who are the key decision makers (shakers and movers).

<b>Data</b>	<b>Carnegie Mellon Urban Laboratory, Pittsburgh USA</b>	<b>Laboratori d'Urbanisme de Barcelona, Universitat Politècnica de. Catalunya, Barcelona SPAIN</b>	<b>The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts - School of Architecture, Copenhagen DENMARK</b>
Primary Sources: Unstructured Interviews Historical Archival Records Recording of events	Prof. Jonathan Kline, Prof. Don Carter Ray Gindroz Prof. Luis Rico- Gutierrez Anne-Marie of CDC Jared Friedman (UL Alumni) UL syllabus and objectives	Carles Casas Syllabus Joan Busquets Manuel Sola-Morales	Head of Centre for Public Space Research Jonna Majgaard Krarup Jan Gehl reports on projects
Secondary Sources: Publications Report of events General literatures Secondary conversations	Articles in journals conferences by David Lewis Luis Rico-Gutierrez Rami El Samahy Urban Laboratory report News clips [CMU Press Pittsburgh Tribune; Post Gazette	writings on UL by: Manuel Sola-Morales Joan Busquest Joan Vilagrà Ibarz Lluís Domènech Soledad García	Writings of Jan Gehl Lars Gemzeo
<b>Table 1.1: Sources of Materials dissertation</b>		<b>Source: Onyango (2011) various sources</b>	

### **1.2.1. Methods**

Three methods are used to collect data for analysis; the first is the case study approach, the second content analysis and the third open structure interviews with the key actors in the laboratories. The methods will be used to carry out the analysis of documents from and about the laboratory, and interview scripts with key players and participants. The methods seek out in-depth responses to the knowledge about the workings of the laboratory. The next section looks at the methods in detail.

#### **1.2.1.1. Method 1: Historical Context**

The historical data on the events of the 1960s and 1970s are mined for correlation to the founding of the urban design laboratories. A selection of written, published data, information about the urban laboratories, syllabuses, programme records, memoranda and correspondences are gathered. These are then mined for critical contents, categories of concepts identified and analysed to infer meanings and develop definition of a model laboratory. The categories used in the analysis are explained in the next section. The curriculum of the three laboratories were examined and analysed for core competencies and skills imparted using Friedmann's (1996) **table 1.2** as quoted in Kumar (2009, p.62). The information being looked at included what skills the laboratories claim to provide to the graduates; how the interdisciplinary processes are carried out within the curriculum and whether there was collaboration/ partnerships and the levels of these ranked based on Arnstein's 1969 ladder.

<b>Skills to be important in practice</b>	<b>Most significant Skills</b>
Communication (verbal and written) Advanced policy analysis Organizational development Negotiation and mediation Leadership	Communication (verbal and written) Report writing Familiarity with laws and policies Effective presentation Management Understanding public needs or client needs Writing for public Quantitative analysis Technical skills
<b>Table: 1.2 Skills of the effective Urban Designer</b>	<b>Source: Adopted from Kumar (2009, p.62)</b>

#### **1.2.1.2. Method 2: Interviews**

The key actors in the laboratories are identified from observation and through readings of documents previously received. These are people who have been directly involved with the start of urban laboratories. This also includes those who have experienced the process of urban laboratories. The unstructured interview with the key actors is transcribed verbatim. The aim of these interviews is to gather data on their perceptions and experiences of the process.

#### **1.2.1.3. Method 3: Secondary Texts**

These will be from secondary publications in journals, conferences and books that describe, analyse or comment on the urban laboratory process. The texts do not necessarily have to be by members of the teaching staff at the laboratories. News clips of the events of the urban laboratory were also looked at to get an opinion of those outside the laboratory. There were also interviews with practitioners who use similar methodologies as the laboratories, and other organizations like the Centre for Community design at Pittsburgh who provide the supportive framework in capacity building. However, they do not have direct influence on the working of the laboratories.

### **1.2.2. Research Design Strategy**

The methodology proposed is content analysis because the research seeks to report, critically evaluate and understand the meanings in particular situations, in this case the place-creating process in urban design. Four strategic themes, purposeful sampling, holistic perspective, voice perspective and focus guide the research inquiry on priorities.

#### **1.2.2.1. Content Analysis**

Content analysis methodology is an approach that involves the systematic readings of texts, images, and symbolic matters from whatever source, enabling the intuitive, interpretive, and systematic and examination of data as pointed out by Rosengren (1981). It allows for the making valid and reliable inferences to the context where they have been used, in other words getting a deeper understanding beyond causal, surface reading. It is a process where even relatively small data set can be looked at, yet closely examined and is fundamentally replicable and valid because it is governed by rules that are explicitly stated and applied equally to all units of the analysis” as pointed out by Krippendorff (2003, p.19).

Even though the initial outcome may appear as quantitative enumeration of texts and phrases, however, the technique actually relies on a qualitative process of reading between the lines where the contents contained in the messages are separated from its form and described with the aims of “providing knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study” as pointed out by Downe-Wamboldt (1992, p.314). Morgan, (1993) however argues that it is different from qualitative methodology in that consistent sets of codes that are subjective are used expanding the scope of understanding the context in use through the interpretation of the patterns that emerge. The data under scrutiny has no objective or reader independent quality and meanings only come by a viewer conceptually engaging with them, hence the reader and the message contained in the data exist only because of an interpreter/ observer.



Hsieh and Shannon (2005) identified three distinct approaches to carrying out content analysis; the conventional, directed and summative. The first used when objective of the research is to describe a phenomenon and is mostly used when priori theory does not exist and therefore the categories emerge from the data as the researcher is immersed in the data to obtain new insights. In this method, the codes come from the researchers reflection of the texts and are used for the initial coding. These are then used to group the material into categories that are interrelated similar to those in **table 1.4**. The discussion or reporting of the data comes from exemplars that have stood out within the research as case studies in my case. The conventional approach provides the researchers with the advantages of “gaining direct information from the study participants without imposing preconceived categories or theoretical perspective” as pointed out by Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p.1279-80) because the new knowledge is rooted on the actual data. The approach has been criticized because the results in findings may not accurately represents the data, which can be mitigated against through peer observation, and triangulation among other methods as pointed out by Lincoln & Guba (1985) and Manning (1997).

The second approach is the directed content analysis that relies on existence of a theory or prior research as basis for the development of the codes for the examination of the material (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). The method aims at validating or extending an existing theoretical framework that normally provides the variables for the initial coding and the relationships between them, thus is deductive as posited by Mayring (2000). In this method the passages in questions are highlighted and predetermined code assigned, and any that emerge are assigned new codes and so on. However, one could also choose not to categorize the new unknown texts until later when it is clear that they represent new ones codes. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) suggest a strategy that would increase trustworthiness; highlighting the texts before coding as subcategories might emerge. The findings are used to discuss and critique the

existing evidence of the theory using similar approach of exemplars or case studies that are described in detail. The advantages of the directed approach are the growth in the area of research by support and extensions of the existing theory, however it has limitations such as the researcher bias during the examination of the data. The mitigation of the limitation are to keep a record of the process enabling auditing to be undertaken at some point in future by other researchers.

The final approach is the summative content analysis that starts by the identification and quantification of the certain words and content within the texts with the purpose of understanding the contextual usage. The approach goes beyond merely tallying of frequencies to include the search for underlying meanings and content as pointed out by Hsieh and Shannon (2005). It begins by the tagging of the occurrences of the categorized words, phrases to obtain the frequency that is used to identify the patterns within and, followed by the description and evaluation of the quality of the content therein. The advantages of the approach include, unobstructed and nonreactive way to study a phenomenon of interest as pointed out by Babbie (1992) as it provides insights on how the words are used.

In this research, I have adapted the second strategy to content analysis; the direct approach because it suits the purposes on my research design and context. There is existing research on urban design and participatory processes, however, my research questions examines how the historical contexts that framed the methodological practices of the urban design laboratories at CMU and how these practices compare with two other contemporary ones from European continent. It is suitable for handling the questions of the *how* and *why* patterns that are revealed from the research material. The initial categories came from literature review while the codes were allowed to emerge from the readings of the texts, but guided by the literature review on urban design, participatory processes and educational pedagogy.

#### **1.2.2.2. Purposeful Sampling**

There are at least 43 urban laboratories or centres that research on issues affecting urban affairs, hence choice on the laboratories means that statistically they are not representative, however, they are looked at in depth. The three selected urban laboratories were started around the same time (**table 1.3**). The urban laboratory at CMU is the oldest, having been started in 1963 by David Lewis, but lasted only 5 years in its first phase. The research work on urban spaces at Royal Danish School of Fine Arts and Architecture began in 1962, with Jan Gehl starting his research in 1966. This culminated in the establishment of the Centre for Public Space Research in 1998 with Gehl as the director and continued till 2008 when he retired from the institution. The Laboratorio Urbanismo de Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya was started in 1968 in Barcelona by Manuel Sola-Morales in conjunction with Joan Busquets, Antonio Font, Michael Domingo and José Luis Gómez Ordóñez. It started as a research group that studied urban morphology. The students of the laboratory have since produced several doctoral dissertations examining the methods of growth and urban morphology and the theory and practice of urban planning projects across the world.

<b>Total Number</b>	21	6	0	7	9
<b>USA</b>	19	4	0	4	2
<b>EU</b>	2	2	0	3	7
<b>Name of Laboratory</b>	Centre for Urban and Regional Studies-University of North Carolina. (1957) The Urban Laboratory at Carnegie Mellon University (1963-68; 1988-) and as Institute of Physical Planning (1968-88); Institute of Urban & Regional Development at University of California Berkeley-(1963) Centre for Urban Studies at University of	Centre for Urban Development Research (DesignConnect since 2008), (1970); Centre for Urban Studies at Cornell University (1971) Joint Centre for Urban Design, Oxford Brookes University (1972) Project for public Spaces, USA;(1975); Urbino Laboratory (1974) Urban Design Group		Congress for the New Urbanism, CNU (1993); Centre for Architecture and Built Environment CABE (1999); Remaking Cities Institute CMU (1992); Yale Design Workshop (1992); The Public Research Space Group, City University New York (1995); Centro de Cultura Contemporanea de Barcelona CCCB	Centre for Building Communities University of Notre Dame (2001); International Network for Traditional Building, Architecture & Urbanism, The Prince of Wales Foundation (1992/1998); Urban Design Lab in Sweden (2002); Urban laboratory at University College London (2004); Design laboratory at MIT (2006);
<b>Decade</b>	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999	2000-to date
<b>Table 1.3: Timeline of founding of Urban laboratories Worldwide</b>					
<b>Source: Author (constructed from desktop research)</b>					

### **1.2.2.3. Holistic and Voice perspective**

The research is descriptive in nature and examines the whole of the urban laboratory process. It aims to understand the urban laboratory as complex interdependencies of the parts that are more than the sum of individual discrete approach of the parts. It is thus important to capture and examine the complex system that cannot be revealed through a few variables, cause-effect relationships. Even though the findings have global applications, they are very much closely tied to the social, historical and temporal context.

### **1.2.3. Data Analysis**

In content analysis research, the data analysis is iterative or cyclic in a process that continues until time runs out or the questions are understood. The analysis is carried out on the data that has been transcribed or using computer data analysis programs. The content analysis starts with line-by-line reading to break it into units of analysis called categories by either inductive or reductive reasoning. These categories or themes emerge from the data through careful examination and constant comparison between the various forms of data. There are three approaches to content analysis according to Hsieh and Shannon (2005); conventional content analysis, direct content analysis and summative content analysis. The following sections lay out the eight steps to be followed in the process of carrying out content analysis as adopted by Patton (1990).

#### **1.2.3.1. Step 1: Data Preparation**

The first step starts in the preparation of the data for qualitative analysis to transform them to written formats. The taped or recorded interviews are transcribed verbatim and when using existing documents like publications, the justification of content is guided by the research questions.

#### 1.2.3.2. Step 2: Determine the Units of Analysis

The second step is the identification of the units for analysis. This is the unit of texts to be classified or categorized prior to the start of coding. Gibbs and Taylor (2008) define coding as the process of combing data for themes, ideas and categories, then marking similar passages of text with a code label so that they are easily retrieved at a later stage for further comparison and analysis. The coding brings into the research the ability to search data, make comparisons and to identify patterns that require further interrogation. The coding is normally based on themes, topics; ideas and concepts; terms and phrases and keywords. These are identified from *a priori* ideas or from grounded theory as ideas emerge from the data as it is read (**table 1.4**).

Unit/ Key Words	
Leadership	
Collaboration	
Participation	
Capacity building	
Interdisciplinary	
Historical context	
Typologies (urban and building)	
Shared Community vision	
Respect/ social justice	
Inspire	
Focused development proposals	
Public Realm	
3-D images	
Community Objectives	
Connections/ linkages	
<b>Table 1.4: Key Words for coding</b>	<b>Source: Onyango (2011) from text and grounded theory</b>

#### **1.2.3.3. Step 3: Categories**

The third step involves developing the coded units into categories based on three sources: the data itself; previous similar studies, and theories. This dissertation is unique in that no known study exists, thus ontological categories will emerge from the theoretical framework of urban design and the data collected from that particular laboratory. A constant comparison method is used to simulate thoughts and differentiate between the categories that do not necessarily need to be exclusive.

The categories that have been identified to emerge from literature surveys are; historical contexts; interrelationship between actors; the strategies or tactics used and the consequences. The processes used in the laboratory will be analysed under four main categories that have emerged from that used at CMU laboratory; the first, the historical context that caused the phenomena that make the laboratory possible. The second is of interrelationships between actors, community issues, organizations and how the problems are looked at from an integrated approach. The third category, the strategies or tactics applied or implemented by the various parties with competing interests, and the final category, the consequences of those actions.

The codes used in the content analysis are discovered using several methods as suggested by Ryan and Bernard (2003b). In the process of developing the research I picked the commonly used words that indicate emphasis of important themes in the design process; well-known meanings and terms based on grounded theory and key-words used in the texts. I will also search for what would ordinarily be expected in urban design but not visible in the texts, seeking reasons why they are absent. The other technique used is to pick connectors such as since, because of, as, etc, to seek the meanings and processes conveyed.

CATEGORY	UNIT	CODE
<b>1. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT</b> (causes of phenomena)  <b>[Participatory Processes]</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Economic context</li> <li>Social context</li> <li>Environmental context</li> <li>Political context</li> <li>Social rights and justice</li> <li>Collective action (URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT)</li> <li>Real Community Activity</li> <li>Urban Problems/ Crisis</li> <li>Community Consciousness</li> <li>Architect/ Designer-Elitist</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CTXT-ECON (1.1)</li> <li>CTXT-SOC (1.2)</li> <li>CTXT-ENV (1.3)</li> <li>CTXT-POLIT (1.4)</li> <li>CTXT-MORAL (1.5)</li> <li>CTXT-USM (1.6)</li> <li>CTXT-COM (1.7)</li> <li>CTXT-CRISIS (1.8)</li> <li>CTXT-CONSC(1.9)</li> <li>CTXT-ELITE (1.10)</li> </ul>
<b>2. INTERRELATIONSHIPS</b>  <b>[Student education/ training-pedagogy]</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Between Designers</li> <li>Collaborative efforts</li> <li>Interdisciplinary</li> <li>Networks</li> <li>Collective Consumption</li> <li>Students</li> <li>Top-down</li> <li>Process</li> <li>Bottom-up</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>REL-DESGN (2.1)</li> <li>REL-COLAB (2.2)</li> <li>REL-INTDISC (2.3)</li> <li>REL-NETWK (2.4)</li> <li>REL-USM (2.5)</li> <li>REL-STUD (2.6)</li> <li>REL-TOPD (2.7)</li> <li>REL-PROS (2.8)</li> <li>REL-BOTMU (2.9)</li> </ul>
<b>3. STRATEGIES/ TACTICS</b> <b>[Capacity Building]</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Focused Action</li> <li>Participation/Collaboration</li> <li>Leadership/facilitate</li> <li>Blockage/ Protest/reject</li> <li>Empowerment/ capacity building</li> <li>Process</li> <li>Reflection/feedback loops</li> <li>3D-model</li> <li>Catalyst</li> <li>Accountability</li> <li>Urban Typology</li> <li>Block Typology</li> <li>Building Typology</li> <li>Social Usage</li> <li>Diversity of Activities</li> <li>Diversity of Usage</li> <li>Visual-Tradition</li> <li>Scale and Dimension</li> <li>Inductive reasoning</li> <li>Deductive Reasoning</li> <li>Infrastructure</li> <li>Infrastructure-Pedestrians</li> <li>Infrastructure-Vehicle</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>STRAT-FA (3.1)</li> <li>STRAT-PARTCP (3.2)</li> <li>STRAT-LEAD (3.3)</li> <li>STRAT-USM (3.4)</li> <li>STRAT-CAPBLD (3.5)</li> <li>STRAT-PROS (3.6)</li> <li>STRAT-REFL (3.7)</li> <li>STRAT-3D (3.8)</li> <li>STRAT-CTLYST (3.9)</li> <li>STRAT-ACCNT (3.10)</li> <li>STRAT-UTYP (3.11)</li> <li>STRAT-BTYP (3.12)</li> <li>STRAT-BDTYP (3.13)</li> <li>STRAT-SOUSE (3.14)</li> <li>STRAT-DVACT (3.15)</li> <li>STRAT-DVUSE (3.16)</li> <li>STRAT-VISTRA (3.17)</li> <li>STRAT-SCDIM (3.18)</li> <li>STRAT-INDUC (3.19)</li> <li>STRAT-DEDUC (3.20)</li> <li>STRAT-INFRA (3.21)</li> <li>STRAT-INFPED (3.22)</li> <li>STRAT-INFVEH (3.23)</li> </ul>
<b>4. CONSEQUENCES/ RESULTS</b> <b>[Co-research/ Co-design]</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shared Community Vision</li> <li>Community Objective</li> <li>Public Realm</li> <li>Enhanced Connections</li> <li>Empowerment/ leadership</li> <li>Partnership</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CSQ-CVISON (4.1)</li> <li>CSQ-COBJ (4.2)</li> <li>CSQ-PUBRLM (4.3)</li> <li>CSQ-ECONN (4.4)</li> <li>CSQ-CAPBLD (4.5)</li> <li>CSQ-PARTSHP (4.6)</li> </ul>
<b>Table 1.5: Categories used in coding</b>	<b>Source: Onyango (2011)</b>	

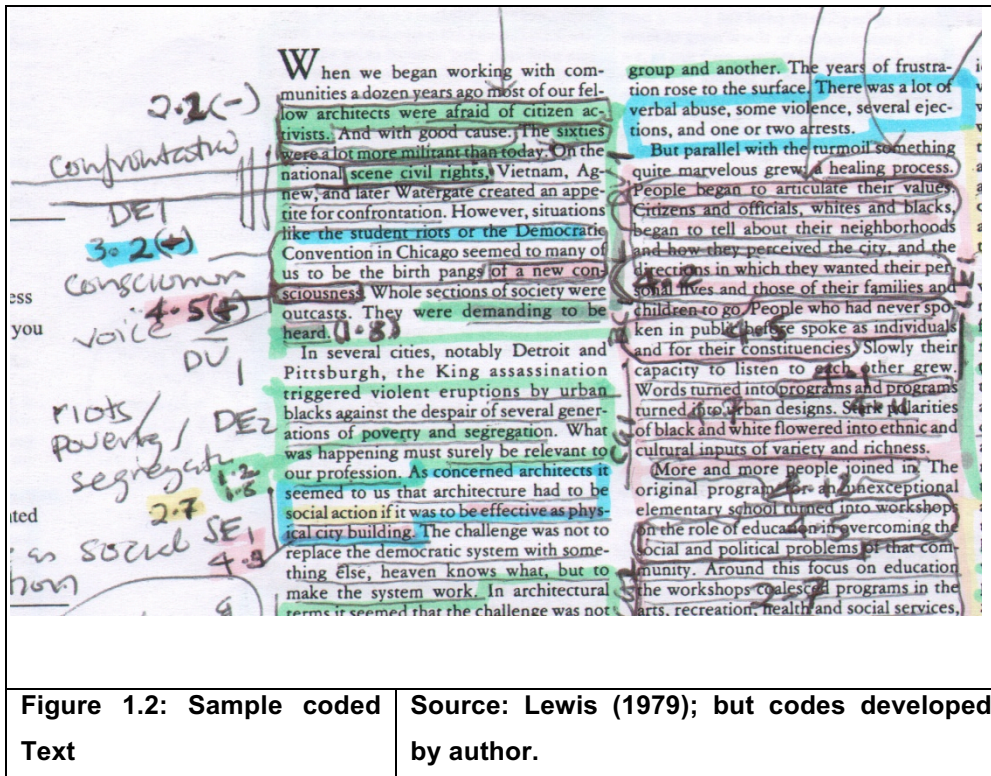


#### **1.2.3.4. Step 4: Rules of Coding and Testing**

The fourth step in content analysis is the creation of translation rules that allow for the coding process to be consistent. The translation rules help in avoiding attaching different codes for texts that have similar meaning, for example words like *collaborative* and *cooperative*. The codes are then tested on a sample text to check for clarity and consistency by inter-coding agreement. The level of consistency needs to be high and if low, then the rules for coding must be revised through an iterative process that continues till achieved as pointed out by Weber (1990). I used David Lewis' (1979) article 'Listening and Hearing' to build the rules for translating the codes. Any other primary publication from the urban laboratory could have been selected.

#### **1.2.3.5. Step 5: Coding Data**

The next step after the testing is the coding of all the texts in all the documents. This was done by carefully reading the transcribed data or texts from the documents line by line and dividing the data into meaningful analytical units. Whenever a meaningful segment is encountered, it is coded and this is continued until all documents have been completed. A master list of the codes developed was kept and is available in the appendix (**figure 1.1**). The coding was done using a mixture of computer method and by hand.



#### 1.2.3.6. Step 6: Recheck for Consistency

The next step after coding is to recheck the coded texts for consistency, as it is not safe to assume that if the sample coded text showed consistency and reliability then the whole text does. In addition, the researcher's understanding of the categories used in the coding and the rules used could change over the period and is likely to increase inconsistencies, as pointed out by Weber (1990), Miles and Huberman (1994).

#### 1.2.3.7. Step 7: Analysis

The seventh and most important step to the research is drawing generalizations and conclusions from the coded data. Inferences are made and meanings of the data reconstructed in the discussion and, as Bradley (1993) points out, it includes the exploration of properties and the dimensions of the categories used, the relationships between them, and the patterns that have been uncovered then tested against the full range of data.

#### **1.2.3.8. Step 8: Reporting**

One of the major contributions to research is how replicable the study is. It is therefore important to accurately record and report the procedures and processes used in the study as pointed out by Patton (1990). The coding decisions and practices reinforce the truthfulness of the study as well as the typical way of reporting by using quotations to justify the conclusions, even though this is sometimes deemed unsuitable by Schilling (2006). Miles and Hubermann (1994) proposed that a better way of reporting is to use a combination of many options that includes matrices, graphs, charts and conceptual network diagrams. The final report is thus a balance between descriptions and interpretations and should contain rich descriptions of the study to contextualize the research.

#### **1.2.3.9. Step 9: Verification**

The validity and reliability of this methodology is achieved by procedures adopted in the processing of the data that is systematic and transparent to other researchers. The steps were recorded and rechecked continuously. Consistency checks were run in the research at three levels; independent coder (fellow PhD researcher), consistency coding (during the process) and stakeholder checks by participants interviewed being asked to verify the summary of the transcribed data and correct any errors they find. In addition, the three methods are used to triangulate and arrive at conclusions.

#### **1.2.4. Ethical Consideration**

The penultimate method raises ethical questions of privacy and copyrights which were addressed by asking for consent of the participants. The interviewees were also informed of how the data would be used and who would have access to the data. The interviewees selected were persons over the age of 18 years and there were no children involved. The interviewees were not to be asked to provide information that would compromise their privacy such as dates of birth, home addresses, or telephone numbers unless they consented to this. The data

collected was being held in confidentiality and no harm is anticipated from the outcome.

The next chapter deals with the literature on the subject of urban design, urban design laboratories and the theoretical and historical context that framed them. It gives a narrative of the how the urban design theories developed, and critiques that led to them. It will examine the social architecture, developments of community architecture and participatory engagement and how these affected the approaches to learning. It then concludes by looking at impacts on architectural and urban design education and the genesis of urban design laboratories.

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## **2. CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

- 2.1 Introduction and overview
- 2.2 Urban design theories
- 2.3 The critiques of Urban Design up to 1960s
- 2.4 Social Architecture
- 2.5 Community Engagement
- 2.6 Approaches to learning/ education
- 2.7 Architectural Design Education and Urban Laboratories
- 2.8 An Alternative Approach: Urban Design Laboratory?
- 2.9 Ethics and Architecture
- 2.10 Summary

### **2.1. Introduction and overview**

The purpose of the dissertation is to understand the impact of the social-political movements on the founding and the running of the Urban Design Laboratories and how it contributes to the methodological framework for the best practice of education in place-making of the built environment.

The dissertation starts with a key question:

1. How and why did urban laboratories come about?

The primary question addressed through looking at several secondary questions that emanate from it:

- a. To what extent did the historical context contribute to the formation and methodological practices of the Urban Design Laboratory at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh?
- b. How do the methodologies of the urban design laboratory model at CMU in Pittsburgh compare with others in the European continent (i.e. in Barcelona and Copenhagen)?

This chapter deals with the literature on the subject of urban design, urban design laboratories and the theoretical and historical context that framed them. It

gives a narrative of the how the urban design theories developed, and critiques that led to them. The chapter takes a sweep at the social architecture, developments of community architecture and participatory engagement and how these affected the approaches to learning. It then concludes by looking at impacts on architectural and urban design education and the genesis of urban design laboratories.

The creation of the built environment is complex involving very many players. They include the professional designers, the developers, government organizations, and many others. According to Carmona *et al*

“...most concerns today are located in the critiques of the role played by the various professionals in the building industry itself...” (2003, p.12).

The roles played have been framed by the force emerging from the modern movement that impacted on policymaking and place-making as pointed out by Lang (1994). In addition, architects and planners of improving spatial and physical forms have asked questions on the sole abilities and responsibilities.

The questioning however began much earlier at the beginning of the Twentieth Century and is very much tied to the transformations taking place due to the industrial revolution in the quality of the environment in cities. They began to develop in the late 1930s, giving rise to the new vision of civic design as a means of joining up fragmented sets of professions and as a means of restoring or giving qualities of coherence and continuity to individual developments. This was thought to result inevitably in improved overall quality of the built environment and the making of better places.

However several question arise from the understanding of the new way of thinking: how did the new vision of design practice and education come about? What was the historical context that led to its development? Mumford suggests that urban design has its “...intellectual roots in the late *Congres Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) and especially in the work and ideas of Sert,



Kahn and others...” (2009, p.viii). This dissertation follows the historical events leading to the formation of urban design as a discipline and how those influenced the methodologies adapted by the three urban laboratories identified later in the chapter as case studies.

However before proceeding, it would be worth examining how the theories of urban design came about and what were the driving forces that led to them. Most urban design theories are normative because they focus on the various competing interests and preferred values. They assess value judgement system about whether they are desirable or undesirable. They deal with things *as they ought* to be rather than *as they are* [emphasis mine].

Herson (1984) points out that normative theories are in essence a political debate. They are therefore used to plead a cause or to convince others about a cause. They work on identity and relationships between logical classes, means and ends or cause and effect.

The normative theories have descriptions of reality leading to the logical conclusion that if things or phenomena are described as they are, then one is likely to agree on changes that will reconstruct things as they ought to be. However one challenge with such a view is that a distorted description is likely to lead to a warped solution.

Another definition of urban design is ‘...attempt to change spatial organizations and social relations in the city...’ in response to the complex and sometimes antagonistic interests as pointed out by de Souza (2006, p.327). The state apparatus, as an agent, tries by means of persuasion, co-option and if necessary by oppression to co-ordinate these competing interests.

In de Souza’s definition urban design is seen primarily as concerned with the form of urban space regardless of the origins of the aims; that is social

reformation, formalizing space, environmental ends etc. It is very much concerned with the distribution and use of resources and the politics of why. I will look at the developments of this view of urban design in mid Twentieth Century later in the chapter.

Urban theories deal with the object of study at different scales. Some have focused on the struggle between classes at the production of spaces. In mind are the Neo-Marxist theories concerned with the relationship between the lived space and the individual as argued by Sennett (1977) and Lefebvre (1991).

The Neo-Marxists describe how the socio-psychological impacts on the individuals and lived spaces and how it affects socio-spatial relations as seen in everyday life. In the next section, the contexts of interest in urban design frameworks are reviewed and a case made for how they fit in within the research dissertation.

The process of place creation can thus be analysed from an evolutionary theoretical perspective of social formations produced. Literature reveals that the forms of spatial settlement are the footprints of the modifications of social formations (see Lampard, 1955; Wooley, 1957; Mumford, 1956, 1961 as quoted in Castells, 1972, p.7).

The current urban design theories have their sources in works of four influential writers of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. These are Max Webber, Georg Simmel, Walter Benjamin and Henri Lefebvre. Their contributions understanding of city even though varied had a common thread through them. They all took the 'city as an object of critical reflection' as pointed out by Parker (2004, ), thus a laboratory or field for study. The city was the object or place for consumption and production [capitalist economy]; and a place for culture, spectacle and space. The important link between the four writers even though seem slender is rooted in how they studied the city as a microcosm for modern

society. The following sections discuss the urban theories from the perspective of the four writers and the relationships between them.

### **2.1.1. Max Weber: The City in History [Conception of the city]**

Max Weber (April 1864-June 1920) was an important German Sociologist and political economist. He contributed to the understanding of rationalization and the disenchantment associated with capitalism through development of a methodology. He was against the positivists' empiricism thinking that was applied to almost all fields of knowledge during the 1890s to 1920s. This included the new vision espoused by the modernists and proponents at the Bauhaus as is discussed later in the chapter.

Parker (2004) asserts that Weber contributed to the historical understanding of the transition of society through the various economic systems in the formation of cities. His emphasis was on the territorial and historical aspects of the social phenomena highlighting the essential characteristics of urban form that were related to western civilization. He drew from 'a multi-dimensional, idealistic typical approach' as pointed out by Kaesler (quoted in Parker; 2004, p.10).

Weberian city is has three important characteristics; firstly it was a collection of one or more separate dwellings but was a relatively closed settlement where inhabitants lived off trade and commerce rather than agriculture. Secondly, city generated money capital through trade in agriculture and manufacturing and also through the extraction of rent. Its link to outlying areas and other cities were important. Thirdly, its formation and running was dependent on politics of governance through the opportunities for '*civic participation and especially democratic participation*' as pointed out by Parker (2004, p.12) The key aspects of interest to this dissertation from Weber is the opportunities that must be available to all residents in the politics of making decisions about the developments that affected them including place-making.

Weber thus pointed to the importance of historical analysis in the understanding of cities, by tracing their trajectories for future growth. The formation and the development of the cities occur through the politics of class division and production, a theme picked up and expanded on later by other historians.

### **2.1.2. George Simmel: The Culture of Metropolis [Analysis of the city]**

Georg Simmel (March 1858–Sept.1918) was a sociologist, colleague and contemporary of Max Webber. He like Weber contributed to the ant-positivists questioning of definition of society. He introduced the methodology of analysis of the society from a moral philosophical approach in contrast to the positivist one of other Anglo-American researchers. He however acknowledged the existence of a transformative power of modernity [art and aesthetics] visible in the modern metropolis and urban culture Parker (2004).

For Simmel, capital and money were the key to all exchanges in urban centres that allowed for the dissociation of power, securing of goods without the need for coercion of the medieval society. This provided the affordance of independence from the will of all others and created the new consciousness in the fight for social justice. However, capital and money also creating the realignment of class division hence replicating the power structure.

Simmel's and Weber's conception of the city are similar as both used historical analysis: to construct the conception from observation of micro-behaviour. However, Simmel used an anthropological or social psychological approach rather than systematic analysis of Weber and placed his focus at the individual level. In the previous section, Weber pointed to the importance of freedom that trade and commercial activities brought about by allowing for participation. Simmel argues that urbanization is 'associated with emancipation from the traditional forms of social dominance that persisted till the eighteenth century', as pointed by Parker (2004, p.15).

According to Simmel the city was a place that emancipated from the traditional social structure, from the economic and political domination by the elite that is noteworthy. The emancipation led to desire for freedom that set the foundation for the democratic aspiration, the desire to contribute to the changing or the making of one's built environment. As pointed earlier the flip side of the emancipation was that once the traditional social structures and centres of power were dissolved, new ones emerged, replicating itself in a similar manner. The new elite, the merchant class used their wealth and positions acquired through it to accrue benefits that propagated the status quo.

### **2.1.3. Walter Benjamin: The Exegetical City [Interpretation of the city]**

Walter Benjamin (July 1892-Sept. 1940) was also a German philosopher and sociologist among other things. He was also linked with the Frankfurt School where he contributed to critical theory. His work was different from Webber and Simmel in that he took a positivists position to critiquing the changing society. Benjamin's approach to the city was exegetical in that involved an extensive and critical interpretation of the city as text on the basis of what it provided. The work was the interpretation of the data collected from the field and laboratory of the city.

Benjamin's work was different from the contemporary empirical sociologists (Webber and Simmel) after Marx as he dwelt on the philosophical dialogue on the nature of truth, morality and human conditions of Kant and Nietzsche. He argued that private life was permeated with communal life and the home became the exhaustible reservoir from which they flooded out (2002, p.174). It was thus imperative that the individual had the right to participate in the creation of the public realm because the private and public realms within the city are closely intertwined.

Benjamin's work talked the important issues that affected the civic participation and democracy asserting the importance of the individual right. This has not only to be acknowledged by those already in positions of authority but also need to be natured for effective participation. This is what in contemporary literature is called capacity building dealt with later in the dissertation.

#### **2.1.4. Henry Lefebvre: The Spatial City [Production of Space]**

Henry Lefebvre (June 1901-June 1991) was a French sociologist who was very influential in the radical thinking of the 1960s and was concerned with the critique of the rights to the city for the citizens. He was involved with a European avant-garde movements based between COBRA, (Copenhagen, Brussels and Amsterdam) and also the Situationist International movements (SI).

For Lefebvre, a complex of social forces affecting the spatial practices and meanings produced space. His views are opposed to those of Weber and Simmel where space is mainly a creation of economic force or capital. The Lefebvre's space is a product of contest because it served as a tool of thought and action. It thus became a means of control and dominance. In essence, he argued that the production of the public realm was contextual and particular because it was shaped by societal force of historical events.

Lefebvre was critical of the contemporary town planning theories that were predominant in 1960s because they were dominated by what he saw as:

“...an empirical ideology that often used concepts and methods of other disciplines and was understood as science of space and not time...” (1976, p.30).

This was problematic because the resulting planned space was viewed as objective, neutral and not influenced by political contexts. This meant that space making would be a result of the physical elements that contained it and was positivist in regard to the community. In addition the civic participation was closely tied to the local historical and political context. See more on the critiques of the 1960s later in the chapter.

In the first section of the chapter I looked at the emergence of the urban theories at the turn of the Twentieth Century and how the thinking of four writers, Weber, Simmel, Benjamin and Lefebvre framed the development of a new consciousness that was to follow as later discussed in the dissertation. However before proceeding to look at the critiques and developments that led to the new thinking in architecture and urban design, it is worth examining some of the definitions associated with the field. This is later followed by the examining the critiques of those theories and how these led to the ideas of community participation and formation of the urban design laboratories.

## **2.2. Definition of Urban Design**

This section is a survey of some of the definitions of urban design from various sources. It is followed by the reasons why urban design is important as a solution to 'Urban Problems' and the 'Rights to the City' (see Castells and Harvey elsewhere in this chapter). The term 'urban design' has been around since the 1950s, having its origin in North America to replace the term 'civic design' that was deemed narrow.

The latter term had its origin in the City Beautiful Movement and focused mainly on the location and design of major civic buildings such as the city hall, museum, opera houses, etc, and their relationship to the open spaces. Prior to the 1950s urban design was predominantly concerned with the aesthetic of building morphology and the spaces in between. Now it is more concerned with the multifaceted quality issues of the physical and socio-cultural, the creation of places for people to use and enjoy.

The definition of urban design is vague, as pointed out by Madanipour (1996, pp.93-117), Carmona *et al* (2003, p.3) and while Tibbalds (1988a) has argued that it is everything visible outside the window increases the ambiguity in meaning further. Gosling and Maitland (1984) defined urban design in terms of

the fields it typically falls under: the interface between architecture, landscape architecture and town planning.

The difficulty in the definition comes from its history in the modernist split between architecture and planning and affecting both academia and the profession. There have been lots of changes in the paradigms of research structure within academia and this is not helped by the lack of clear goal in both arenas.

In academia, knowledge acquisition is based on a model that reinvents itself continuously, changing to meet the new challenges in the field. In urban design the challenges have been in its resistance to a holistic approach to knowledge acquisition, such as the reliance on interdisciplinary techniques that are inclusive of the other fields on the periphery of architecture and planning e.g. engineering, sociology, economics and finance, administration etc.

The term Urban Design today is seen as the “process of making better places for people” than would otherwise be produced, as pointed out by Carmona *et al* (2003, p.3). It thus highlights important themes that are related to it. Firstly, urban design is concerned with the creation and enhancement of communities; i.e. for people and about people. Secondly, the places so created have value and are significant to those communities.

Thirdly, urban design is a process that occurs in the real world, it is multi-disciplinary and multi-faceted. It is thus constrained and bound by competing social, economic and political realities. Finally, it is important to see the design as a process (means) rather than a product (ends). The process is iterative, involving constant reflection, glancing back at the historical forces that influenced it and responding to them as they change.



The ambiguity continues when one looks at the various definitions from different contexts as reviewed by Madanipour (1996). He addresses them by posing several questions related to activities of the urban designer.

ACTIVITY	PRODUCT or PROCESS?
Level of Focus (larges scale as region as opposed to single building)	PRODUCT
Visual qualities of the urban environment or broad organization and management of urban spaces	PRODUCT
Transformation of spatial arrangements or ethical issues	PRODUCT
Production of the urban environment or the process of its production	PROCESS
Reserve of architects, planners, landscape architects (elitist)	PRODUCT-PROCESS
Public or private activity (capitalist view)	PROCESS
Objective-rational process (science) or an expressive-subjective process. that was criticized by Lefebvre, (1976, p.30).	PROCESS
<b>Table: 2.1</b>	<b>Source: Developed from Madanipour (1996, pp.93-117).</b>

**Table 2.1** above reveal that the definitions oscillate between the product and process themes, thus leaving urban design to encompass both. However it is important to note that of the seven definitions, only two are product oriented while the rest are focused on the process. This highlights the importance of the process to the place-creation. The dissertation will therefore focus mainly on the methodologies used to create places at the case study urban laboratories.

The definitions so far are not as inclusive as what it entails to “make places for people” as summed up by Carmona *et al* (2003, p.3). It is a profession that is best at interpreting policy; assessing local economy and the property market; appraising sites or areas in terms of land-use, ecology, landscape, ground conditions, social factors, history, archaeology, urban form and transport;

managing and facilitating a participative process; drafting and illustrating design principles and programming the development process! The skills needed for the urban design creation is extensive and could not reside in only one profession or discipline, but several. This further highlights the *interdisciplinary* nature of urban design as well as the inherent *collaborative* nature [emphasis mine].

Urban design has been defined by scale by several researchers and practitioners. The scale is large but sufficient when one takes the view that urban design is the interface between architecture and planning. Banerjee and Southworth (1990, p.7) point out that Lynch defined urban design “as more architectural and project-oriented”, expanding the scope in spatial scale as it deals with a wide range of concerns. It can thus be argued that urban design as a process goes across a wide range of scales and deals with very conflicting aspects of human activities. Christopher Alexander concurs in his book “Pattern Language” where he illustrates the various scales of operation from the city to the individual interior of a building, yet all are interrelated, never working in isolation, Alexander *et al* (1977, p.xiii).

The meanings of urban design in different places seem to influence the place-making ideals of the place. In this section, I will look at the definitions of urban design from different regions in the western world, viz; the USA, Europe and the United Kingdom.

In mainland Europe, the European Union recognizes urban design as:

‘...concerns an *inclusive* and *participatory* planning, design and management *process* that: aims at creating "beautiful", healthy, socially integrated and inclusive places; promotes equitable economic development; conserves land; looks at towns and cities in relation to one another and their hinterlands; ensures the strategic location of new developments in relation to the natural environment and transport systems; ensures development is mixed and of appropriate density; includes a well-developed green structure and a high quality and well-

planned public infrastructure and respects and builds upon the existing cultural heritage and the social capital'. (European Commission, 2004, p.2).

In the UK, urban design is taken as the art of making places for people and includes the way places work and matters such as community safety as well as how they look (the aesthetics). It is thus seen as concerned with the *connections between people and places*, movements, urban form, nature and the built environment and the *processes* for ensuring successful villages, towns and cities according to DETR and CABA (2000, p.8).

The Department of Environment on the other hand in the Planning Policy Guideline Note defines urban design as;

"...the relationship between different buildings; between the buildings and the street, squares, parks and other spaces which make up the public domain itself; the relationship of one part of the village, town or city with other parts; and the *patterns of movement and activities* which are thereby established..." (2000, p.8).

The DETR and CABA guideline thus identify seven important objectives; all related to the conception of place and summarized in the **table 2.2** below.

<b>NAME OF ITEM</b>	<b>OBJECTIVE</b>
Character	The promotion of own identity.
Continuity and Enclosure	Clear distinctions between the private and public realms through the continuity of street frontages and enclosure of spaces.
Quality of the Public Realm	Places and routes/ paths that are as attractive and safe and inclusive.
Ease of Movements	Are accessible and are well connected places. They place people before traffic as priority.
Legibility	Has clarity of image and enhanced way-finding themes, strengthens recognizable routes, nodes and landmarks.
Adaptability	Are able to change easily (sustainable) due to social, technological and economic conditions.
Diversity	It affords variety and choice through mix of compatible developments and users that respond to the local needs.
<b>Table 2.2: CABE Urban Design Guidelines</b>	<b>Source: DETR/CABE (2000, p.15)</b>

Urban design therefore, firstly to mean the physical planning of the built environment [physical infrastructure, building complexes, social and urban spaces] in relation to the natural environment in and around built-up areas. It secondly means the production of concepts and models serving the purpose of guiding sustainable development of settlements. Thirdly, there is emphasis on the processes that involve or connect people to the place creation and the activities patterns that arise from the physical public realm created.

The ambiguity of definition of urban design will inherently be reflected on the working methods. According to Jarvis the methods are "...mysterious and are an imperative black-box where the inputs and outputs are unexplored and undocumented..." (1980, p.50). This section will survey the traditions and the theories that stem from them.

There are three traditions or schools of thought within which urban design is researched and practiced. They arise from the differing ways of conceiving and perceiving design and the products of the process of urban design. These two according to Jarvis (1980, quoted in Carmona *et al*; 2003, p.6) are the visual-artistic and the social-usage traditions. A third tradition called place-making has emerged since 1970s drawing strengths from the first two approaches. It takes into account the fact that urban design encompasses both the product and processes involved in crafting the place. I will now look at each tradition in more details, examining its historical developments among other things.

### **2.2.1. The Visual Artistic Tradition**

This tradition is characterized by emphasis on the product- rather than process-involved in creating places. It focuses more on the visual qualities of urban design and the aesthetic experience (delight) of the spaces produced than other aspects. The other factors such as economical, socio-cultural and political receive less emphasis. The traditions in the modern historical period have their roots in the works and writings of Camillo Sitte (1889); Unwin (1909); Le Corbusier, (1970 edition) and Cullen (1961).

This tradition has however placed emphasis on the visual experience of the space as Jarvis suggests it used the:

“...principles for laying out street patterns, plazas, monuments and building that would re-establish urban design as an artistic endeavour... organize urban space following certain principles that are derived from historical analysis of ancient, medieval, renaissance and baroque examples...” (1980, p.51).

The principles were underpinned on the works of Sitte (1889), which have been criticized for its deterministic tendencies. However within the definitions of urban design so far, they are spot on. One would on the other hand argue that the definitions actually did arise from the principles that had been laid down by Sitte in his publications. He was following on the traditions laid down by the Renaissance and Baroque master of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

Le Corbusier on the other hand in his book *Vers Une Architecture* (1923) (later translated as *Towards a New Architecture*) was against artistic adornment that had no functions, a view that he shared with fellow modernist of the period. To him the form of the city should follow the functions that he saw as espoused visual qualities of town planning (the name urban design was also known by). He argued that the visual qualities should be arrived at only from "...geometry as a means to perceive the external world and expressed the world within..." (1928, p.1).

To Le Corbusier, geometry was the means to create order in design of modern cities of tomorrow. It is a view that is deterministic in that it believed that the ordered physical world would create an orderly social and economic world in contrast to the chaos experienced during his time and the period after the Second World War.

Cullen's approach was equally visual, aesthetical and stylistic, but fundamentally same as Sitte's and Le Corbusier. According to Jarvis the main difference was in the "...style and the impressionistic sketches that replaced the formal prose and precise drawings..."(1980, p.53). His methods were personal interpretations of the visual space. Cullen placed emphasis on the pictorial approaches of perspectives, the frontispiece design and compositions similar to those used in the Renaissance and Baroque periods. However, all have the views by the three had one thing in common; they ignored the perceptual aspects of the users.

The townscape methods and movement rose from the "philosophies of conservation, anti-scrape and surrealism in 1930s and 1940s Britain" according to Macarthur (2009, p.387). The reasons given are attributed to the owner and editor of the Architectural review (AR) Hubert de Cronin Hastings who promoted the popularity of architectural modernism and attacking the tabular Rasa approach of the CIAM promoted by Le Corbusier and others. He wanted to

portray the idea that irregular planning had their origins in England, in the picturesque and in what the AR called the functional tradition.

According to Macarthur, townscape movement saw “history as analysis and kind of imagination to be practiced with the surprising conjunction of old buildings and new building” (2009, p.388). This is very much in line with the rationalist ideas that were prevalent in Italy.

Adherents of the townscape methods saw cities as made by the contingencies of history and according to no overall principles. Here they acknowledged the ideas of Webber and Simmell of historical development of cities previously discussed. Because cities were seen to be less formed in comparison to the buildings in it, there was a difference that allowed for experience through visual view points of the snap shots of history.

Townscape movement built on the ideas of Camillo Sitte, however suggested according to Macurther “...that the urban fabric might be not merely humble and indifferent but actually bad, in poor taste and in styles and ideologies at odds with its architectural reframing...” (2009, p.389). In a sense it was a critique of the formalistic of the methods of Camillo Sitte, though both agreed on the visual aspects of analysis and representation of cities.

Ray Lucas describes Gordon Cullen’s work as based on:

“...serial vision, which is a simple proposition that consisted of a series of sketch perspectives arranged in a sequence along a path and accompanied by a plan indicating the points along the paths where the perspectives are taken...”(2009, p.1)

Cullen’s methodology of perception is therefore analytical and shows the various patterns and variations within the space. It allowed the representation of what the space might look like when built. It has however been criticized by Jarvis (1980) and Vernez-Moudon (1992). Jarvis argues that it fails to consider the

collaborative approach to design and is elitist in that it is based on the eyes of the designer alone to conceive and represent the place created. He pens:

“...the essential value of Cullen’s approach lies in its uninhibited, personal and expressive response to space. For instance, Cullen mingles aspects of spatial analysis with poetic evocation...” (1980, p.26)

The meanings are ascribed to the space in the process that may not be of same value to the users of the place and in that sense shares the same problems of designing urban places as those of the modernist period. Vernez-Moudon on the other hand found the method shallow as a tool for analysis especially if used in education of students. She argued that it was deterministic and places too much focus on the product end of the scale ignoring the process. She posits it is good for “...maintaining a high profile for the beginning student of urban design but does not sustain well more rigorous and deep investigation...” (1992, p446).

### **2.2.2. The Social-Usage Tradition**

Urban design is concerned with places and people and its success is measured by people’s usage. This second school of thought was driven by the way space is consumed and colonized. The perceptions and meanings of spaces are as important to the tradition as places that, it is argued, acquire meanings from it. (see Lynch, 1960; Tuan 1976; Canter, 1977a and others).

Lynch’s seminal work *Image of the City* (1960) is claimed to have sparked interest in the way the public perceived and thus used urban spaces. He acknowledged the importance of visual methods of designing and representing space, however points out that “...the pleasure users get from cities is a common place experience shared by different people...” (1960, p.1). Hence all can appreciate urban environment and that the pleasure or sense of good urban environment is not exclusive to, and the concern of only the elite.



Therefore he suggested that the city is experienced through the everyday events and association both past and present in relationship to other things. His work is important to urban design theories and caused a paradigm shift in the understanding of urban spaces. It introduced new ways of appreciating the urban environment and thus changed the study of cities from being an objective thing studied using scientific knowledge methods of analysis to that of user perceptual experience and behaviour.

Relph (1976) and Tuan (1977) and Canter (1977a) all concur that the relationship between place and *place-ness* is determined by three elements; the physical, the activities and the meanings. According to Canter, place is conceived by user differently hence the importance of considering the user perspective in their creation. This stems from what he saw as the influence of physical attributes on psychological and behavioural processes.

Others contributing to the tradition are Jane Jacobs and Allan Appleyard. Jacobs argued that the city is not art, but 'life at its most vital, complex and intense.' (1961, p.386) The arguments are underpinned on the socio-economic aspects of the city seen in the activities on the streets, sidewalks and parks.

The view of the importance of social-usage tradition on the design of urban spaces is also supported by Gehl (1971), Whyte (1980), Alexander (1987). Christopher Alexander's theory identified the failures of existing design theories based mainly on the visual-tradition but have ignored the contexts that frame them. He pointed to the importance of the relationships between the activities and places and goes farther in his 'A Pattern language' (1977) to sketch out patterns of the minimal framework of essentials necessary. These are then to be refined by the designers.

The social usage tradition grew out of the contexts of a new research approach by the sociologists at the Chicago School of Sociology. Their way of thinking

about social relations was heavily quantitative, rigorous in data analysis, and, most importantly, focused on the city as a social laboratory, as pointed out by Ackerman and Lutters (1996, p.1).

The most influential years of the Chicago School ran from 1918 to 1932. The city became the site for field study, a place that is up close and personal where research on urban studies could be carried. It thus became the laboratory of controlled environment where artificial specimens yielded generalities that are true elsewhere as argued by Gieryn (2006, p.5). The city now provided opportunity for distant and objective analysis that provides its credibility.

The central theme of the Chicago School was that naturalistic observation of urban and social phenomena is best done through quantitative methodologies. The city when used as a laboratory created opportunity for ethnographic closeness to the rich and deep data that help in understanding the relationship between the social structure and the activities of the city and how they are impacted by the production of urban forms and the process of production. This methodology has been criticized for lacking the faces behind the numbers, ignoring the individual's relationships to the historical contexts.

### **2.2.3. The Place-Making Tradition**

A shift in the thought in urban design has occurred for just over 2 decades with emphasis now on 'making places for people' as pointed out by Carmona *et al* (2003, p.7). This is due to new definitions from Gibberd (1953), Jacobs (1961) and Buchanan (1988). Gibberd postulated that the design of towns ought to be functional as well as pleasurable in appearance. His work combines both the visual-artistic and social-usage traditions. It began to recognize the complexities of designing and creating places in terms of the physical arrangement of buildings, but also the subjective quality of beauty. This was not any different to Vitruvius thinking on building having commodity and delight.

Jacobs on the other hand argued that a wider contextual approach to urban design as if were an architectural problem would be similar to substituting art for life. Therefore sole architectural solutions will not solve urban problem because they are not they are not sole determinants.

While Buchanan pointed out that place-making was essentially what urban design was about, arguing that spaces become places because of the logical relationships to the meanings assigned to them by the activities and events a view supported by Bohl (2002).

The place-making tradition is therefore a fusion of the visual-artistic and social-usage approaches. It looks at urban design as 'an aesthetic entity and is a behavioural setting' Carmona *et al* (2003, p.7). It is very much interested in how well the physical built environment affords functions and activities that take place in them. This shifts the focus of urban design to include the management of the public realm making it the public face of the building; the spaces between frontages, activities taking place in and between the spaces and the management of all the activities that are affected by the buildings as pointed out by Gleave (1990, p.64).

In the review of the traditions or approaches to urban design above, I argued that it involves both the processes and products; it is a multi-disciplinary in nature and context sensitive. Therefore the theories cannot and should not be reduced to dogma or formula, the silver bullet that when applied would bring solutions to all kind of problems. It is not deterministic nor positivist in approach, but encompasses the context, responsive to the forces of history, society, economics and politics.

There is danger that some of the urban design laboratories will emphasise the approach that calls for good qualities of built, without clarity on how to achieve them, the product rather than the process! The context and process of the

operation is very important to place making. There seem to be in existence very many research institutions that have set up urban design labs. Their effectiveness does not seem to be related to the practice of place-making. A gap thus exists between the theory of urban design labs and the practice components of these labs.

The next section looks at the critiques of urban design in from early Twentieth Century to 1960s. It highlights the context within which the radical changes in the conception of design and education occurred culminating in the new consciousness of 1960s.

### **2.3. The Critiques of Urban Design up to 1960s**

As previously, discussed, normative theories are by their nature prescriptive. It is interesting to note that the three fundamental schools of thought in urban design; the visual-artistic, the social-usage and the place-making traditions are all normative. They have varying degrees of prescription with Lynch's work being the least prescriptive.

This research aims at evaluating the effectiveness of the various research laboratories, identifying the predominant theories that underpin the research and practice. It seeks to find the reasons why and how it is applied in practice. Carmona *et al* (2003, p.11) argue that the urban designer should be less prescriptive about the urban form because of the various degrees of appropriateness in response to the social, cultural, economic and political contexts that frame it.

The period after the Second World War heralded the questioning of the acceptance of normative thinking within the social sciences. Scholars have pointed the atrocities of the war especially in Nazi Germany and Stalin's Russia as the origins of the questioning (Fromm, 1955; Lyotard, 1984).

Erich Fromm was a major psychoanalytic thinker, sociological theorist, and public intellectual during the 1940s and 1950s. He was critical of the sociological relativist position that "...each society is normal in as much as it functions..." (1955, p.12). In his view, then a society is deemed sane on the basis of comparison to another by implication there must exist a set of universal criteria of measuring the sanity. However, this he points can be problematic in that it leads to a deterministic view that "...human nature is malleable and can be influenced by decisive environmental factors..." (1955, p.13).

Jean-Francois Lyotard a French philosopher questioned the foundation of the republican ideals pointing to the *differend* that he saw in politics. He argued that:

"...in a republic, the pronoun of the first-person plural **is** in effect the linchpin of the discourse of authorization. Substitutable for a proper name, **We, the French people** ..., it is supposedly able to link prescriptions (such as articles in codes, court rulings, laws, decrees, ordinances, circulars, and commandos) onto their legitimization "**in a suitable way**."...The republican regimen's principle of legitimacy is that the addressor of the norm, **y**, and the addressee **of** the obligation, **x**, are the same. The legislator ought not to be exempt from the obligation he or she norms. And the obligated one is able to promulgate the law that obligates him or her . . . **We decree as a norm that it *is* an obligation *for us* to carry out act a**. This is the principle of autonomy..." (1988, p.98)

His analysis of the above statement revealed that there was a difference in the application of the decrees in that the one who spoke the law and the one to whom the law was spoken were not the same person. It was declaration that propagated the continued inequality of capitalist class division. The normative thought here suggests in like manner to Fromm's view that value system of one sector of society is applied to the other for purposes of all being normal.

This is perhaps the view that was taken by a lot of the designers in 1930s and 1940s with a belief that if a good environment were provided, then the social problems would be solved because better human beings would result. The

thought is based on assumptions of opposite dialectics; right or wrong existing for every human problem without necessary examining the societal context. The right or wrong is presumed to be values of the normal society imposed on the abnormal society.

However the atrocities of the Second World War revealed the fallacy of the concept in what Fromm saw as “consensual validation...where it was assumed that if majority of people shared certain ideas then they must be valid...” (1955, p.14). The view is supported by Wood *et al.* (1996) positing that past research found that recipients agreed with majority group positions and resisted minority group positions on direct measures of influence. They see the cause as desire to “...align with valued majority and to differentiate from the derogated minorities because of normative pressures” (1996, p.118).

There were two issues that were debated, the meaning of “normal” especially after the atrocities of the world wars. The contexts for questioning continued to interrogate power relationships within the capitalist societies. Therefore an antagonism existed between what was viewed by majority as normal versus what actually defined it leading to emergence of new thinking within psychology circles (see Deleuze, 1968; Laing, 1966 etc).

Keith Ansell Pearson points to Deleuze’s lecture of 1960s on Bergson’s Creative Evolution that argued that we have to think beyond the existing human conditions. It made references to Nietzschean philosophical “story of how the “true world” finally became a fable, which is also a story of the devaluation of the highest values and the advent of nihilism” (2007, p.2).

It challenged the human thought to seek reconnection with the universal consciousness beyond the relativism, as had been the norm. Deleuze began the philosophical search for a new thinking within the individual, the site for questioning of the true human condition as revealed by the upheavals of the

Second World War, the Vietnam War that was going on and the at the same time the inequalities that the individuals could see. The media of course played a great role in revealing what was happening elsewhere.

The new thinking began to create influence in the design field when Jane Jacobs (1961) among others questioned the trends in renewal and development that were destructive of the environment. They also asked where were the rights of the individuals to participate in the decisions that affect their livelihood.

Across the USA, the design students and professional faculty actively started to support the minorities to protest by offering services to design alternative proposals to those of the establishment. Two examples are highlighted below, the students at University of California, Berkeley and Columbia University in New York.

Ward (1993) posits that the actions of the Free Speech Movement at University of California, Berkeley in 1968 were a starting point of the thinking. The students had "...devised a compromise plan to diffuse the confrontations of the People's Park by forging agreement for the City to lease land from the University..." as pointed out by Ward (1993, p.8).

The student protests movement had actually began in 1964 over "...political activity and speech, but then stimulated complaints about education..." as pointed out by Meyerson (1966, p.714). This also coincided with the student activism at Columbia University in New York. I will now look at the two events at Columbia and at Berkeley to highlight the similar historical circumstances and the actions of the design students.

The student unrest at Columbia University started in April 1968 and it involved both students and none students alike who had been swept into the wave of action as pointed out by Slonecker penning:

“...Tom Hayden was not a student at Columbia University. Still, at two o'clock on the morning of April 26, 1968, he found himself “joining a silhouetted wave of students surging across Columbia's grounds and entering, with a key volunteered by a graduate student...” (2008, p.967).

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Students Afro-American Society (SAS) had coordinated protests to gain maximum support from most students. Slonecker (2008) points out that the students had several grievances that included issues of institutional racial inequality in dealings with community, involvement with Vietnam War through providing research support to the Department of Defense and issues related to disciplinary processes when dealing with students.

The media reports created further support for the students from other activists groups such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) as well as the residents of the area. The events at Columbia highlight the importance of coalition between the racially divided student body and the ethical issues of politics and culture that they had to deal with.

Slonecker argues that the coalition at Columbia had two important significances; it reveals that the New left counterculture was not confined to the west coast (Berkeley area) as had previously been thought and despite the tense relationships between the black and white activists suggest it may have been possible to have a single social movement under the right conditions. However this was never to be despite various attempts in mid 1960s and points to the “...1966 eviction of whites from SNCC and the rapid deterioration of the 1967 National Conference for New Politics...” (2008, p.968).

The problem of the Morningside Park however had a long history. Columbia University had planned to have a gym in it as early as 1920, but lack of finances did not allow it. However, in 1961 it was able to lease the 2.1 acres of the park



from the New York City authorities and embarked on the process of fundraising. The City had required the university to provide a facility that was accessible to the Harlem residents as pointed out by Slonecker (2008).

The Morningside Heights was a mixed community of minorities from working class black, Chinese and Puerto Ricans. The park even though did not provide much in recreation amenities; it served as a buffer between the community and the white Ivory Tower of Columbia University, the epitome of class division. The lease of the property in 1961 turned the Columbia University president into “the biggest slumlord in Harlem” as pointed out by Slonecker (2008, p.970); and by 1968 almost 85% of the seven thousand evictees were from minority backgrounds.

It is not surprising that a climate of resistance developed mainly due what Slonecker (2008) identified as “inept communication and competing visions” for the Morningside Park between the community. This revealed that participation of the community in the decision making process about their place is strongly dependent of the level and quality of communication channels used.

John Lindsay, a local candidate for Mayor in 1965 brought the issue to the political campaign when he opposed the development because “...the immediate neighborhood had not been sufficiently involved in the process...” as posited by Slonecker (2008; 970). This was the start of opposition to development from various groups in 1966, West Harlem Morningside Park Committee in January, CORE Columbia chapter in February, SDC among others.

The protesters at Columbia employed a unique strategy of using different activist groups to occupy different locations on campus but networked to form one single voice. In particular, the architecture students questioned the existing tense relationship between the university and the neighbouring Harlem community. The activism stemmed from two influential academics, Peter Prangell (had left by

1968 to join university of Toronto) and Herman Hertzberger who had promoted the idea of subversive architecture that served the community.

According to Slonecker, the students resolved that:

“...the University should adopt an expansion policy that doesn’t overrun adjacent areas; that the University should make a conscious effort to recruit more black and Puerto Rican students; [and] that the administration should give greater recognition to students and community groups in the formulation of University policy...” (2008, p.974).

The students were commenting on the modernist urbanism of expansion into adjoining areas for social engineering reasons as well as the urban renewal programs promoted in the US. They were also taking an ethical stand, calling for equal opportunities for all and for a voice in matters that affected their lives while at the university and challenged the relevance of education to the problems of the world. These were issues of justice, equality, and participatory democracy.

The architecture student did not stop at making resolutions but saw their role of designers to include meditation of community conflicts. Slonecker points out the process they used in collaboration with other students in their building (Avery Hall) and “...held a “design-in” to create a blueprint for gym construction on land already owned by the University, illustrating a unique enthusiasm for proposing alternative solutions to protest conflicts...” (2008, p.981).

As Slonecker pointed out above, the activities of the New Left counterculture occurred both in the east, mid-west and west of the United States at most important institutions of higher learning. The student’s actions during the riots of 1969 at Berkeley were part of the period of student radicalism against a host of issues including anti-Vietnam military actions, drafts, against undemocratic university regimes and perhaps environmental injustices and inequality.

Peter Allen points out that there was more: “...it was a conflict *over competing visions of urban space* played out at the People’s Park...” (2007, p.i) [emphasis

mine]. In addition, he identifies that the counterproposal was collaborative work between design professionals and students drawing on the new consciousness that was emerging. Therefore, it became a test bed for community design theories and the division that existed within the architectural profession in 1960s.

Allen links the protests to the actions of the elite through the different organizations that used endowments to promote the principles espoused by the modern movement. He points to the campus planning publications of the Ford Foundation's Education Foundation laboratories (EFL), an organization formed in 1958. The purpose according to Marks:

“...was to help schools and colleges maximize the quality and utility of their facilities, stimulate research, and disseminate information useful to those who select sites, plan, design, construct, modernize, equip, and finance educational structures and the tools therein”(2001, p.1).

Allen concurs and argues that EFL “...advocated for modern architecture and planning on American universities, and in critical countries such as Germany...”(2007, p.4). Many universities across USA developed links with EFL to meet the physical needs of expansion in education to the demands of the baby boomers. It was through this relationship that U.C. Berkeley had proposed the demolition of the large residential neighborhood south of the campus.

The area had previously been designated for urban renewal from as early as 1957 that under federal law could only happen if the area was blighted but was silent on the process of determination. It was not surprising that the Berkeley Planning Department therefore shortly issued another report titled, “The Problem of Blight in Berkeley” which both revealed an interest in social transformation of the area through modernist design principles.

Therefore, I argue that the People's Park was a site of confrontation and contestation of competing ethos of community building and how it was to have be carried out. Allen aptly asserts that:

“...it presented with two conflicting paradigms of design and governance... Those in power saw social disintegration in events like those at Berkeley, while those at the bottom saw the rebirth of a new kind of community power to protest the unjust imposition of an urban order...” (2007, p.6).

This view is in line with one by Lyotard's (1988) questioning of the foundation of the republican ideals pointing to the *differend* that he saw in politics

Manuel Castells makes the argument that in a capitalist society, “...the state through various organs has holds over the problems associated with the environment...” (1972, p.1). These he sees as arising out of interrelated actions of class division through social and political practices. In other words, Castells saw a strong correlation between the social injustices, ethical problems and the political ideologies held by those societies. The constituent authorities rejected the proposals by the students from at the University of California, Berkeley and the Columbia University in New York.

In all the places where the student riots had began in the US, Denmark, Spain and France, an underlying theme was the rights to determine how the built and natural environment was carried out. Perhaps they tie in with a growth in environmental movements in 1960s due to perception of the harm that man caused to the environment. (for more on this see work by Dunlap and Mertig, 1992 titled “American environmentalism: the U.S. environmental movement, 1970-1990”).

The impacts of the radical social theories of Goodman, Laing, and others who had continuously questioned the existing theories and actions on society and lambasted the scientific methods hat was dominant at that time. What was at clear from the historical events of the period is the issue of Democracy: what Ward calls:

“...the power of self-determination, the power to shape one's own environment, the power to define the terms of reference of one's own destiny, and all of this was

encapsulated in a struggle for the power to determine meaning...”(1993, p.9).

The 1960s was therefore a period that embodied the hope for democracy, equality, social justice and the possibility to transform the world by young people and toppling of the older generation. It is however interesting to note that the drive for new thinking came from the academic emigrants who had been at the Frankfurt School. The next section will look at the development of what is known as social architecture and how that led to community design and participatory design processes. This will be followed by an overview in architectural education in the Twentieth Century.

#### **2.4. Social Architecture**

In the previous section, we saw the growth of social responsibility manifested in the new consciousness expressed by the students in alternative proposals at Berkeley and Colombia campus riots. There was collaboration between not only the professionals but also the students to work with the communities to build their capacities to ask questions and offer alternative views to that of the elite. In this sense Social Architecture is also known as “Socially Responsible Design.”

Most definitions of social responsibility are from social and political perspectives of cultural context as pointed out by Ward (1993). He observes:

“...that the issues of equality, justice, the redistribution of resources, ownership of the means of production, civil rights, participatory democracy, critical citizenship were more evident in the work of design students in 1960s and 1970s than today...” (1993, p.6).

He blames the absence of emancipator of postmodernism for the demise of the radical thoughts. He points out that in the 1960s knowledge was recognized as ideological and had the purpose of conservatively maintaining the existing hierarchical structures of power and authority. This led to the continued sustenance of the existing orders of resource distribution. Bourdieu supports this view and points out that “knowledge is situated in space and time” (1977, p.2) hence it is tacit as opposed to practical and is of and about the social world.

Social architecture also grew out of the CIAM's desire to respond to urban problems of appropriate and affordable housing shortages in the industrializing Europe. The 1929 CIAM 2 at Frankfurt had focused on the design of minimum housing as part of what Mumford described as "...the effort to standardize and rationalize dwelling units within the smallest cubage..." (2000, p.31).

However the main driver seem to have been the searches for radical urbanistic solutions based on the *dom-kommuna* or communal house; ideas coming out of the Marxist Soviet Union as Mumford further point out (2000). It was seen as a deterministic tool for transforming society to the acceptance of a more collective mode of life that Moisei Ginzberg founder of the OSA Group (Organization of Contemporary Architects) and others saw as "...socially superior mode of life..." (quoted in Mumford; 2000, p.38).



**Figure 2.1: Liberated Living**  
Source: Mumford (2000, p.32)



**Figure 2.2: Urban Garden in Sky**  
**Source: Mumford (2000, p.35)**

The image above (**figure 2.1**) illustrates how the propaganda of photomontage was used to promote the idea that CIAM's architecture would result in much better life than in traditional European cities at that time. The image shows a couple relaxing in their balcony suggesting liberated people in recreation within confines of the dwelling away from the polluted streets. The emphasis was on the qualities perceived to be essential for biological functions of humans: light, air and opening (*licht, luft, oeffnung*).

The second image (**figure 2.2**) showed plants brought into living areas in tandem with the living in the sky philosophy. It was to demonstrate how the high-rise buildings would transform lives by bringing pleasures close to living areas. The two images are critical in understanding the context within which CIAM propaganda operated especially after the Second World War.

The horrors and the inhumanity of post Second World War that created the need for resettlement. Massive rebuilding efforts ensued that led to the interrogation of the place and meaning of dwelling in relationships to the society and humanity. CIAM advanced an ideology that appeared inclusive. Within it an international forum of professionals and educators called Team X emerged and began the campaign for the reconstruction that would include both the contexts of the social structures and cultural traditions.

According to Heuvel and Risselada (2005), Team X was composed of loosely organized individuals, however the core group consisted of Jaap Bakema, Georges Candilis, Giancarlo De Carlo, Aldo van Eyck, Alison and Peter Smithson and Shadrach Woods. The individual members had joined meetings CIAM at different dates. They were vocal enough to have changes made to involvement of younger persons.

It is however difficult to establish the exact date when the group began because of the type of organization it was as pointed out by Heuvel and Risselada (2005).

The reasons for emergence of the group from CIAM are:

“...a shared profound distrust of the bureaucratic set-up of the old CIAM,... secondly they were initially part of the most active and dominant CIAM groups from the UK, France, Italy, the Netherlands and Switzerland, which were run by the second, so-called middle generation of modern architects...thirdly the English architects were eager to abandon the CIAM organization and set up their own platform...” Heuvel and Risselada (2005).

In addition, the generational gap between the older CIAM members and younger new ones that caused tensions leading to the formation of Team X after the tenth congress in Dubrovnik in 1956.

The group's major departure from CIAM ideology was their belief in Utopia that had social dimensions that allowed for both the individual and collective identities. They saw the *importance of context specific response in design process rather than the use of universal solutions to social problems* [emphasis mine]. They saw an opportunity for a new beginning that had a moral imperative towards to society...” as further pointed out by Heuvel and Risselada (2005).

Bakema had argued that a new approach that was underpinned by the life of the community was needed pointing out that:

“...the study of techniques and aesthetics are not of primary use, but rather the study and understanding of a new structure of society. Regulations being made now for the reconstruction must be based on ideas about life... The modern architect must be able to communicate with people...beauty has to express openness in human relationships to make a new style.” [1946, quoted in Harrison (1998, p.10)]

Accordingly, Bakema was in essence criticizing the approaches by the visual-artistic tradition architects and pointing to the importance of the transformation in the society that arose from the modernity, and industrialization.



Ward (1993) supports this view in his argument on socially responsible design. He posits that since the framework of social, political and cultural practice contextualizes knowledge; therefore the definition of Socially Responsible Design that produces social architecture is a reflection of the historical contexts that formed it. In other words the as Ward further points out:

“...design that rests upon an ideology of social change and individual and collective self-empowerment through regained citizen control of those aspects of public life which shape history...” (1993, p6).

The state of urban design today and its history is related to the ways the professional and institutional settings changed after Second World War. It firstly established itself as a field in the academic arena in the US Universities before the rest of the world then later took hold in the professional arena, as posited by Vernez-Moudon (1992).

However at its root is the modernism that grew after the war led by CIAM, and the Green city Movement (GCM) as pointed out by Jacobs and Appleyard (1987). Both movements proposed responses to the ills of the industrial city in very different ways, one resulting in the suburbs and the other in the destruction of both the suburb and the inner city housing to create the vertical high density functional city. The ills have been discussed previously under heading “critiques of urban design”.

The GCM and CIAM ideas had four things in common; first, the super-block that allowed for large tracks of land to be redeveloped but held in trust or by the government. Secondly, both proposed separate paths for people and cars resulting in dead streets; thirdly, they had interior common spaces (mall mentality), moved people from the streets to the interior, resulting in dead streets; and finally, central ownership of land in common trust, or by large corporations,

developers or governments. This promoted the elitist approach to ownership, control and stockholding.

Even though the movements grew out of concern for people, the proposed solution did not seem comprehensive enough in approach to examine the pros and cons of values such as the environment, public-ness, the community, and further, as Jacobs and Appleyard make the assertion, "...they threw the baby out with the bath water..." (1987, p.114).

There was a new renaissance led by Rasmussen, Kepes and Lynch and Jane Jacobs that emphasized urban experience turning the city into a sculpture garden as pointed out by Jacobs and Appleyard (1987). Urban form was now identified with the user experience through sight, hearing, touch and smell translated architecturally through the medium of materials and textures of its construction, floor surfaces, styles, lights, seating, trees, sun etc.

These amenities were deemed attractive to the observer and users of urban environment. Today most of these vocabularies are still in use and the most damning critique of this visual artistic theoretical paradigm is its ignorance of the social meanings and implications of what was being done.

The concern for the social meanings and other issues ignored during the heights of CIAM and GCM marshalled the birth of community design and advocacy movements. It has to be pointed out that there were other factors that also contributed to its growth such as the civil rights movement, urban social movements. (See Chapter 3: Historical Contexts)

The concern of the community design and advocacy movements have centred on the social groups who were negatively impacted by the urban design as promoted and practiced by CIAM and modernism. This was especially true with the rebuilding of cities through demolitions and destruction of existing

communities without regard for the positive values in social, cultural, political and economical aspects that they contributed to the built environment.

David Harvey (2003) argued that the right to the city raised several questions; whose right and whose city; how are these rights to be exercised? The issue is contentious especially if one is to take the history of the city from the Marxist point of view that it is dominated by the accumulation of capital. How then can a socially just city be created if the capitalist economic engine allocates disproportionate power to the ruling class?

Robert Park arguing that aptly:

“...if the city is the world which man created, it is the world in which he is henceforth condemned to live. Thus, indirectly, and without any clear sense of the nature of his task, in making the city man has remade himself...”(1925 quoted in Harvey, 2003, p.939).

Since man has no choice in location of place to live, he surely must have the rights to control of that environment. The connection between man and the environment is closely tied than one would imagine that there exist within society the collective desires or will to make the changes together that would not be injurious to all. Harvey agrees with Park and asserts, “...the right to the city is not merely a right of access to what already exists, but a right to change it after our heart's desire...” (2003, p.941).

Perhaps the way forward to the collective rights can be asserted through the development of a new consciousness as viewed by the Surrealist Benton who posits: “...it gave birth of a new movement with an even greater power of liberation...” (1948, p.46).

I argue that the new consciousness that led to clamor for advocacy and participatory design developed because of the several events that framed it. The events like the new thinking that I pointed to earlier in the dissertation, of

question the way the world is perceived. The questioning of normality, the inequalities post Second World War and many other circumstances. In the next section, I will look at the rise of meaning of participatory engagement within urban design and what is involved. This is followed by the impact on urban design education. The historical context is examined in chapter 3.

## **2.5. Community Engagement**

Before interrogating the meaning of community engagement, it is important to frame how the term community is understood within the dissertation. The definition of the term community is nebulous, hence equally raises questions on who can and should participate in the new consciousness of transforming their environment. This is not new because there has always been a struggle between two views espoused by those who support individual rights versus those who support the collective rights. According to McMillan and Chavis (1986) a study by Doolittle and MacDonald (1978) on the sense of community scale to define what it was identified five factors that influenced it:

“...informal interaction (with neighbours), safety (having a good place to live), pro-urbanism (privacy, anonymity), neighboring preferences (preference for frequent neighbour interaction), and localism (opinions and a desire to participate in neighbourhood affairs)....” (1986, p.6).

The above factors it was argued would influence their desire to participate in affairs of the place, the willingness to assert the right to the city and use the new consciousness to question how things run. Ahlbrant and Cunningham (1979) supported the view after their study found out that people who are most satisfied with their locality are likely to contribute to its social structure.

The above lead to definition of what a community is and Gusfield (1975) saw it as the geographical and territorial aspects, and the quality of human relationships irrespective of the location. McMillan and Chavis (1986) building on the above saw the community to have explicit and identifiable characteristics. Such as membership or sense of belong, influence in the sense of having a voice to make

a difference, integration, which relates to the first and finally shared emotional connection.

The term community is therefore used to mean a group of people that identify with the territory or geographical location and have claimed the rights to make perceptible influence to its management and are emotionally tied to the location through the various activities and relations.

Community design, a process used by urban design laboratories had its history in the 1950s as Advocacy planning; then in the 1960s as Community Design. The process has its roots in the period of awakening and acknowledgment of human rights in the world as pointed out by Toker and Toker (2006).

The ideas are rooted in the works of Davidoff (1956), Lefebvre (1967) and Harvey (1973). Today it is seen as a new idea yet it was in the mainstream over four decades ago. The understanding of the concept and the terms “community design” and “participatory design” has changed over this period and this has had an impact on the practice and theory of urban design. Toker and Toker point to studies by Arnstein (1969) and Wulz (1986) that revealed the changes from the ideological phase to the pragmatic phase in the 1980s and 1990s.

Community design or participatory design is more about a *process* of urban design than urban design as a *product*, the *process* of creating the vision of a community. It is concerned with community building, and designing for the community as pointed out by Sanoff (2008). It places the emphasis on the *participants and stakeholders* at the centre of decision making rather than the expert professional.

Both Sanoff (2000) and Wates (2000) define community design as an interdisciplinary movement with the focus on involvement of local people in the design and management of their built environment on the basis that the

professional's technical knowledge is often inadequate in the resolution of social problems. The process therefore adds a moral and political content to the professional practice and education. It is a movement for discovering how to make it possible for people to be involved in the shaping and management of their environment.

The design process used in the participatory urban design falls under seven main tasks as identified by Hester (2006). They are aimed at, firstly, creating the everyday environment in which people spend most of their time. Secondly, meeting the unique needs of people who will use the particular built environment in the design and planning process; thirdly, empowering the voiceless communities and peoples.


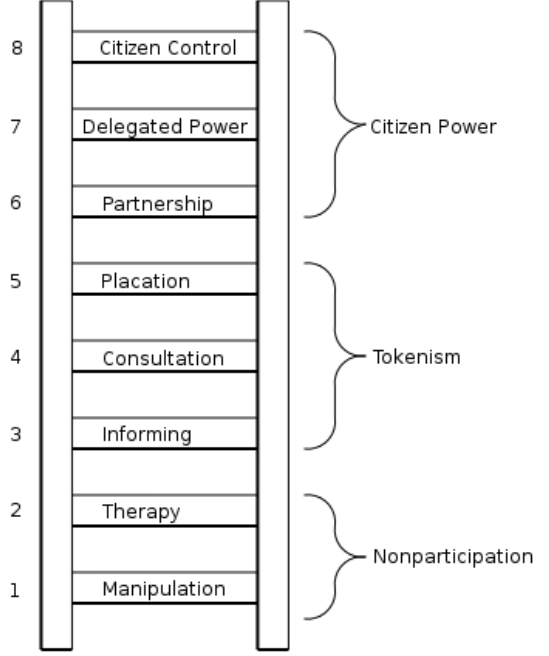
The fourth task, addresses the environmental inequalities; fifth, the creation of environmental justice, sixth, environmental injustices and last one the participation in the design and planning decision making. The tasks align with the key issues of the movements from the 60's i.e. to provide people with a voice, civil rights and advocacy. It is not surprising that the initial phase of the community participatory design process is advocacy planning where the designers act as the community organizers and advocates for empowerment and progress (Davidoff, 1956; Arnstein, 1971 and Alinsky, 1972).

Participatory design as a research methodology is action based, i.e., a way to understand knowledge by doing. It relies on the traditional, "the tacit and often invisible ways that people perform their everyday activities" as further pointed out by Spinuzzi (2005, p.163). Therefore, it has its own articulated methodological orientation, methods and techniques. It draws on several methods such as ethnographic, observations, interviews, and analysis of artefacts and sometimes protocol analysis. The methods are used to construct the emerging design through an iterative process. The participant's interpretations are important to the process not just to the confirmation of the design as a common vision.

The participatory design process has Marxist underpinnings and attempts to examine the tacit and invisible aspects of human activities, the researcher or designer and the community through partnership corporately designing the artefacts (urban design framework or building, the process of urban design). The process must be carried out ITERATIVELY so that the designer and participant stakeholders can *develop and refine their understanding of the activity* (emphasis mine). Pelle Ehn (1993) supports the view because it steers a course between the traditional and transcendence, the community's tacit knowledge and the designer's abstract analytical knowledge.

The citizen's power for self-decision making is the foundation of the participatory process and has taken different forms during various periods as seen from the literature on participatory design processes from the 1960s to the present date. The advocacy phase began during the years of new self-consciousness with people holding idealist views as opposed to a more pragmatic approach that started from the 1970s during periods of energy and financial crisis. This was followed by the 1980s when economic conservative governments were in power and were reluctant to fund projects that promoted citizen participation.

If one looks at Arnstein's (1971) ladder of citizen participation (**figure 2.4**), the process begins to fall from top rung 7 or 8 (the delegated power and citizen control) to 4 or 5 (the consultation and placation stages). Interestingly, the 1990s likened the more collaborative decision-making approach to lace creation. The changes within the participatory processes are thus on the "area of focus rather than the field" as pointed out by Toker and Toker (2006, p.157). The participatory process becomes partly false or takes the pretence mode as illustrated by poster carried by protesting French students during the May 1968 riots (figure 2.3). It reads "participate, you participate, he participates, we participate, you participate...they profit" hence the skepticisms in the process and is likely to lead to failure. The community must buy into the process for its success.

	
<p><b>Figure: 2.3: A poster painted by rebellious French students</b> Source: Arnstein (1969, p. 218-219)</p>	<p><b>Figure: 2.4: Eight levels of participation</b> Source: Arnstein (1969, p. 218-219)</p>

Wulz (1986 quoted in Toker and Toker 2006, p.157) conducted a study that revealed a shift from an advocacy approach to a continuum approach. In the latter, the power relations of the citizens in the decision-making ladder are reduced from one condition to another without abrupt changes being noticed. The citizens' power is reduced from one of "maximum say to a minimum say" starting from self-decision, to a co-decision between the participating stakeholders and the designers, then alternative solutions being offered either by the designers or representatives of any of the stakeholder groups, regionalism, where regional solutions are pushed as the best alternative and finally one achieved through dialogue.



Toker and Toker (2006, p.158) have also pointed to a study that identified key issues. Leaders and priorities on participatory design indicate that the process has now moved to the mainstream of urban design and the lines of thought being used have been mutated. The idea of genuine participation is still supported, but the new focus on pragmatic consensus building rather than on idealistic advocacy that has allowed approaches by new urbanism, *charrette* to borrow the terminology.

*Cherratte* is a French word that means, "cart" and is often used to describe the final, intense work effort expended by art and architecture students to meet a project deadline. The use of the term is said to originate from the École des Beaux Arts in Paris during the 19th century, where proctors circulated a cart, or *charrette*, to collect final drawings while students frantically put finishing touches on their work, (Charrette Institute, 2006). Hamdi and Goethert (1997; 95) point out that the planning processes that take place over one day is are called *charrette* and has been widely used in the UK since 1992 by various groups including the Prince of Wales' Institute of Architecture<sup>1</sup>.

However the new urbanism has been criticized by score of scholars as leaning towards spatial determinism (Sorkin 1998, Talen, 1999, and Hayden 2003), while the *charrette* approach has been criticized for being composed of information sessions termed participatory meetings where the designers do not act as facilitators. The term facilitator, as used in the dissertation refers to an expert who leads the *charrette* to provide the technical know-how, clarify the problems identified and help build the capacity of the group to participate effectively.

The move towards a consensus building approach rather than advocacy shifts the focus away from citizens' participation (place creation theoretical paradigm) to social-usage and visual-artistic theoretical paradigms. The genuine

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<sup>1</sup> The Prince of Wales' Institute of Architecture has since been reorganized under to become The Prince of Wales Foundation. It is an educational charity which exists to improve the quality of people's lives by teaching and practicing in the timeless ways of building and can be contacted at the following address 19-22 Charlotte Road, London, EC2A 3SG. [<http://www.princes-foundation.org/index.html>]

participatory approach is still possible and is firstly focused on local communities having control of the decision-making about issues that affect the whole community. Secondly, the approach will include all stakeholders, particularly the minorities; thirdly, it is used to generate goals and strategies through maximum participation possible and consensus building. The fourth is that the action comes at the end of the process (detailed designed occurs after this stage).

### **2.5.1. Participatory Processes**

In participatory design, the *objective of study* was the tacit knowledge developed and used by those who work with the technology. In likewise manner, in participatory urban design, the process relies on the tacit knowledge of the community, on what are important objectives, linkages and visions. The designers do not possess the tacit knowledge, as they are not immersed in the community through either work or residence, they possess only abstract knowledge.

The traditional design process is based on a rationalist approach that assumes that there is *one best way* to perform any activity. This in effect gives control to the designers to dictate to the users the precise way in which they live. In this rationalist approach, the designer examines the client's brief, develops it, then breaks it into discrete formal tasks that can be optimized and regulated. The projected design is then developed and handed to the users (community). The knowledge of how the community works is thus made explicit formalized and regulated, with the community skills judged as inferior to those of the professional rationalist designer.

Participatory design on the other hand is founded on the constructionist theory that explicitly resists the notion that knowledge can be completely compartmentalized. In this theory, knowledge is acquired through a constructive process in which the participant learner builds an internal and personal illustration of the knowledge, but is continually open to modification. The structure

and linkages form the ground on which other new knowledge is attached as pointed out by Bednar *et al.* (1995).

In this system, the conceptual growth in knowledge in the participatory design process comes from sharing the various perspectives held by the stakeholders and at the same time the simultaneously changing of the internal representations in response to the perspectives held by others during the dialogue and cumulative experience. Spinuzzi (2005, p.165) sees this knowledge as a complex of artefacts, practices and interactions, therefore interpretive.

Therefore the knowing and learning take place in a dynamic system of people, practices, artefacts, communities and institutional practices as pointed out by Mirel (1998, p.13). The knowledge in participatory design process is about being involved, having the practical understanding that comes from the experience as opposed to theoretical reflection. The process oscillates between the *discovery* of tacit knowledge held by the community and stakeholders which the designers and participants *critically reflect* before proceeding to the next phase.

In participatory design process the community's tacit knowledge is valuable and therefore the focus of the process is on exploring that it and taken into account when developing the design framework. The tacit knowledge is described (in community meeting, a collaborative process) so that it can be used to develop the framework and shared community vision through a process that empowers them.

As pointed out earlier, the paradigm in participatory design process is constructivist; the knowledge is a condition of the context. A common language is thus essential to be a bridge between the world of the designer and the community (stakeholders) that is comfortable to all.

The methodology is derived from participatory *action research*, i.e. practice research; involving the practical interventionist investigations (as opposed to the traditional method of gathering data) and parallel theoretical reflections (as opposed to posterior) as argued by Ehn (1989, p.13). It has a political-ethical connotation of empowering the community to take control of their built environment with the designer acting as a facilitator and not a decision maker. The success of the process is dependent on the level of emphasis placed on CO-RESEARCH and CO-DESIGN. The conclusions must be found in conjunction between the designer, and the stakeholders (community).

### **2.5.2. Limitations of the Participation Processes**

The participatory design process aims to ground changes to the community by empowering all its participants, involving all the participants to build the community. It has been criticized for not lending itself to “radical” changes that sometimes characterize a new system of doing things. The gradual tendency can lead to tunnel vision in which particular stakeholders are served while others are left out, as pointed out by Bjerknes and Bratteteig, 1995; Bodker, 1996 quoted in Spinuzzi (2005, p.166).

The second criticism is the danger of the participants losing focus on the broad objectives and bogged down in details of the artefacts rather than the community visioning. This normally manifests itself in the form of arguments over the colour of buildings (because of how they are represented during the community meetings), details of door or windows, issues of style etc.

The third limitation comes during the migration of the design methodology from one context to another across socio-economic, cultural and political borders;. The difficulties could arise in maintaining the methodological tenets that requires a the focus on democratic empowerment. This could turn it into a tool for the powerful to advocate for the consumptive goods at the exclusion of other marginal stakeholders.

The methods used in participatory design are drawn from ethnographic techniques aimed at developing knowledge about the stakeholders' work, life patterns, activities, preferences, etc. It has been criticized for being a "do it yourself ethnography..." as pointed out by Spinuzzi (2005, p.168) and is liable to contamination by an illusion of increased understanding when in fact no such has been achieved. A lot of information is gathered during the community meetings but are hardly translated into the design vision. In this sense the community meeting is used as a pacifier [see Arnstein's ladder of participation].

The question that always arises is whether the designer/researcher has "...understood anything about the informant's worldview or simply have projected then discovered their own assumptions in the data..." as Forsythe aptly points out (1999, p.136). This is valid a criticism if the research is aimed at abstracting knowledge in the traditional sense where data is often pulled to another domain, analyzed and used away from the site.

The main difference here is that in the participatory design process, the data must brought back to the domain, shared with the participants who co-interpret it, co-analyze it and co-design the appropriate response to it. In this way it mitigates the criticism by gaining reflexivity and agreement. Secondly, the design artefact both encapsulates the design and elicits it.

The methodology is time and resource consuming and requires a great deal of institutional commitments. Part of the difficulty is that the designers sometimes have to cede considerable control to the stakeholders who must have commitment to the process, yet cannot be coerced. They could for example scuttle the process by not showing up at future workshops, therefore compromising the design objectives developed during the first community meeting. They could also suffer from participation fatigue and not turn up at future meetings, thus jeopardizing the process.

This section looked at the definitions of community, the participatory methods and their limitations. It showed that participatory process is underpinned on the constructionist theory and relies on knowledge hidden within the community to develop discover and develop the ideas, visions. In the section I argued that participatory design or community engagement is process rather than product focus, is interdisciplinary and adds a moral and political content to the professional practice and education. The process is iterative allowing for those involved to develop and redefine their understanding of the activity they are involved in together.

## **2.6. Approaches to Learning/ education**

Before proceeding further, it is worth looking at impacts of the new consciousness on education. This starts with the questioning of the definition of normative social and cultural contexts that resulted in the new consciousness in education pedagogy (Goodman, 1960; Illich, 1971; Freire, 1972). I then briefly look at the proposals by Illich and Freire and their impact on architectural education. However, work of Goodman has not been reviewed and I refer readers to (*The Society I Live In Is Mine*, 1962 and *Compulsory Mis-education*, 1964).

The radical schooling movement of the 1960s and early 1970s was critical of the existing educational model because they “...failed to achieve their stated purposes...” as pointed out by Gross and Gross, 1969 quoted in Keesbury, (1981). The proponents of radical schooling suggested alternative models that were voluntary rather than compulsory to allow for freedom (Goodman, 1964) and ones that promoted opportunities for abstract learning through networks that supported it (Illich, 1970). The arguments of the proponents of the radical movements were underpinned on the power relationships between the teacher and the learner.

The student unrest witnessed in the late 1960s was seen as result of failure in the system of education. However Keesbury argued that that it was caused by "...frustration and anger because the crusade against war, poverty, and racism had failed and used the schools as a vehicle to vent this anger and frustration ..."(1981, p.216).

To the radicals there was an urgent need to modify the educational model, from the organization, the curriculum to the pedagogy if the societal ills were to be cured. John Dewey supported the view arguing that, "...unless the local communal life can be restored, the public cannot resolve its most urgent problems to find and identify itself..."(quoted in Kaplan; 1970, p.7). Keesbury (1981) disagreed arguing that the society needed to change first before drastic changes in the education model that would contradict the societal value system.

Paulo Freire' in "*Education for Critical Consciousness*" (1973) argued that education gained through critical consciousness was emancipating. He saw this as: "...dynamic and rooted in the historical process by which the oppressed struggled unremittingly to remove the slave consciousness which the oppressors had interjected in the deepest recesses of their being..." (1973, p.viii).

Therefore, education as a learning activity liberated both the student and the teacher. This happens in non-instrumental problem-solving exercises by defining the problem through the social, cultural, and political historical context that allows for transfer of tacit knowledge between the two before solutions are suggested. It is a reflective practice where all participated in dialogic discourse. Even though Freire's ideas are utopian, they grow out of experience with the oppressed groups in the process of the struggle, where he was participant observer.

Freire (1973) suggested a method for liberating literacy that included; the educator engaged in participant observation of the context of the student; followed by co-search (both learner and teacher) of the generative at the

language level and the experiential level. The generative world is then transformed into visual language that allows for participants to submerge into the context and emerge as conscious makers of own culture. This is followed by de-codification of the new culture guided by the expert-novice in dialogue with novice-expert cyclic learning process and finally a new creative codification that has critical reflection embedded.

Ivan illich also in *“Deschooling Society”* (1970) was critical of the traditional schooling model in which students are passive recipient of knowledge from the teacher. This view was in agreement with Freiri who also saw the teacher in the traditional model as authoritarian custodian of societies’ rituals. Illich proposed an alternative learning model that is an emancipator in that the citizen developed through learning under guidance of the master facilitator. In his model the learning occurs through the dialogic process in three ways; between the master and the student; between the students themselves (peer learning) through reflective discourses and through real life experience that integrates theory and practice.

## **2.7. Architectural Design Education and Urban Laboratories**

In this section, I look at the development of the methods used in architectural education starting with the Beaux Arts model. I trace its developments and the changes that led to the new visual thinking through the modernism and New Bauhaus. I conclude the section by looking at the growth of participatory-based education model that urban laboratories are underpinned on.

### **2.7.1. The Ecole des Beaux-Arts and Architectural Education**

In order to understand the Beaux Arts model of education, one has to go back to the Seventeenth Century French education system. Vitruvius in his *“Ten Book on Architecture”* posited that an architect required competency in both theory and practice. The practical gained through the real experience on the job, working



with hands while the theoretical through ability to reason and explain the development of the design.

This view is supported by recent authors such Mohamed Awad who argues that “architecture is both an intellectual practice and pragmatic discourse that responds to the conception and production of buildings” (2002, p.77). Therefore the educational system that he advocated required the learners to be engaged with the everyday life experiences in some form or the other within the course of learning.

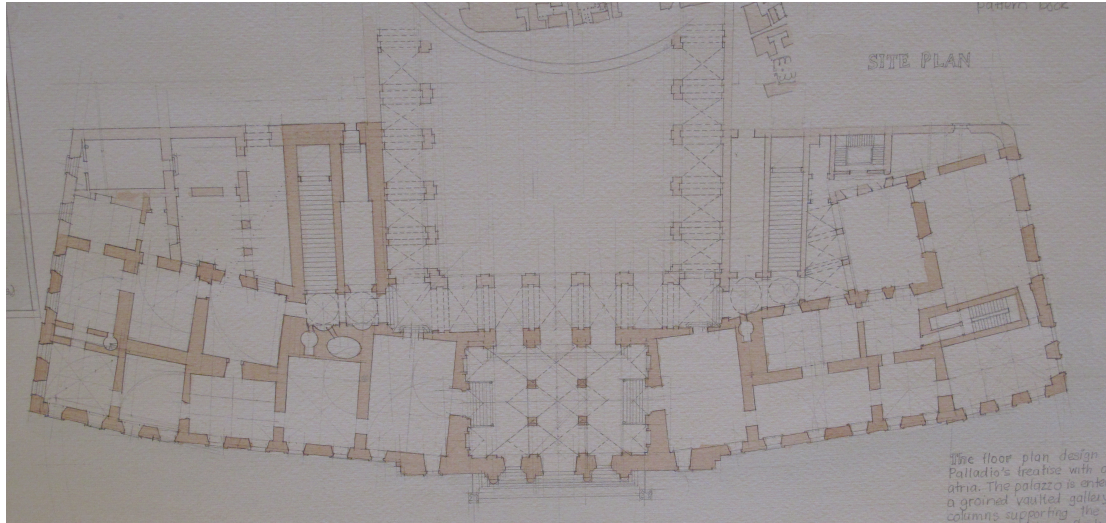
One would imagine that the approach of education of an architect used at the Ecole de Beaux Arts would echo the Vitruvius’ model. According to Cret (1941), the methods used in the Ecole des Beaux Arts can be understood from its history. He points out that in France, prior to the Seventeenth Century, arts education was not taught within its own facilities, but was carried out under apprenticeship system in workshops, homes of master craftsmen. Therefore, arts and crafts were taught together and the students would learn from the several masters within a particular guild that they belonged to.

Selby (1972) argues that even master masons that led the guilds did not necessarily have the kind of education advocated today. The intellectual, reasoning and practical occurred while the student followed the master. She posits:

“...it does not appear that literacy was a necessary accomplishment for a mason to become a master of his craft, for clerks were readily available to provide whatever reading and writing skills that might be needed in the transaction of business and the keeping of records in building construction...” (1972, p.397).

However, these were in the days when the process of production of buildings was not conveyed through voluminous sets of drawings. This is evident from the drawings that Renaissance architects like Bernini used to convey instructions for

construction of a building like Palazzo Montecitorio in Rome (**Figure 2.5**). The knowledge was acquired through the practical work where the apprentice learned from working with the master and visiting masters from other guilds.



**Figure 2.5: Palazzo Montecitorio**

**Source: Onyango (1998)**

The figure above is an illustration of how the drawings used in the construction of such a prestigious building, as Palazzo Montecitorio were basic. The work was carried out on instruction of the master mason Carlo Fontana; Bernini himself probably may not have even gone to site to supervise.

During the renaissance, a transformation occurred that allowed the artists to be freed from the guild system as well as the fine arts from the craft. Moore aptly points to the change positing that:

“...the beginning of the Renaissance, at which time architects began to seek a social distinction between themselves, as practitioners of the liberal art of decoration, and practitioners of the mechanical art.” (1996, p.259).

In Moore’s view, the transformation was driven by social rather than technical reasons because of the capitalist class production. Architecture of course was very much tied to the elite aristocrats and the ruling courts. This removed the

architect from the actual physical work on the ground thereby rupturing a vital part of the training method.

Similar views were expressed by influential architect/ builder like Alberti's work *De re aedificatoria (On the Art of Building)* of 1450 translated into Italian, French, Spanish and English by the Eighteenth Century. These are posited by Moore "...an architect was not a carpenter or joiner and that manual work was not any more instrumental to an architect in his ability to complete the work..."(1996, p.259). The perception that the practical work that Vitruvius had previous argued for was beneath the station of one with such a title as well as that there was no much learning to be gained from the endeavour that would have increased his knowledge.

It is not surprising that a crisis in the education of the architect occurred after this period. Literature reveal that his view had support in France as pointed out by Wilkinson (1977) who suggests that Philibert Delorme (1510-70) defined the spheres of appropriate to the patron, the architect and the workman and their relationship. She posits:

"...the architect was something different, a man who combined the practical experience of the master mason with the knowledge of the amateur, a man schooled not only in books but long experience..." (1977, p.125).

As in most cases, the architect was dependent on a patron to continue his practice and to influence changes in the professional settings. By the Seventeenth Century, the French national government had got involved with the formal training of architects by setting up academy, first within the French Academy of Painting and Sculpture in 1648, later in the Royal Academy of Architecture.

Cret (1941) points out that in 1671 the Royal Academy of Architecture was set up with support of the Secretary of State. The students at the academy were

instructed in "...construction, geometry, mechanics, military architecture and other required branches..." (1941, p.4).

However even though the model of education was in transformation, it was not until the Nineteenth Century did the Ecole des Beaux Arts (1807) in the form it has been known established itself. The training up to this time was still based on the apprenticeship system lead by either academicians or winners of Prix de Rome carried out the teaching.

#### **2.7.1.1. The System of Education:**

The Beaux Arts curriculum had two parts, the first class and the second class arranged in themes as explained later in the dissertation. The courses were not in a neat telescopic order as seen in today's schools. The student had to earn credits by completing all the required courses over the period of stay, generally around five years. The only restriction was that the age to enter an atelier was set at 18 years and one had to complete by the time they were 30 years old.

Weismehl (1967) reveal that the Ecole Beaux de Arts model was organized into ateliers (workshops or studios), in not much different to the guild systems of old. A patron supervised each atelier and an architect approved or sponsored by the administration would run it. However, from 1807 onwards, the architect would normally have been a winner of the prestigious Prix du Rome.

In order to enter the first class one had to pass a series of examinations, in both oral and written form. The construction examination was most feared. Prentice (1985) points out that oral examination were held in a lecture theatre where all the 15-20 students were asked questions at random from a name drawn from the hat of the professor.

Merrill Prentice (1985) gave an account of the events pointing out that one started by joining an atelier to prepare for the entrance examinations. Each

student was placed in own cubicle supervised by guardians. The examinations were taken over 12 hours and during that period if one left the area they would not be allowed back in and to ensure that was the case the drawings were stamped and only those were accepted. He also points out that only about 10-12 percent of the students who sat for the examinations were accepted, highlighting the how competitive it was to join the school.

Once accepted to the Beaux Arts School, the student would continue his learning at the atelier, operated by the students, however supervised by the prominent architects, called *anciens*. They were probably previous winners of Grand Prix and supported learning of the students without pay but rather out of pride and interest as pointed out by Prentice (1985). The atelier members were close and supported each other even though they were in competition among themselves. They identified with the atelier against others elsewhere and hence had a collegial support for one another.

In the atelier system, the student did not receive any direct teaching as is typical of the schools of architecture today. The *anciens* provided critics and Prentice suggests:

“...it operated on apostolic succession and when the senior students required help on his drawing or his chassis or whatever, he would shout "un nouveau" and a nouveau would run up and offer his services...” (1985, p.385).

However, the students who preferred to spend time working on their projects rarely attended other courses offered at the Academy.

The students had the freedom of choosing an atelier, however because of the nature of the competition for the Prix du Rome, they had to be strategic in the selection with the view of success depending very much on the leader of the atelier's credentials. However, Weismehl points to the lack of complete independence positing: “...influence of certain atelier' heads on the combined

student judging is, nevertheless, a strong factor in the students' selection..." (1967, p.1).

The reasons according to Carlhian (1979) were in contrast to the strict nature of the system; tenure of the teachers at the Ecole was very difficult and teaching method was rigid. However Carlhian notes that a master with:

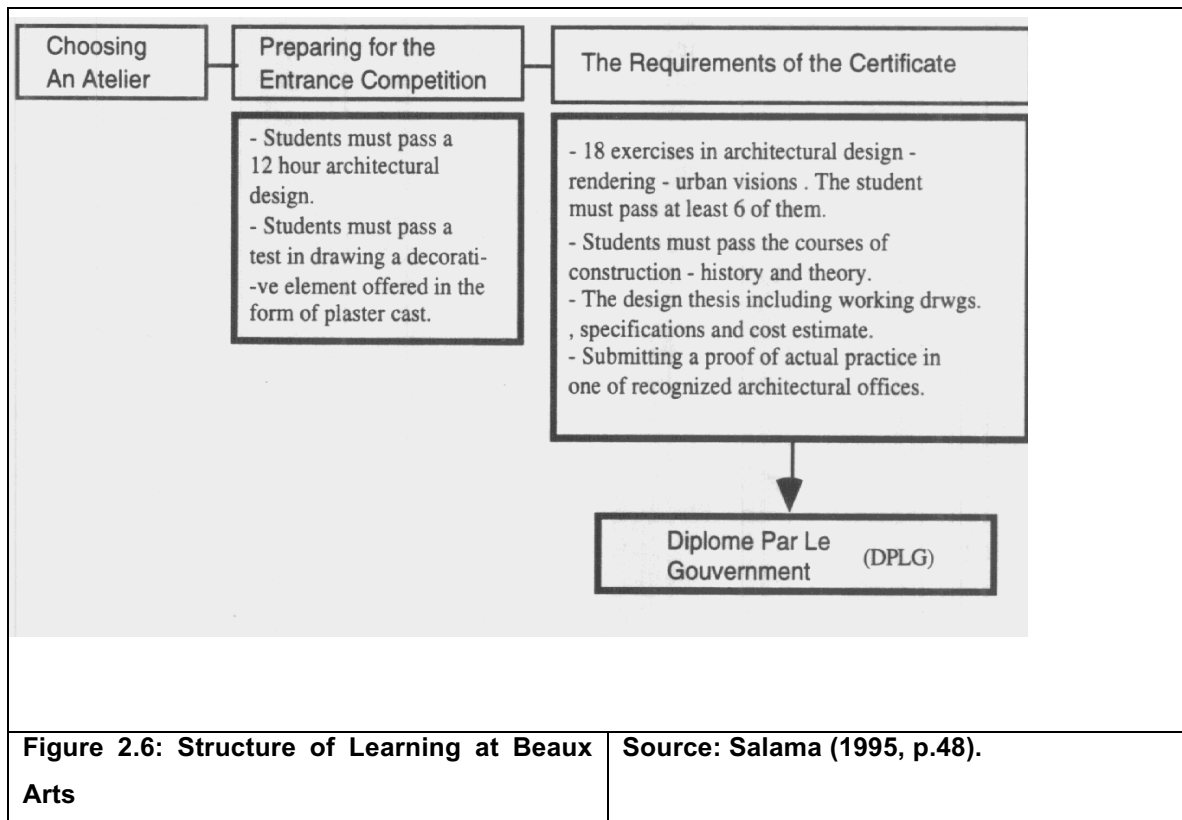
"...forty students, selecting an architect as their teacher would ensure the latter to be accepted as a full-fledged member of the teaching body, and eventually of that crucially important ruling body, the architectural jury, which made all decisions on a student's progress as a designer..." (1997, p.1).

This indicates the symbiotic relationship between the master and the student in achieving and propagating the practice to maintain the prestige.

The entrance to the Ecole Beaux de Arts was through competition held twice a year for the limited places. Weismehl gives an account of the entrance system that was in two parts; the first was on

"...general study and the presentation of a solution of a simple building and the second on several written examinations in mathematics, geometry, architectural history etc..." (1967, p.2).

**Figure 2.6** below is a summary of the process according to Salama (1995). For completion of the course of study, the student was required to pass at least a third of the set exercises in addition to design thesis and working drawings. They also had to prove that they had spent time in practice in one of the recognized offices. This was therefore an essential driver to choosing an atelier as opportunities to gain experience would be enhanced and by the time they had been at the academy for 5 years.



The curriculum consisted of a series of exercises on five different themes; analytic, scientific, construction, artistic and project as pointed out by Weismehl (1967). The Analytic would have involved studying in details the design of existing or formally existing building through copying (**figure 2.7**). Many modernist scholars have criticized the method; however, I will not go into the debates of the merits of the method except point to its historical significance later. [For debates on imitation versus copying, see book by Samir Younés (1999). *The true, the fictive, and the real: the historical dictionary of Quatremère de Quincy*].

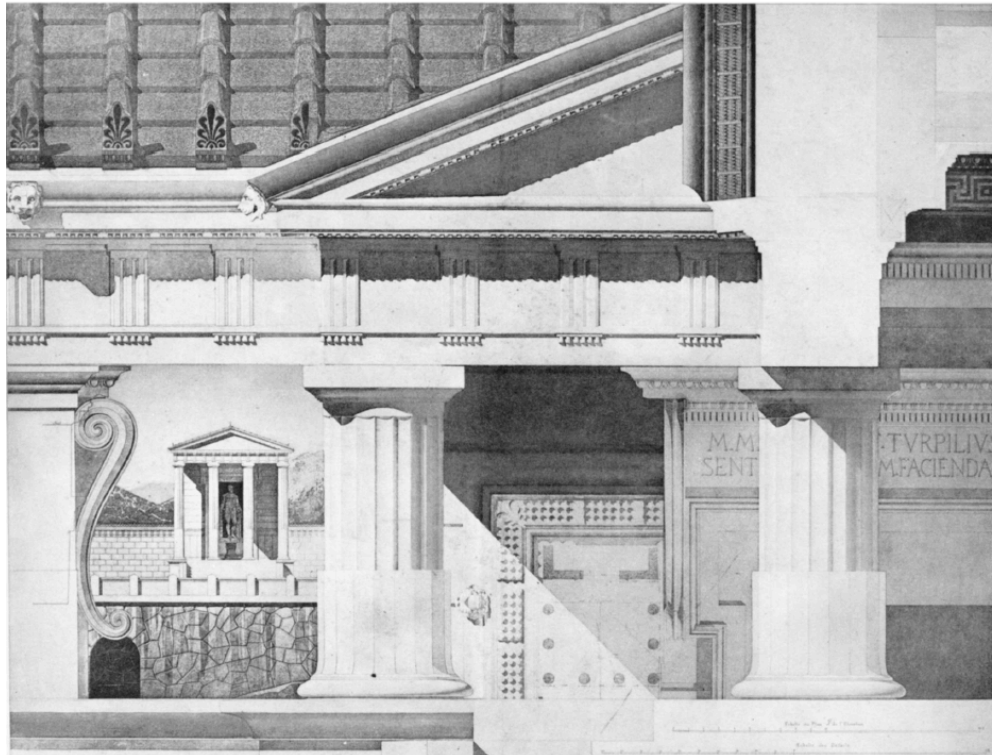


Figure 2.7: " Cori temple it d'Hercule," from H. D'Espouy, *Fragmented 'architecture*, Paris, 1899, pl. 35.

Source: Moore (1977, p.166).

The Beaux des Arts model of education relied on a system called *dessin au trait*, i.e. outline drawing. Its purpose Moore points out was to:

“...teach the artist to see planimetrically in terms of the single wholeness of the contour *exterieur*, rather than in terms of a multiplicity of details, the contours *interieurs*...” (1977, p.146).

The method was innovative in that it allowed for the three sides of an object to be viewed on three different planes at right angles (orthographic projection). Hence the plan was a representation that reduced structure to pure form. This method became the point of criticism of the Beaux Arts method of teaching in that it ignored all other forms of representations.

Paul Zeichner echoes the criticism pointing out that the new students:

“...were restricted to copying for several years with the expectation that the formal elegance of the ancient and renaissance masters would be internalized by the time they began to work from life themselves...” (2008).



The image above (**figure 2.7**) is a representation of the temple of Hercules at Corinth. The compositional arrangement is definitely well done, allowing for representation of the essential elements of the temple at different scales to be seen at one glance. The drawing is composed in such a manner that the front elevation of the temple is shown at a smaller scale within a frame as if one was looking at it from a distance via a window or from a portico.

However, the things that stand out in the drawing are the details the columns, the entablature and the pediment that allows for simple yet clear identification of the typology as Doric. The learning by copying existing fragments of previous enables the level and amount of details to be shown. It is through this technique that the student would have become familiar with the proportioning system, arrangements and compositional issues related to the analytic techniques.

The second theme was in examination in scientific subjects of importance to architecture such as geometry, mathematics, materials, forces, drawing and representation techniques in perspectives, etc. The third exercise built on the second; was practical application of the theory of materials and forces carried out through model building and analysis of force paths through the building.

The fourth theme was exercises in freehand drawings using charcoal of various plaster cast models of statues and ornaments. It taught not only presentation skills but also observation skills and attitude to detailing. The final theme was a project done once a year. All students were required to pass at least one project a year to meet the requirements.

According to Middleton (1982) and Prentice (1985), the students received a programme that defined the subject of study. This would typically be the design of a monument or most commonplace of buildings such as public lavatories, butcher's shops, telegraph towers, and railway stations. The student had 12

hours to prepare the rough outline also called *esquisse*, that developed into the project over the allocated time.

The final project had to be close to the *esquisse* and if it looked too different it would be rejected. The student developed strategies for preparing outlines that were rough enough yet easy to develop to final solution. The project presented in as style called *pompier*, consisting of columns, pilasters, arches, cornices, pediments, cartouches, finials, and cupolas (**see figure 2.7 above**).

The students would then work continuously until last minute and deliver the project to the cart called *charrette* pulled by *un nouveau*. Jury composed of the patron and others from different ateliers judged the projects and allocated three possible grades; “medal, mention and *foor*” according to Prentice (1985). The work given *foor* earned no credit and the student repeated in the following year.

The significance of the exercises and sequence is revealed from the view held by Francois Blondel (1618-1686) who considered the mission of the academy as one of “...to work for the 'retablissmment do la belle architecture'...” (1941, p.6). He was pointing to the Roman architecture that had been lost from the period when the Gauls, the Visigoths, the Vandals, and Ostrogoths sacked Rome several times in 387, 410, 455, and 546 BCE that left it in ruins.

The method used at Beaux Art, *mimesis* is distinct from copying. According to Calquhoun, “...habit and imitation were the methods by which all artifacts were made, whether these were mainly utilitarian or mainly religious...” (1969, p.71). His arguments were that the artifacts were objects of cultural exchange and as such had both use and exchange value.

In the Beaux Arts system of education, *mimesis* was of existing or formerly existing building, plaster cast of models, and ornaments. The artifacts were selected for their iconic or important social values within the given society, as

religious objects, buildings of importance or decoration that adorned important buildings. One would argue that the mimesis process allowed for teaching of ethical values to the students.

The competition system for success and the views held by the masters drove the methodology, which placed great emphasis on presentation skills as pointed out by Weismehl:

“...the student must *attract* the jury's attention (during the few minutes devoted to his work) by means of a *well-executed presentation in an acceptable manner of rendering*. Although his solution or idea may be imaginatively or thoughtfully conceived, he will very likely *fail with a poor or even mediocre rendering*. The converse is not necessarily detrimental to his entry; a well-delineated and clever arrangement of a mediocre or copied idea will very often gain a positive vote...” (1967, p.3).

The focus could not have been clearer than as expressed above revealing that the presentation and rendering of the projects had to be in a manner` acceptable to the jury. The student had no choice but to stay within the straight jacket provided by the former winners of Prix du Rome. This collaborated by Cret who suggests that the competition system: “tended to place emphasis on what is most likely to please the judges hence... hence the undue importance given to the presentation of drawings...” (1941, p.12).

The analytic of plans of existing building as part of the course of study ensured that the students were adept at abstraction and finding out a required number of solutions to a problem before selecting the best. This system relegated the importance of using elevations and section in the analysis placing emphasis on plans. Cret points out that by end of Nineteenth Century, “...students had almost lost interest in all questions of architectural forms; the main elevation still received a modicum of attention...” (1941, p.13). (see figure 2.7 on analytic of Temple of Hercules at Corinth).

Fundamental to the Beaux Arts model was the learning that occurred in the studio as well as in practice. The two spheres of influences were critical in formulating a well-rounded architect despite the criticisms leveled at it on the restriction of artistic freedom. The next section will examine how the critiques of the Beaux Arts system led to the development of a new consciousness. It will also make an argument that the new vision also failed in addressing some of the critiques that had been raised.

### **2.7.2. Enter the New Consciousness: Bauhaus**

In the context of the western countries, the Bauhaus as a cultural initiative was very influential "...as a seed for the crystallization of a new practice of art and culture of form..." as pointed out by Wick (2000, p.11). Its effect in the Twentieth Century is visible in the history of art and as a genesis of modernism. Two questions that arise are: how is it that they were very influential in the practice of art and modernism? What was their underpinning pedagogy?

According to Naylor (1985), the ideas of the Bauhaus were not as innovative as it has been claimed penning: "...other schools of art, design and architecture in Germany had experimented with preliminary courses and interdisciplinary approach..." (1985, p.9). Also contemporary with the German movements were similar approaches in Russia, Holland and England.

However, Naylor acknowledges that the Bauhaus stood out because: its ideologies epitomized the changing concepts concerning the nature and purpose of design in the early Twentieth Century. He argues that

"...it *inherited*, reinterpreted and then rejected the craft ideas of the Nineteenth Century; it attempted to discover the laws of art that could be related to the design and architecture seeking a universal language of form that would represent the *elimination* of social as well as national barriers..." (1985, p.9) [emphasis mine].

Another aspect in which Bauhaus was unique in comparison to other schools in Germany was that the leaders and teachers (Itten, Van Dussburg, Moholy-Nagy,

Gropius) were *artists* and constantly attempted to define and redefine its programme. It was thus progressive and responsive to the changing circumstances in the society. They constantly had to defend the ideals of the school due to public pressure as evidenced by the publications about their work to describe and justify the approach of the school [see *Idee und Aufbau des Staatlichen Bauhauses in Weimar* (1923); *New Architecture and the Bauhaus* (1935), *Bauhause 1919-1928* (1938) among others].

#### **2.7.2.1. The Social History of the Bauhaus**

Naylor (1985) points out that the Bauhaus was founded by Walter Gropius in April 1919 and closed in 1933 by the National Socialists. Historically the school operated during the period of the Weimer Republic that ended with the coming to power of the Nazi regime of Adolf Hitler in January 1933. The school was driven by a new consciousness, a new kind of popular as opposed to elitist art.

It was utopian in approach and attempted to respond to the social and political problems of the time especially the emerging Modern Movement that demanded a new language of form for a new age. Naylor argues that the Bauhaus attempted to relate "...creativity and the changing concepts of craftsmanship to the demands of industrial production..." (1985, p14), in other words, it was driven by the advancements in technology.

The school had a very short life span indeed in Germany, but was very influential worldwide and Wick attributes its success to the "...outstanding abilities of Gropius to organize and coordinate..." (2002, p11). He strove to create a balance between a new expressionist art practice and the ideals of craftsmanship of the middle ages. The Bauhaus was therefore a meeting place of ideas that fused the practical with the functional ideals that also responded to the emerging surrealist art movement.

Benjamin (1978) points out that Surrealism as a movement sprung up in France in 1919 from a small circle of literate friends; Andre Breton, Louis Aragon, Philippe Soupault, Robert Desnos, and Paul Eluard. The movement embodied the dreams of the artist; it represented freedom from the power and domination of the bourgeois patron.

Breton pointed out that Surrealism could not be defined solely from constructive or destructive points but from the events in life of the period. The surrealism was about "...degree of resistance that determined the more or less certain flight of the mind toward a world at last inhabitable..." (1969, p.125). In this sense, surrealism advocated for the total liberation of man and the immediate social consequences that it would entail, and finally, a revelation of the unknown. The Bauhaus ideal followed on these new consciousnesses that were emerging around the turn of the Twentieth Century.

Bauhaus was seen as the genesis of modernism, however despite this, it had roots to an earlier period of the Industrial Revolution, hence romanticism as pointed out by Wicks (2000). The desire to reconstruct the unity of art and culture of production that had broken down during the industrialization process drove the ideal. It also wanted to connect art to the everyday life through the design of household items. The Bauhaus idea was therefore Utopian or Surreal.

The rapid industrialization began around early 1800s in England then Germany. Its effect on society was phenomenal firstly; it brought to the market cheap products that were not previously available. This led to the loss of jobs and use value of the cultural artefacts produced by the artist. Secondly, it created a social crisis for the trades because industrial production meant a great loss of quality in the final product in comparison to the work produced by craftsmen.

Wick points to a comment by a notable art historian of the time, Giulio Carlo Argan who penned:

“...the mechanical reproduction of industrial revolution led to the loss of the spirituality of the artistic activity and to the shocking decline of culture and taste...” (2000, p.16-17).

Argan was critical of the approach by the Bauhaus artist on reproduction of craft through the welding together of industrial production and art which he and others could not see reconciliation.

Wicks further points out that Argan had built on a previous one by Gottfried Semper (1803-79) who criticized the objects exhibited at the First World fair at the Crystal Palace England in 1851 in his publication of 1852. Semper saw a large gap between the “...industrial, utilitarian form and its ennobling by the academic poets...” as pointed by Wicks (2000, p.17). The cause of the gap is attributed to the attempt by the artist to marry art and applied. Others critical of the utilitarian objects at the exhibition were William Morris (1834-96) and John Ruskin (1819-1900).

Ruskin’s critiques was that industrial production robbed both the consumer and the producer through the low quality objects while the latter through machine production that resulted in the loss of trade for the craftsman. Morris on the other hand, who had followed the footsteps of Ruskin, called for the renewal of the Nineteenth Century craftsmanship. He promoted the idea of fraternity, a community of artists or guilds as a commercial enterprise. He advocated for corporation and collaboration particularly between artists and craftsmen that operated by emulating the social settings of the Middle Ages. He set up a company in 1861 that successfully united the applied arts and crafts and relied on historicism underpinned on observed nature.

Morris and his contemporaries held a positivist view linking the decline of society with the demise of aesthetics of arts and crafts. Hence argued that the ills of the society could be cured or ended by a revival in the aesthetics through the improved health of the workers who enjoyed the pleasures of their work. Wicks posits that Morris had the desire to create arts “...from the people for the

people...” (2000, p.19). Unfortunately for Morris, his artwork were based on designs of highly talented artists and therefore unaffordable by majority of the people except the elite resulting in a failure.

Charles R. Ashbee (1863-1942) came after William Morris’ time. He was a practitioner and theoretician who worked with metal and jewellery and was the founder of a Guild and Handicraft School in London in 1888. His school significantly transformed education in the art-schools in the Twentieth Century in that the training for the first time took place in the workshops rather than in the studio, a major departure from the Beaux Arts model.

Wicks (2000) points out that Ashbee viewed the machine as a slave that had to be subdued through the control of large industries by the state. He steered the change of attitude to machine labour, which establishes the link to Bauhaus. Ashbee like his contemporary Henry Van de Velde (1863-1957) in Belgium shared the goal of removing the creative production from the industry and returning it to the trades.

According to Wicks (2000), Van de Velde was the director of *Kunstgewerbeschule* (School of Arts and Crafts) in Weimer prior to Walter Gropius. Both Morris and van de Velde were painters but differed in that even though the latter:

“...as an artist felt responsibility for the society he recognized the challenges of meeting them as a painter and thus turned to arts and crafts as a means of developing objects for industrial production...” (2000, p.20).

Van de Velde approached the tension of capitalist production and society in a different light in comparison to both Ruskin and Morris. Technological development was a means to realization of the ideals of the artists that would be accessible to society. This was through the transformation of art into craft that is then integrated with technology in their production. He had progressive ideas by



affirming the machine and functions of the objects expressed in the use of lines.  
(see figure 2.8) (in Wicks 6.97 p.21).



**Figure 2.8: Objects by Van de Velde**

**Source: Wicks (2000, p.21).**

The designs of his objects were stylist and yet personalized beyond the nature of objects for mass production. The machine could now be used to provide great crafted objects produced through the handiwork of talented artist but for the masses.

Van De Velde left the Bauhaus pedagogy with the basic conflict which Wicks argues was one:

“...between the free artistic expression on one hand and the search for a language of form that would accommodate the requirements of mass production in a highly developed industrial society on the other...” (2000, p.22).

I will explore the above statement further elsewhere in the dissertation.

According to Wicks (2000), the Bauhaus was the venue or vehicle through which the marriage of the social and historical development of the period from 1840s to early 1900s came together. So far I have looked at developments in England mainly and will now turn to those within Germany and her neighbouring states.

The contemporaries with William Morris, and Van De Velde in Germany, were Joseph Maria Olbrich (1867-1908) and Peter Behrens (1868-1940) who were based in an artist colony at Darmstadt. Olbrich was Austrian from Vienna while Behrens was a German from Hamburg where Alfred Lichtwark (1852-1914) who was a director of the Hamburg Art Museum.

According to Vernedoe (1986), Olbrich belonged the Vienna Secession, a rebel artists' society that was founded in 1897 and ended in 1918 at the end of the First World War and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He argues that Vienna was a place of innovation in all domains of culture where "...Sigmund Freud reconceived the nature of man as a sensual and civilized being..." among other developments (1986, p.3). The condition were conducive for the development of a new kind of political structure of the masses by the youth and thus was a city of spectacle that was sitting on a line of tension allowing for innovative ideas and artistic inventions.

Vernedoe (1986) further argues that the architects, painters and designers in Vienna were constantly drawn to the "...ideal of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the total work of art, which would unite the fine and the applied arts to completely reshape the viewer's experience..." (1986, p.3). They worked collaboratively in design workshops, had a new way of thinking and their ideas were to shape the pedagogy at the Bauhaus.

The rise of the Bauhaus is set within the context of a country coming out of military defeat in the First World War and against the *Jugendstil* established in 1898-1899 by Duke Ernst Ludwig of Hesse. It was the German equivalent of Art

Nouveau that literally means youth art. The *Jugendstil* unlike the Bauhaus had aimed to revive the craft tradition and rejected the industrial production.

In the period prior to the establishment of the Bauhaus, hostility existed between the craftsmen and the industry that led to political and social tensions. The political came from the fact that the industrial production would change that relationship between the artists, craftsmen to their source of work (the patron). The social because the artists and craftsmen feared losing work due to the cheap and badly mass produced industrial manufactured crafts (hence livelihood).

This led to the demands for changes in the priorities in the art and design education. Therefore the Bauhaus idea was neither a unique call for change in education or relations between the art and production of the art, nor was it the first. Other calls for change had come from Marxist critiques of 1840s.

The Marxists critique of capitalist production is that it manifests itself in the state control and organization of education. The system and model reinforced the status quo of the elite in power and property. By 1900 a tiered educational system had emerged and according to Naylor consisted of:

“...the elementary, middle and high schools with the middle school intended to serve the lower middle class (tradesmen and craftsmen) while the high school formed the basis of university education for professional class including artists and architects...” (1985, p.15).

The tiered system meant that applied arts carried out by artisans and tradesmen did not feature in the courses offered at University. The Industrial revolution and the production needs of the country exposed the gap that existed in the system because art was an end that led to high standards of applied arts.

According to Naylor, the 1790 Status of the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts was:

“...aimed to encourage the flowering of the arts in order to inspire and promote the art industry of the fatherland, and

also influence trade and manufacture that native artists will no longer lag behind his foreign counterparts in tasteful work of every kind..." (1985, p.15).

The statement above reveals that art used in trade and manufacture was considered inferior and with the help of fine arts, it could be refined and improved. It is within this context of difference that the Germanic states began to examine the priorities of art education. This led to the establishment of a network of several new schools of applied design (*Kunstgewerbeshule*). Therefore the establishment of the Bauhaus taken over by Gropius in 1919 was not in any way unique in itself.

The new *Kunstgewerbeshule* such as the one established by the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimer provided inspiration to the local artist and artisans as well as consolidated and strengthened their work. The arts and crafts were therefore alive in Germany in that sense! However, by late 1890s the economic recession and industrialization, and changes to the social structure exerted further tension on the craft workshops all over Europe. Mass production of industrialization became the only means by which people with means could afford to buy consumer goods.

In 1844, Marx had critiqued the capitalist production system pointing out that it affected both the product and the producer. In other words, the capitalist system adversely affected the process of production and the activity of production. The actions of the Surrealist movement 50 years later are a manifestation of the responses to the social effects of capitalist production. The critiques by Marx appeared within the artistic field through the writings of Ruskin and Morris that challenged the status of arts and crafts industry. They mostly called for the freedom and autonomy of the artist that was later manifested in the reforms in the system of education.

In Germany, reforms in art education are attributed to the writings of Alfred Lichtwark (1852-1914) who was a director of the Hamburg Art Museum.

According to Fisher (1966), Lichtwark was among many aesthetes and intellectuals like Friedrich Nietzsche, Jakob Burckhardt, and Julius Langbehn who were unhappy with the state of affairs in the imperial Germany where everyone strove for power rather than taste. Lichtwark unlike his contemporaries, who despaired and isolated themselves, arrived in Hamburg in the fall of 1886 determined to launch a cultural resistance with a belief that the crassness and ugliness in German taste could be halted.

Fisher points out that Lichtwark was dismayed by comments made by the middle-class Germans at the Museums who:

“...seemed to lack any aesthetic appreciation for form, light or colour and he was convinced that the German Schools had completely failed to develop artistic taste...” (1966, p.7).

The undeveloped taste in his view made them unable to make sound aesthetic judgement and he was determined to remedy it and proposed an increase in dilettantism in the arts and total reorientation of the German School system of education.

A reform in the school system where art was taught to both children and their parents would make them according to Fisher “...more deeply aware of the beauties of their surroundings, thereby heightening aesthetic appreciation and producing more dilettantes...” (1966, p.11). Even though Lichtwark in his speech to Hamburg teachers cited concerns for cultural problems, however in his view the solution laid in educational reforms hence the push for it.

Naylor concurs with the view held by Fisher pointing out that Lichtwark saw:

“...art education as central to life as well as education in general because he held that training the eye and sensibilities to levels of intelligence could solve the problems of German industries, the barriers that existed between the producer and the product broken and the consumer would be educated to recognize genuine quality...” (1985, p.16-17)

The statement above by Lichtwark revealed the positivists thinking that started to appear around this period. The social ills in the society were linked to process of industrialization and the destruction of the craftsmanship. The solution therefore perceived to lay in the acceptance of the new form of art, which would occur if the people were educated to recognize its qualities, in other words they needed to be emancipated from liking the traditional fine arts!

It is within this context that Duke Ernst Ludwig of Hasse invited both Olbrich and Behrens to establish the Darmstadt Artist Colony in 1898 with the aim of reviving craft. According to Wick, the two were to “...serve as models for the crafts while also having direct pedagogical effects on the school...” (2000, p.22). The Artist colony was part of the places that promoted the idea of new arts.

Behrens moved away from the *Jugendstil* at Darmstadt to become the director of the school of art in Dusseldorf (Dusseldorf Kunstgewerbeschule) in 1903. According to Anderson (2000) he brought with him an architect J. L. M. Lauweriks who was a member of the Dutch Geometric School. Behrens developed interest in abstracted geometrical schemes exploring the eternal qualities of space offered by geometry.

From 1905 onwards, Behrens designed a complex of abstract box pavilions and gardens for the Northwest German Art Exhibition. It consisted of boxes with no walls that suited any purpose and could be made from any material conceiving “...the idea of solid form from conceptual planes of geometry...” (2000, p.33). When Behrens opened an atelier, his students included Walter Gropius, Mies Van de Rohe among others.

#### **2.7.2.2. . The Pedagogy at the Bauhaus**

The Bauhaus idea of the art school for modernism has its roots in the historical context of transformation movements of the earlier period mention earlier in the dissertation. Wicks identify the movements as the medieval mason’s lodges and

the circle around Morris, Semper's ideas for art reform and the arts and crafts movement.

Gropius who in a speech to the German State Parliament in 1920 stated acknowledges this view positing: "...the Bauhaus was not an experiment, not an original idea, but the logical realization of reform ideas typical of our age..." as farther, pointed out by Wick (2000, p.56). This alludes to the existence of other voices calling for not only the reformation of the art and technology, but also perhaps other schools of art had started trying out the reforms as discussed early in this section of the dissertation.

The Bauhaus ideal was therefore an attempt to unify the fine arts of the old academy system with the applied design system that was emerging in the new arts and crafts schools (*Kunstgewerbeschule*).

Wicks (2000) argues that regardless the differences in the how the reforms were to be characterized, five points of agreements emerged. The first, the existing academy system (Beaux Arts model) was outdated; secondly, failures of the old academy led to defensive posturing by its proponents. Thirdly, the use of the idea of workshop training to unite arts and crafts (design and making); supported the fusion of both the fine arts training of academies with the vocational training of applied design with architectural study. Fifth, the need for basic course or foundation course that gave all students opportunities to explore and experiment to find their best talent before specializing. The five points are looked at in detail in the sections that follow.

The model of the academy was seen as outdated because it was not responsive to the contextual forces of the society. It had failed to change with the industrialization and advancements of technology leading to the loss of economic benefits to both the tradesmen and the artist in a mass production economy. The proponents of the Bauhaus called for a complete de-linking from this model; however, in public they were timid of the public response. This was seen from

Gropius address to the German parliament (quoted previously) and several publications released during the period toning down the perception that the Bauhaus was an experimental system of education.

However, the supporters of the Beaux Arts model style argued that any reforms must be underpinned on the craft system that existed pre-industrial revolution. It had responded to the social needs of the society by allowing for the cottage industries to grow and the economic status of the community to develop. Hence, they called for the revival of the handicraft as the basis of the foundation for all the students. In pedagogical terms; they argued, "...art cannot be taught; only techniques from the crafts could be taught and learned..." Wicks (2000, p.58). The Bauhaus proponents agreed with this as they viewed technology as a solution to the social and economic ills of the society. This is a deterministic view that has continued to haunt architecture to date.

The above view led to the development of a pedagogy that would be carried out in the workshop where techniques and working methods of various materials were experimented on. The old academy system was viewed as an idle work that was not productive especially in difficult economic circumstances. Hence, in the new proposal, the students would work on projects, designs and prototypes for industry and for sale to the public.

Wicks (2000) points out that the pedagogical role of the workshop remained vague, limiting the criticism from the old academy supporters. It had the workshops in the craft industries but lacked direct connection to the production process that the Bauhaus now introduced. It is not surprising that the teaching workshop system was dominant at the time between 1919 and 1930 when Mies Van De Rohe was the director. These are discussed later in the chapter.

It is interesting to note that even though the initial idea of starting the new educational model was the elimination of the old academy system of education,



the proponents of the Bauhaus were still very much interested in the fine artistic training. Therefore it developed into an art school where the synthesis of fine arts and applied design met or were unified into a coherent whole. Behrens posits this aptly: "...priority is to consolidate all branches of artistic activities that belong to the visual arts into a single pedagogical entity from shared starting level onwards..." Wicks (2000, p.59). From this developed a collaborative training of architects, artists and building engineers. The key aspect of the reform was the inclusion of architecture in the new unified art school, in the university of design elevating it above the other arts as applied activity that was taught in technical schools.

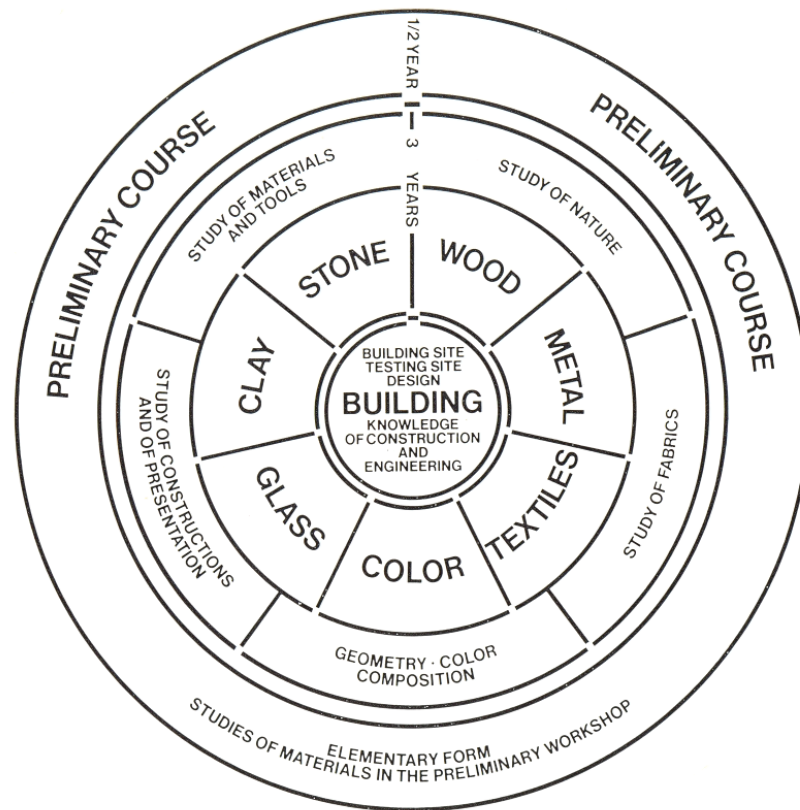
One of the reform goals was the artistic freedom that was integrated with the training in technical methods. The foundation stage or school provided the "...beginning student with the self-experience and self-knowledge to allow them to explore their creative abilities..." Wicks (2000, p.60). It seems rather contrary to the second argument that artistic skills and creativity could not be taught. I would argue that the Bauhaus ideals could easily have been implemented within the existing academy model had it not been for the lack of democratic process of tenure that had existed.

Having looked at the criticisms of the old academy model and the proposals that drove the Bauhaus agenda, I now turn my attention to the details of the pedagogy. At the start of the school in 1919, the teaching method had not been developed, however the course programme at the school were divided into three levels not too dissimilar to the Beaux Arts one. These were the *Lehrlinge* for apprentice, the *Gesellen* for the journeymen and the *Jungmeister* for the junior master as pointed out by Wicks (2000). The pedagogy was underpinned on the idea that all students would learn a craft related to architecture.

The workshops were used to build models of types of houses and all kinds of household utensils and there was collaborative work with other allied disciplines

such as advertising arts, stage planning, photography and typography. The teaching of craft was integrated into the studio, as all students had to take arts. Local craftsmen gave instruction that politically allowed Gropius programmes of reforms to gain support from the local guilds. However, craft was taught very differently from the way Morris and company would have. Gropius saw handicraft as means to an end in that it was a solution for creating social groups or community of craftsmen working together. They would be the seed for a new more humane just arrangement of society based on ideas of harmony.

The programme at the start was very different from the academy one it trained students on crafts, drawing, paintings (ARTS); science & technology. Science included the natural science and technology through the understanding of the properties of materials, chemistry of colours, painting methods, art theory in the history of techniques and anatomy from living models rather than casts. It also included within the programme business skills to give the artists economic freedom in negotiating contracts (the Werkbund idea)



**Figure 2.4: Areas of Teaching at the Bauhaus**

**Source: Wicks (2000)**

By 1921, the programme had been well formed with instructions taking place in four rather than ten areas identified in 1919 (**figure 2.4**). The **table 2.3** below is a summary of the areas:

1919	1921
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Study of elementary Materials</li> <li>2. Six (6) Workshops [sculpture, stone masonry, woodcarving, ceramics]</li> <li>3. Metals workshop</li> <li>4. Cabinet making</li> <li>5. Painting and Decorating</li> <li>6. Printing and Weaving</li> <li>7. Drawing and Painting</li> <li>8. Colour Theory</li> <li>9. Basic business Studies</li> <li>10. Art History</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Study of elementary materials</li> <li>2. Study of Nature</li> <li>3. Instructions in design [(drawing, painting, modelling, building); elementary forms; design of planes; body; space; composition]</li> <li>4. Technical drawings [(projection and construction); building of models of 30 structures of objects of daily use; furniture, rooms and building]</li> </ol>
<b>Table 2.3: Areas of Teaching at the Bauhaus</b>	<b>Source: Wicks (2000)</b>

**Table 2.3** above of the curriculum reveal a shift from objectives in the foundation year to 1925. Its focus changed from crafts and social concerns to industry that interestingly had been blamed for the earlier social problems.

It appears from the reorganization in 1921 that theoretical subjects like basic business studies colour theory had either disappeared or merged with the workshops. The workshops were reorganized to suit the leaders' interests as will be discussed later within the chapter. It responded to the personality dynamics and staff changes that occurred.

**Table 2.4** below is a reflection from Bayer, Gropius and Gropius (1959). It is slightly different from one by Wicks in that has been broken in two groups. The second table is from within as planned while the second as viewed from the outsider years later, perhaps more objective. However in essence they both

summarize how the pedagogy was arranged around craft and skills related to it hence more practice based.

I: INSTRUCTIONS IN CRAFT ( <i>WERKLEHRE</i> )						
Stone: Sculpture workshop	Wood Carpentry Workshop	Metal Metal Workshop	Clay Pottery Workshop	Glass Stained Glass Workshop	Colour Wall painting Workshop	Textiles Weaving Workshop
A: Instructions in materials and tools						
B: Instructions in elements of bookkeeping, estimating and contracting						
II: INSTRUCTIONS IN FORM PROBLEMS ( <i>FORMLEHRE</i> )						
A. Observation <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Study of Nature</li><li>• Analysis of materials</li></ul>		B. Representation <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Descriptive geometry</li><li>• Technology of construction</li><li>• Drawing of plans and building of models for all kinds of construction</li></ul>		C. Composition <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Theory of Space</li><li>• Theory of Colour</li><li>• Theory of Design</li></ul>		
Table 2.4: Bauhaus Curriculum, Source: Bayer <i>et al</i> (1959, p.23)						

The workshops were built on the preliminary courses that provided training within specific skill areas. Even though architecture was the foundation of the courses at the Bauhaus, the programme was missing in the early years and it was not until the 2 years after relocation of the school from Weimar to Dessau in 1927; almost 8 years after its inception that it was offered.

By 1923, the Bauhaus programme was criticised as being outdated (Barchardt-Hume, 2006) and in addition, the school came under enormous pressure to produce goods that were marketable. The criticism came from within modernism that had rejected the use of ornaments that lacked functions in design because form was seen as developed from design. Hence, when the school relocated

from Weimar to Dessau, the glass workshop was abandoned and the curriculum revised accordingly.

It was not surprising to see the changes in the curriculum between 1919 and 1921 where some of the workshops disappeared. Mohoy-Nagy and others at the Bauhaus held a positivist view that art contributed to the social reform of the society and technology and science were the tool or methods for organizing life. This continued the Bauhaus utopian dream of making the world a better place through good design. This is the same argument that the Urban Laboratory uses as will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

Another reason for the reorganization of the curriculum related to lack of co-ordination among the individual workshops contrary the initial ideals of collaborative work by a community of craftsmen working together according to Wicks (2000). One of the inherent problems I mentioned earlier was personality clash inevitable in the structure of pairing 2 talented leaders in each workshop. The preliminary course was still compulsory for all the students in as much the same way as it was in the Beaux Arts academy system. It was taken for a period of half a year. Its pedagogical strengths ensured at completion all the students would have similar knowledge and skills in design for instructions in form and design that was to come in the years ahead.

As pointed earlier even though architecture was the foundational base for the training activities at the Bauhaus, until after 1927, the workshops was used fundamentally to built objects related to buildings revealed by the illustrations in figure 2.9 of the 1923 exhibition. (**Wicks 2000, p.41**). The objects displayed at the exhibition reveal simplicity of forms, cleanliness of lines, with very little decorations at all with the models stripped down the basic essentials of its functions. This was functionalism at its limits.

1919	1921	1925 onwards
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To educated architects, painters and sculptors at all levels according to their capabilities</li> <li>• To become competent creative artists and to form working community of leading the future</li> <li>• To have knowledge to design harmonious buildings</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To educate <b>gifted</b> men and women to become creative designers of craft, sculptors, painters and architects</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To train artistically <b>talented</b> people to become creative designers of craft, <b>industry</b>, and architecture</li> <li>• To collaborate in building</li> <li>• To carry out <b>practical research</b> (experiments) in housing construction problems</li> <li>• To build and test prototypes for <b>industry &amp;</b> crafts (mass production)</li> </ul>
<b>Table 2.5: Objectives of Bauhaus at various historical referenced points (1919; 1921 and 1925)</b>		<b>Source: Adopted from Wicks (2000, p.69).</b>

The **table 2.5** above reveals a shift from training all new students skills for craft and creative arts to accepting artistically gifted persons. This goes against the original grain of argument that art could not be taught, only craft and techniques. By 1921 the focus was now on taking those already gifted trained as designers of craft. There are expected to use their gifts, but only trained in techniques essential for design, as was the basis of the *Werkbund* idea.

By 1925, he objectives are similar to the 1921 focus, however a new element is emphasised; the collaboration between various craft workshops. It focused on the developments in technology coming from industry and on prototypes for mass production. The industry that was once blamed for causing social problems was now embraced if not actually allowed to drive the pedagogy at the Bauhaus.

In the period after 1925, the basic course was extended in length from 6 months to 1 year with pedagogical instructions now divided into two areas; basic design in form and practical design in the workshop building various artefacts and models. The subjects taken under each category was simplified, becoming more rigid, less experimental than initially planned. Wick points out that after Itten left in 1922 the “...plan very precisely represents the increasing instrumentalist and utilitarian pedagogical orientation of the Bauhaus...” (2000, p.70).

Bayer *et al* (1959) pointed out that instructions in architecture at the Bauhaus would be taken after one had become a journeyman. This means at a point when a student had been sufficiently trained and had experience in workshop practice and instructed in the study of form that enabled them to collaborate in the building. The learning was through doing in research, design and construction of actual buildings that the Bauhaus had been commissioned to do.

In America the awareness of Bauhaus idea occurred “...after the great Bauhaus Exhibition of 1923...” according to Bayer *et al* (1959, p.5). The school was depicted as a place for collaborative workshops where expressionist painters, craftsmen and industrial designers worked together as a community. The dissolution of the school in 1933 on one hand brought to an end the great experimentation idea, but on the other hand dispersed the students and their masters elsewhere in the world though predominantly to the USA.

### **2.7.2.3. . The Wind in the Air?**

The arising challenges caused fluidity in the educational policies of many academic institutions, creating opportunities for cross-disciplinary research as a means to an end. This enabled aesthetics, social, technical and political aspects to be considered in projects in almost the way the notable educationist John Dewey<sup>i</sup> had envisioned years earlier.



The euphoria generated by the idealism, the urgency of the mission and hope for a new paradigm in knowledge building that was based on activism proved to be difficult to sustain. This is because it was anchored on the political challenges to the established technocratic authority, yet lacked the depth to deal with the philosophical and design challenges that were associated with the urban problems of 1960s and 1970s.

The new educational model required reflection on all actions carried out thus providing the 'reflection in action' in the Donald Schön way. The activism of the 1960s achieved a lot in the transformation of the built environment, but failed to rely on a holistic approach to social service and was therefore blind to existing class divisions.

The activists failed to see their own lives and own spaces as being rooted in social injustice. The design professionals thus became blind to their ethical role in acting wilfully upon the environment and succumbing to the pressures of the market place (private sector). They thus relinquished their role of place-creation to the tyranny of the elite and private sector.

The difficulty in the definition of urban design comes from its history in the modernist split between architecture, planning, and affecting both academia and the profession. There are lots of changes in the paradigms of research structure within academia and this is not helped by the lack of clear goals in both the professional arena and the academic arena.

In the academic field, knowledge acquisition is based on a model that reinvents itself continuously, changing to meet the new challenges in the field. In urban design, the challenges have been in its resistance to a holistic approach to knowledge acquisition, such as the reliance on interdisciplinary techniques that are inclusive of the other fields in the periphery of architecture and planning e.g. engineering, sociology, economics and finance, administration etc.

Vernez-Moudon (1992, p.53) makes a valid observation that the likelihood of the reunification of architecture and planning within urban design is remote because of limited availability of resources, and the limited influence it has on the profession. Planning as a discipline has become very inclusive and interdisciplinary to include transportation, real estate, management, etc, unlike architecture.

A change would require great amounts of resources to be allocated, to allow for an interdisciplinary approach that would include social, economic, geography, technology, transportation, etc. This is unlikely to occur in the difficult and competitive economic climate where resources are limited. Perhaps a way out is to start an interdisciplinary approach within the existing academic structure that would allow students to major in architecture but have minors in the other areas allied to the profession.

In the professional field, the emergence of the Congress for New Urbanism is an attempt to link architecture and planning in practice by their use of interdisciplinary and multi-agency approach. The CNU website states that it

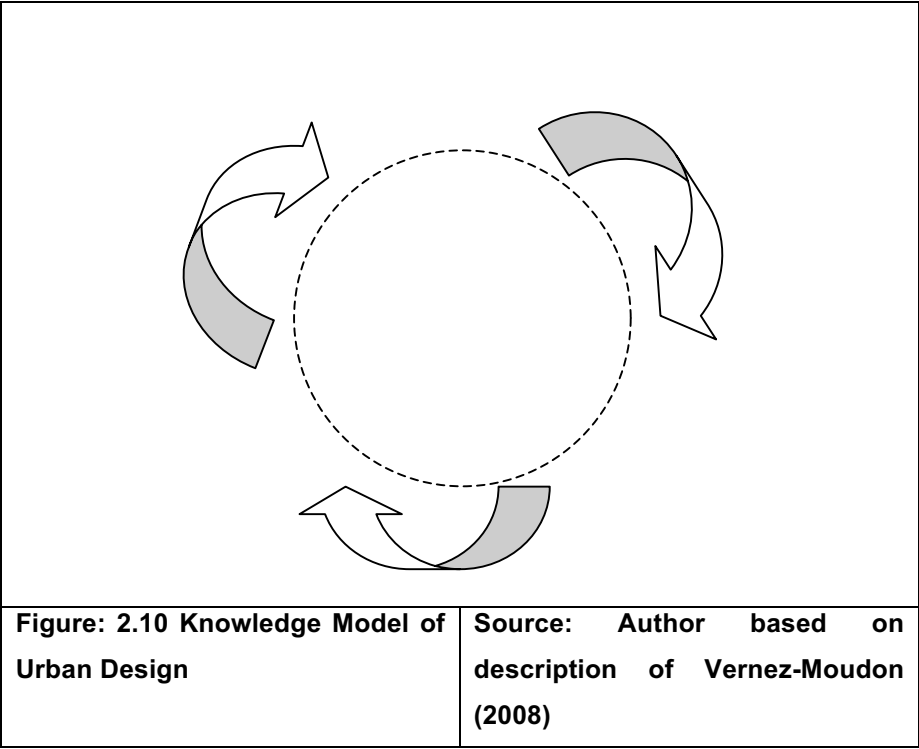
“...takes a proactive, multi-disciplinary approach to restoring our communities. Members are the planners, developers, architects, engineers, public officials, investors, and community activists who create and influence our built environment, transforming growth patterns from the inside out.” CNU (1996)

Interestingly, most of the leaders in CNU have architectural backgrounds, leading to the thought that perhaps there still is a different approach from the current model of urban design. The objective of urban design education ought to be in preparing future leaders in planning and design, the vehicle that links architecture and planning, the training of the facilitators of place-creation in communities. This should include building the knowledge base that would guide the profession.

The question that arises next is: What knowledge does urban design need to build and how should it be built? Vernez-Moudon (1992, p.54) argues that knowledge building is a loop that has three interrelated areas; practice carrying applied knowledge, advocacy carrying normative knowledge, and research with substantive knowledge (**figure 2.10**). The typical loop works from academia

where knowledge is built through research, interpreted and transformed in advocacy, it is tested in practice then goes back to academia as feedback for further development.

It has to be pointed out however, that knowledge building could start from any of the three areas in the loop. Knowledge is built by integrating and applying different ways of thinking and acting which makes urban design knowledge building complex because of the large number of allied professions, knowledge areas and actors involved.



In urban design, knowledge building must as a matter of necessity keep reinventing itself, be inclusive, rooted in ideology (theory) and tested in reality

through practice. There are challenges to dealing with this in education because of the difficulty of integrating the reality part within the short and structured academic curriculum.

The difficulty has always been how to fit the fundamental precepts of design education, and the universities' objectives within the community in the academic framework. This arises from the fact that historically architectural education has been studio-based and it does not provide the means to explore, to know, and to create the built environment that responds to the complex challenges of the real world, the community.

The structure of architectural education traditionally has had a narrow focus in the form of a prescribed canon of subject-object relations as pointed out by Harrison:

“...the roles of the professional and client; of the process and the object or commodity; of the lived experience and theoretical projection and indeed of the place of education and the sites and subjects of investigation...” (1998, p.8).

The space between the theoretical and the real has been avoided by most academic disciplines. This is very much at odds with the model of knowledge-creation that Vernez-Moudon (1992, p.54) argues is a loop that has three interrelated areas; practice carrying applied knowledge, advocacy carrying normative knowledge and research with substantive knowledge.

The academic institutions have narrowed their focus to one that is self-referencing, exclusively using the vehicle of representation alone rather than in a dialogue with experience. The current studio approach to design studies produces sometimes really exquisite work, but raises the question of whether the students have *learned any skills of production or have they just merely acquired those skills? The former are useful in the exploration, experience and communication of the design objectives, goals and processes.*

The space between the theoretical and the real can be frightening because of the unknowns that may cause conflict and change the focus of the academic exercise, its tight regulated schedule and the anticipated products of the design studio, as further argued by Harrison (1998, p.8). Instead of facing the unknowns, the pretext has always been the need for rigour and measurable outcomes as required by the academic canon of objectivism. Palmer argues that the "...objectivism separates the knower from the world for the purpose of keeping the knowledge from contamination by subjective prejudices and bias" (1987, p.107)

The process of intersection between desire and the experience of others frame the ritual of community building, and students who have no opportunity to engage in the place of residence, are not able to act as members of that community, and therefore are denied the creative process. They therefore learn to disregard the significance of place either from their own or others' narratives.

A growing number of educators have recognized the disjuncture between the content of design education and context. Unfortunately, holistic and experiential experiments of issues of community and place have had awkward structures. The structures of most of these attempts have lacked the visual components that are the basic mode of presentation in traditional schools of design.

The educational framework has to be modified by redefining the audience to include what Harrison sees as:

"...non-academics; locating the investigation within real context as well as in the studio and the revision of the goals of pedagogy to include the phenomenon of culture, economics on the built form..."(1998, p.9).

The process of knowledge building should be done collaboratively with other academic disciplines. This enables the establishment of a link between the tower and the street that provides sustainable, informed and creative design thinking.

Place-creation and community issues have preoccupied the modern era, judging by the literature published. The challenge has been how to reconcile the humane scale of buildings with the industrial and technological advancements and massive urbanization. Within the body of knowledge of design of the built environment, one can trace a thread of radical desire for reform commonly known as 'social architecture' whose roots are Marxist and positivist.

The various movements such as the Utopians, the Arts and Crafts Movement, etc, that have come and gone have all approached social reform through built environment. Historically, architecture has been a product of the elite authority as pointed out by Harrison (1998). The radical movements on the other hand have tried to distance themselves from the dominant elite, and thus failed to create a great impact on both the profession and the educational institutions.

The traditional approach of the Ecole des Arts in both Europe and USA has been concerned with the grandeur of public expression of the established elite power. Architecture as such was seen as high art that is dissociated from technological advancement, is above mere craft, evoking poetic ideas through imagery and associations. The core underpinning of this tradition is that the ideas, critiques and production generated are contained within the confines of the disciplines and institutions Harrison (1998).

The process of learning is more dependent on the master teacher handing down the problem to the student who then goes through a fairly prescribed design process that insulates the student from doubt, imprecision and the unruliness of lived experience. The whole process is idealized or relies on the type with the emphasis on individual achievements through beautiful completed products. The whole paradigm of learning is geared towards the product rather than the process. This model has been embedded in the academic environment for such a long time and is very much at odds with the radical tenets of social architecture.

The effects of the weak conceptual framework in social architecture become evident by mid 1970's. The lack of institutional support, specialization and divergence of interest began, and was intensified in the 1980's when conservative governments were in power in USA and UK.

The existing model of urban laboratory transformed itself farther during this period to meet the community needs for practical services that could not be provided by the broad brush of the *charrette* model of the early advocacy groups. The urban laboratories that were based in universities were able to obtain funding and became separate non-governmental organizations. Their approach became entrepreneurial and product oriented in the choice of their projects, as pointed out by Toker and Toker (2006).

### **2.8. An Alternative Approach: Urban Design Laboratory?**

The roles taken by the designers in relationship to the clients and the projects have an impact on the place created. The methodologies used in the traditional practice of urban design translates into the educational realm and is aimed at meeting the brief set by the client rather than vision making, as pointed out by Francis (1992, p.62).

Francis criticizes this approach because it is not a problem-solving exercise but rather one in which the client comes to the designer with a solution. This approach has infiltrated the educational system as criticized by the 1996 Boyer report entitled '*Building Communities: A New future for Architectural Education and Practice*'. The report is critical of the traditional model of design education for continually training students without inculcating a concern for larger social issues.

There is no doubt that an alternative approach to the education and practice of architecture and urban design is needed: one rooted in larger ethical and social values, which demands a proactive practitioner and is based on social architecture. The social architecture approach has since the 1960s been based

on four groups of participants; the private visionary; the public professional with a vision; the professional based at a non-profit organization and the activist university. The urban laboratory model is one such model housed in the activist university.

In this system, the conceptual growth in knowledge comes from sharing the various perspectives held by the various stakeholders and at the same time the simultaneously changing of our internal representations in response to the perspectives held by others during the dialogue and cumulative experience. This has been discussed in detail earlier in the chapter.

There are three to four **basic** stages to participatory design process as proposed by various renowned scholars (Hamdi, 1997; Sanoff, 2000; and Spinuzzi, 2005) as summarized in **table 2.6** below. These are the initial exploratory work, the discovery process; prototyping and implementation phases.

The first stage is exploratory in nature and involves meetings between the designers, clients, politicians and community to familiarize them with the context, and to begin to observe how the community works and discover the linkages. The system analysis is carried out on the economic health, social health and the physical morphology. The designers observe and listen to the community to gain the tacit knowledge about the community: they learn from the community. The interaction between the actors during this stage is not as exhaustive as in the second stage.

The second stage is the discovery process where there are interactions between the designers, the community stakeholders and other partners in a participatory mode. The goal is to make meaning out of the design process **co-operatively**. The key crucial issues are identified, objectives are set, benchmarks are determined and the relationships between the various policy frameworks are carried out.



The third stage is the prototyping or event phase, sometimes called the visioning stage. A variety of techniques are used to iteratively shape the urban design framework from the second stage, including the use of mock-ups (3D model and visualization), pictive (imagery) and paper mock-ups etc. The typologies explored further in detail and a detailed area of focus is used to create the critical mass.

There is a fourth stage, though not mentioned by Spinuzzi. This is what is done with the outcome of stage three processes, dissemination in various forms that the participants can understand and to the potential developers, and financiers of the potential projects to inspire continued investments. It has to be highlighted that there are other ways of communicating the developments as the process goes along. Spinuzzi (2005, p.168) points to contextual design practice throughout the process using walkthroughs of affinity diagrams and consolidated models with the participants, allowing the progress to be seen and checked. There is always opportunity to revisit issues deemed not resolved from other stages.

Stages/ author	Sanoff	Hamdi	Spinuzzi
<b>EXPLORATORY</b> <b>Appreciating</b> <b>Context</b>	Fact finding [material strengths, contextual forces] Gauging Attitudes [the interpretation of those facts, etc]	Problem identification Problem prioritizing [What are the problems]	Familiarization with context Understanding community assets and liabilities Morphological studies
<b>DISCOVERY</b> <b>Creating Urban</b> <b>Structure &amp; Making</b> <b>Connections</b>	Co-discovery between experts and users Explore alternatives Design games	Strategies set Options looked at Trade-offs done [What approaches; what actions are suitable?]	Design process developed Objectives set Benchmark developed [ <b>designers, community representatives,</b> ]
<b>PROTOTYPING/</b> <b>EVENT</b> <b>Detailing Place</b>	Design alternatives, Typologies Co-design Town hall meeting Negotiation/ consensus Reflection	Design for implementation Typologies [when, how, etc]	Typologies developed 3-D models Design games
<b>FOLLOW-UP</b>	What next? Where next? Future plans Evaluations etc	Monitoring How is it working What can be learned from the exercise?	-
<b>Table 2.6 TYPICAL STAGES</b>		<b>Source: Author developed from sources above</b>	

## 2.9. Ethics and Architecture

I have so far reviewed some of the sources of urban design theories which revealed that they deal with balancing competing interests, the preferred values about what is deemed as normal, abnormal, good or bad. In other words the interrogation of questions of value judgement on how things ought to be that are philosophical questions touching on the ethical role of the designer. This section, reviews some of the basic ethical approaches common to the western philosophical thought and some of the questions that arise from participatory processes of design as proposed and used by the urban laboratories.

Wasserman *et al* (2000) point out that the term architecture describes the use of buildings and landscape that man has shaped to suit the inhabitation. Ethics on the other hand consists of the reasoning and decision-making processes about things of everyday life. Ethics as part of philosophy explores the issues related to

how we ought to act and conduct our lives and has a long history that goes way back to Socrates. The study of architecture can promote forms of activities and efforts aimed at improved living conditions, the meaningful and honest commemoration of historical events and the urban renewal as it is a vehicle for ethical investigations that examine the everyday thoughts, i.e. "...doing the right thing by encouraging self reflection..." as pointed out by Taylor and Levine (2011, p.6). The designers might be enabled to make ethical design decisions with help of study of applied design ethics according to D'Anjou, (2010) and sees design process as projective as it aims to transform the environment. The design and building process of architecture questions the perceptions, discriminations on various kinds in a manner that is open and allows for the appearance of evidence of thinking and integrity.

At the centre of architecture as a design discipline is the concern for human purposes through the design and construction of the built environment. Wasserman *et al* suggests that in the Western thought, ethics addresses direct questions such as:

"...how we ought to act in our lives with regard to others, what constitutes *good* behavior, what *good* should I dedicate myself to, what are my duties towards others, towards participating in and organization of a *just* and *fair* caring community or society..."(2000, p.12).

These question critical examinations of the value of conduct and morality implying there exists a duty and standard of conduct expected within a certain social system. However, even though the term morals and ethics are often used interchangeably, a distinction exists in their root origin. Morals deal mainly with the social customs that over time have become accepted, while ethics is concern with the basic value that pertains to character and disposition. In the application to the everyday life activities a brand of philosophy called meta-ethics that handle question of "...moral values, dilemmas, the logic of our activities, their degrees of

truthfulness or universality, the motives in making the ethical choices...” as pointed out by Wasserman *et al* (2000, p.29).

The desire to design and construct buildings and environment is to make it suitable for human living, the decisions are ethical in that they address the “how we ought to live” type of question and are driven by both the individual as well as the collective needs and desire for protection, satisfaction of symbolic and aesthetic sensibilities. The practice of architecture starts from the idea of how we ought to live [asked by either the client or developer, the designer and the users], the process of examining the issues through cultural, social and political activities [mostly ethical] and finally the product [buildings] and how it in the end affects how we behave or ought to behave. For instance, can I cross the street, walk in this direction, ought I climb the fence, get to look through people’s windows.

Architectural design is a manifestation of the sum total of the economical, cultural, political, psychological, physiological etc. of human experiences. It is the response to how the designer perceives as normal the ways of living thereby asserting value judgment because there always exists the other non-normal way of living. Siegfried Gideon asserted that the “...architect’s role was the interpretation of our way of life for our time...” (1974, p.33) suggesting the idea of the building is a means for self-questioning and validation of normality or social construct. Taylor and Levin take the same view arguing that the ethics of architecture involved “...an openness or willingness to interpret our surroundings...” or context, hence a construct requiring self-reflection (2011, p.8). It would be expected that the concern for our context would lead to activism because the reflections about the design and aesthetic aspects of buildings are introspective and self-formative practices that are ethical in nature. It involves value judgment of selecting the form, using several modes of inquiry and requires various degrees of expertise to solve. In addition, the speculative nature of the authority of the designer and client voice is always asymmetrical to those of the

user community, hence raising the question, who is being listened to and who speaks on behalf of whom?

The application of ethics within architecture has been driven by the rise of “...pressing concerns that have or will affect the duration and quality of our lives...” as further pointed out by Taylor and Levine (2011, p.15). These include global warming, energy crisis, dwindling natural resources, and degradation of both the natural and social environments due to political upheavals, inequalities in social, political and economic spheres among many others. In addition the increase in environmental problems and the built environment that had previously be ignored such as the fear of loss of public spaces, rise in exclusion zones such as gated communities have made contributions to interests in ethical concerns of design.

The challenge that exists in examining ethics in architectural design and practice lie in the its interdisciplinary nature making the field of enquiry very broad as opposed to narrow and focused that would be suitable for philosophical study. Besides as Taylor and Levine point out “...philosophy is itself not so easily characterized...” (2011, p.17) since it is a speculation and analytical discipline with very different interests, questions and methods to examine them based on the root discipline of the person studying it.

Rightly through history, architecture has always been ethical practice, Vitruvius points to the fact it ought to provide durability, convenience and beauty. A question then arises, what is the *goodness* that architecture ought to have? The ideas of good have Greek root *agathos*, beneficial etc. and Wasserman *et al* define it as “...as how well a person, practice or thing fulfills the objects of its expected content and roles...(2000, p.43). The ethical concerns especially appear when the client and users are asymmetrical and how does one serve both opposing sides well, consider their needs, what about the larger communal and public goals?

The concept of ethics in design suggests the notion of existence to create good or bad artifacts, hence creative morality of the designer. Deutsch argues that:

“...creative morality lays emphasis on the capability of a person to realize spontaneously their social nature, to develop what is appropriate morally in concrete situations, to recognize that one’s actions are one’s and therefore to assume responsibility for them...” (1992, p.180)

He sees ethics as understood through making comparisons to aesthetic because there is a distinction between the subject matter and formal content. He further points out “...the subject matter is external of the work, i.e. what the work is about, while the formal content is its aesthetic representations of the work itself...” (1992, p.181). The parallels used help clarify the understanding of the notions of moral judgment which is deemed negative only if directed to the subject matter, in other words what the actions or act is about. An example is the act of generosity from someone with very mean motive that would actually infect the manner in which the gifts are executed. Therefore the formal content of a moral judgment is “...a particular action that takes place in its specificity as its unique occurrence ...” such that it is difficult to separate the action from the person causing it (1992, p.182). The next section reviews ethical theories that would be used in the study and practice of architecture.

### **2.9.1. Ethical Theories**

There are four principal ethical theories that could be used to think through the Socrates’ question on how we ought to live that help in reasoning through them. Wasserman *et al* identify them as:

“...teleology, which are activities based on consequences; deontology, which encompasses actions based upon moral rules; virtue, the manner in which we do things and quality of those things and finally contract, agreements on relationships pursuance of common and personal goods with least amount of restriction...” (2000, p.49)

The first approach, teleology is utilitarian that attempts to maximize the benefits for the largest group of persons who are affected by a circumstance on the basis of moral action. It concerns itself with the means and actions that lead to the ends or consequential results. The good ends are always deemed to justify the means to achieve them regardless of the consequences. However, this approach to ethics has been criticized for its weakness in that they "...typically do not emphasis the agents or actors who perform the actions, have motives and follows principles..." for being morally applicable to economic value as pointed out by Beauchamp and Bowie (2004, p.31) In architecture, utility theory are used in for example in examining and determining options such as rebuilding, renovating or demolition, i.e. historic preservation/ conservation of existing community assets. This approach has advantage that moral issue could be resolved quantitatively by calculating the consequences that also allows for transfer of concern of one group to another. The ethics could also be applied to examine the effect of land values hence taxes as a result of redevelopments in a given area, the possibility of gentrification that is relevant to the work of UL.

The second approach, deontology, the moral rules are deemed universal and apply to all situations and in most cases are based on biblical perspective that asks questions such as, what is the ethical duty to act in such and such as a manner based on what rules or principles are followed. There two principles that guide to moral imperatives: those that are obligatory duties for all and voluntary choices that relate to prudence and skills as posed by Kant [I refer those interested in eh arguments in detail to look at 1998 Paul Guyer edited work "Kant Groundwork of the metaphysics of morals: critical essays"]. He postulated that everyone was equal and all our actions must be logically consistent and should not undermine their premises to be ethical. Within the realm of architecture, Kant's ethical arguments could apply for example in designer's full disclosure to all clients the existence of alternative approaches to design even if this would lower their fees. In other words, as designers one is expected to treat all clients

equally regardless of their social, economic, cultural and political positions in society, hence the idea of extending full benefits of design to the community groups that are marginalized.

The third approach, virtue or excellence is determined by judgment or choice system that is formed by cultural and social context. The decision to judge as an act of good or bad is normally made based on some expected performance criteria. Wasserman *et al* point out that virtue theory is closely tied to teleological one in that they both address "...personal actions that de facto lead to good ends..." (2000, p.58). The argument is that any community expounding positive virtues would give rise to a good community and in return to it will have articulated roles, qualities and expectations of persons. It has been criticized for being vague on practical applications because they are not simple dispositions to behave in specific way according to a rule and principles that can be cited. In addition, as Nussbaum points out that it allows "...people who are profoundly ignorant of what to believe and what motivates them and a process which helps only those who are already well off and have liberal education..." i.e. the elites (1994, p.102-103). In the ethical dimensions of virtue in architecture, the designers pass through a "...positive degree of excellence that can be perceived as judged given the social and professional context within what qualitative expectations from them are defined..." (Wasserman *et al*, 2000, p.61)

The fourth and final approach, contract theory, is rooted on the ethos of individualism, libertarianism and agreements among socially equal persons and governs their collective behavior and access to certain goods and rights deemed universal. Therefore, underpinned on the moral belief in justice and fairness as postulated by philosophers Thomas Hobbes and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Hobbes declared a need for contracts that the governments would use to provide order to the pursuance of personal, individual interests because he saw the individual as egocentric and self-interested and would pursue goods at all costs regardless of others. Rousseau on the other hand saw the need arising from the



corrupted human nature that resulted in inequalities. There are several ethical questions that would arise in architectural practice such as a client/ developer asks a designer to prepare plans for development of land that has been bought from the city for a fraction of its value. The redevelopment is slated to relocate some small number of existing families and businesses, but on completion the regenerated area would increase revenue through tax increase, jobs for hundreds but would be out of reach for those moved out. What would be the appropriate ethical approach of the project?

The alternative models of urban design education and practice is based on community participatory process, that raise several ethical questions related to intentions and responsibilities not only of the individuals within the collective, but also of the group themselves. Perhaps it is worth examining some of the philosophical arguments that surround the issues of “we” and “I” that are used interchangeably yet they convey different meanings, and responsibilities to those involved in eth process.

The joint intention to carry out certain actions could take the form:

“...firstly, A and B jointly intend their actions to perform a joint action X [build a house for example]; secondly A and B jointly intend to see to it that action X is performed...” Tuomela, (2006, p.37).

In the above cases the parts of the joint intention is the joint action in which the particular in the collective or group is involved in the action of performing the X. The second part involves the collective action performed in a manner where most participants carry out their part of the intentionality on the basis of we-intend [agree] to and can justify them as collective responsibility rather than as individual actions.

It is therefore imperative that the community decision to proceed with the actions that are mutually beneficial meets the threshold We-I intend prepositions and this Tuomela posits

“...requires that the participants jointly and typically intentionally make-up their minds to bring about something in a manner that allows for *joint control* over possible courses of actions and settling for a particular content...” (2006, p.37). [emphasis mine]

In other words, any UL that claim to use participatory processes should allow for the community [group] participants to be completely in control of the options possible, to direct the design process and decision making on what is to be carried forward, when and where. Therefore, if one of the aims of the alternative approach to design education is the training of designers with ethical, another question arises, should these decisions be imposed and embraced by the community?

The we-intention itself is a promissory of a future action event, hence an aspirational or aim intention to perform the actions so agreed on. As such the challenge raised by the previous question has always been how to impose or embrace the decisions agreed on collectively, however, it is important to point out that the existence of a group meeting occurrence could be taken as an indicator that the participants have a shared interest in the outcome.

The outcomes of the WE-I joint intentions activities are the shared intentions and its success depends on the shared responsibilities that will proceed to review how they are understood. The term shared-intention is used here as borrowed from Bratman's (1987) and Sadler's (2006) definitions. Bratman argues that everyday cooperative activities are results of shared intentions, for example, a group of individuals can:

“...intend a joint activity where there are no explicit promises or contracts that bind the individuals in the pursuit of the cooperative activity and in the absence of institutional or organizational procedures to

structure their individual intentions...” quoted in Sadler (2006, p.117).

The activities in this case are motivated by the individual's desires but within the interrelationships on the social contexts and the arguments highlight important aspects of the co-design or participatory design processes in that for joint activity to occur [build or vision a community], each individual member involved in the meeting must not only have the intention to that activity, but also acknowledge the intentions of other participants, be willing to compromise their plans in cooperation with the plans of others with the aim of adopting the means to achieve their joint activity.

The thesis of shared intention proposed by both Sadler and Bratman has been criticized by Velleman (1997) because the notion of intention always presupposes that the reference to one's own or are under one's control, yet in shared intention, actions which are not under the individual's control are intended to be shared. However, the critique does not in any way negate the argument in that the intentions of the individual to share a cooperate activity or action is always and assumed conditional upon the intentions of others within the group aiming for the same joint action [building their community] and vice versa. In this sense it is always a two-way intentionality and shared agreement.

## **2.10 Summary**

In this chapter various literatures on urban design practice and education have been looked at and the ambiguity in the definition highlighted. This ambiguity, it has been argued, is translated into the methodologies used in practice and the education of urban designers. The chapter also explored the historical background to social or community architecture and education and how the new consciousness as process grew out of this background in different locations. The detailed methodologies and historical contexts and how they contribute to the formation and methodological practices of each laboratory is explored in the coming chapters under the four thematic categories previously mentioned.

The chapter looked at the definitions of community, the participatory methods and their limitations. It showed that participatory process is underpinned on the constructionist theory and relies on knowledge hidden within the community to develop discover and develop the ideas, visions. I argued that participatory design or community engagement should be process rather than product focused, is interdisciplinary and adds a moral and political content to the professional practice and education. The process is iterative allowing for those involved to develop and redefine their understanding of the activity they are involved in together.

The chapter looked at the critiques of urban design in from early Twentieth Century to 1960s and highlighted the context within which the radical changes in the conception of design and education occurred culminating in the new consciousness of 1960s.

I argued that the new consciousness that led to clamor for advocacy and participatory design developed because of the several events that framed it. The events like the new thinking that I pointed to earlier in the dissertation, of question the way the world is perceived.

The new consciousness led to the growth of social responsibility that was expressed by the design students in making alternative proposals to those that caused the Berkeley and Colombia campus riots. It involved collaboration between not only the professionals but also the students to work with the communities to build their capacities to ask questions and offer alternative views to that of the elite.

The new consciousness also came from the questioning of normality; the inequalities post Second World War and many other circumstances It looked at how the questioning of the definition of normative social and cultural contexts that

resulted in the new consciousness in education pedagogy and impacted on architectural education.

The term community and how it is used in the dissertation was defined and was pointed to be linked to a group of people that identify with the territory or geographical location and have claimed the rights to make perceptible influence to its management and are emotionally tied to the location through the various activities and relations.

The chapter also argued that participatory process is iterative and underpinned on the constructionist theory and relies on knowledge hidden within the community to develop discover and develop the ideas, visions. Of importance to urban design is that it adds a moral and political content to the professional practice and education. This raised issues of ethical concerns of the type WE-I intend, jointly intend, and how the decisions and responsibilities are shared and expressed. The chapter reviewed four key sources of ethical theories that have underpinned architectural activities.

The chapter also looked at the development of the methods used in architectural education based on both the Beaux Arts and Bauhaus models. I traced its developments and the changes that led to the new visual thinking through the modernism and New Bauhaus.

The chapter highlighted that learning in the Beaux Arts model fundamentally occurred in the studio as well as in practice. The two spheres of influences were critical on formulating a well-rounded architect despite the criticisms labelled at it on the restriction of artistic freedom.

The chapter in addition pointed to the critiques that led to a new model for architectural education and practice seen by the Bauhaus. They were: Beaux Arts model was old; there was need to fuse design and the need for basic course

or foundation course that gave all students opportunities to explore and experiment to find their best talent before specializing.

It pointed out that the Bauhaus model fundamentally attempted to unify the fine arts of the old academy system with the applied design system that was emerging in the new arts and crafts schools in response to the changing social, economic and technical milieu.

The chapter concluded by looking at how knowledge in design is generated and why an alternative model was needed based on the failures of both the Beaux Arts and Bauhaus models. The difficulty was identified as how to fit the basic precepts of design education, and the universities' objectives within the community in the academic framework. It made suggestions for reasons why the urban laboratory as a model developed in response to difficulty of integrating the reality part within the short and structured academic curriculum.

The next chapter will look at the specific historical contextual events that have been linked to the formation of the urban laboratories in the USA, Spain and Denmark. This is followed by examinations of the methodologies of the three selected case studies.

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<sup>i</sup> John Dewey was a proponent of hands-on learning or experiential education. His model influenced many other influential experiential models and advocates. He is credited by many researchers with the development of Project Based Learning (PBL) which places students in the active role of researchers.

### 3. CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The dissertation started with a key question:

1. How and why did urban laboratories come about?

The primary question was addressed through looking at several secondary questions that emanate from it:

- a. To what extent did the historical context contribute to the formation and methodological practices of the Urban Design Laboratory at Carnegie Mellon University (CMU) in Pittsburgh?
- b. How do the methodologies of the urban design laboratory model at CMU in Pittsburgh compare with others in the European continent (i.e. in Barcelona and Copenhagen)?

This chapter explores the historical contexts that framed the urban laboratory at CMU in Pittsburgh under the headings above. It also makes references to parallel circumstances that occurred in Barcelona. It will look at how the deterioration of the physical and environmental conditions created demand for a new approach to urban developments. In addition, it will also examine the transformations in the social and economic conditions and the political realignments after the Second World War. The chapter will also look at the tactics applied by the communities and professionals to respond to the changing landscape conditions mentioned above.

The structure of this chapter is as follow:

- 3.1. **Introduction**
- 3.2. **Physical and Environmental Forces**
- 3.3. **Political Forces**
- 3.4. **Socio-economic Forces**
- 3.5. **Collective Actions (Urban Social Movements)**
- 3.6. **Summary**

### 3.1. Introduction

Up to the early part of the twentieth century, the dominant method of design in architecture was based on the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. Its influence was felt all over the world, and Mumford (1992, p.391) pointed out “no international organization of academic architects had emerged” prior to the first meeting to discuss human settlement, led by Sir Peter Geddes and others. The key themes of the conference and meetings that followed focussed on the issues related to social concern and this attracted the *avant garde* architects in the 1920s.

In 1927, Hannes Meyer’s design for a competition for the League of Nations won over that by Le Corbusier, resulting in the formation of a new organization by a group of architects led by Le Corbusier against the new building. It had the aim of overcoming what they perceived as the corrupt and tired older hegemony of the *Beaux-Arts* methods of design. In 1928 the *Congres Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne*, (CIAM) was formed as a platform for discussing architectural solutions to the urban problems related to housing, health and transportation.

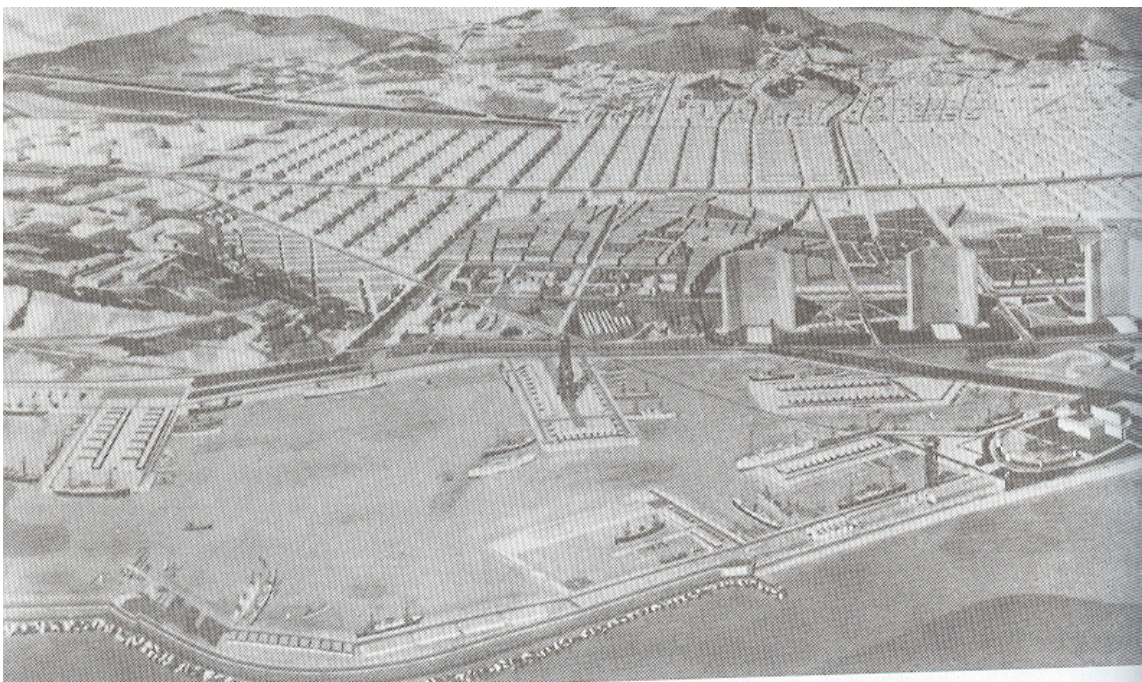
After, the third CIAM congress in 1930, the organization had become exactly what they were opposed to; an *elitist* (my emphasis) organisation. As Mumford pointed out, it was a:

“...group of international architectural experts who could after a thorough study of a city propose solutions to problems of housing, recreation and transportation in collective public interests...”  
(1992, p.392).

Meller (1990) supports the above view pointing out that they wanted to be the professionals of the new era but with a moral purpose of restoring a new cultural equilibrium to a world transformed by technology and scientific progress.

However, their approach was deterministic and reductionist, driven by scientific data and methods that came from the Frankfurt School of Sociology. The general approach to architecture adopted in the early years was mechanistic with little regard for aesthetic questions.

In 1933, the famous Athens Charter, a series of statements about the shortcomings of the 33 large industrial cities, was discussed at the Fourth congress as were their corresponding rules for addressing them. The traditional city was dismissed as overly dense, insanitary, but equally, interestingly, they rejected the new form of development coming out of the Garden City Movement (the suburbia) as well as the core of the city (which they attempted to resolve later).



**Figure 3.1: Marcia Plan 1932\_Reveal Towers**

**Source: Mumford (2000, p.41)**

The methods of CIAM were based on the interpretation of activities around human life; dwelling, working, leisure and travel with each category requiring

specific solutions as if they necessarily have to be discrete. One of the models used high-rise buildings to free more ground for recreation but unfortunately destroyed the human contact and activities that they hoped to enhance (**figure 3.1** above). The traffic was separated by type and crossings between people and vehicles were minimized. Mumford (1992, p.394) points out that the Charter of Athens as it was published was very much Le Corbusier's interpretation of the proceedings of the conference rather than the deliberations. The next sections will look at the various forces that shaped the historical context within which the urban laboratories emerged.

### **3.2. The Physical and Environmental Forces**

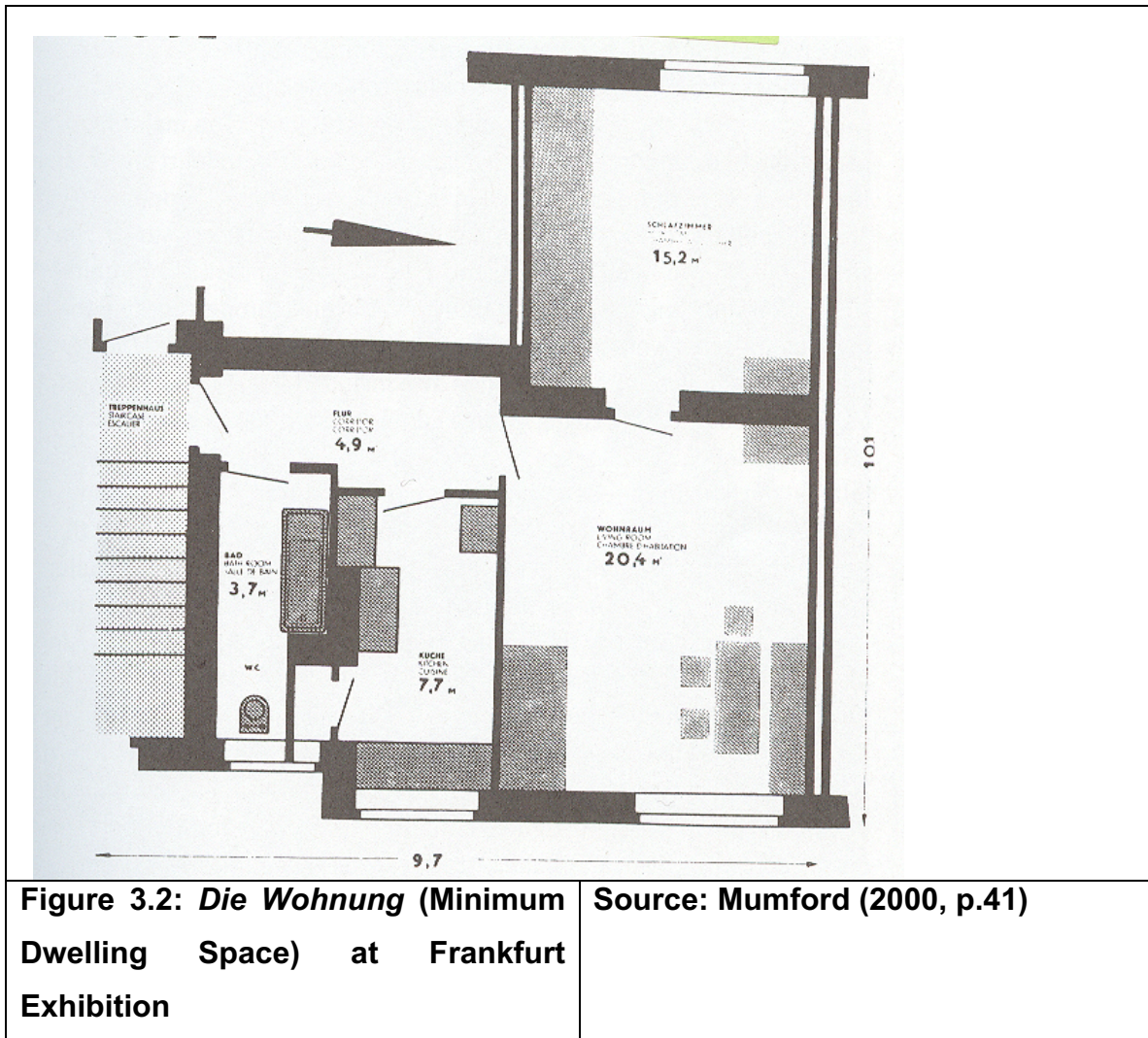
Traditionally the elite, wealthy patrons have supported architecture. However, the Industrial Revolution brought about a great rural-urban migration and after the Second World Wars, the destruction created a demand for massive rebuilding efforts. There was shortage of housing unseen before the war, infrastructure was destroyed and the rebuilding demanded a socialist governmental support. Social Architecture was thus born mainly to provide housing and infrastructure support for the masses. In addition, it also grew out of CIAM desire to respond to the urban problems of appropriate and affordable housing shortages in the industrializing Europe.

Prior to the War, the CIAM 2 of 1929 held in Frankfurt had focused on the design of the minimum dwelling "...as part of the effort to standardize and rationalize the dwelling units within the smallest cubage..." as pointed out by Mumford (2000, p.31). However the main driver for Social architecture seems to have been the search for a radical urbanistic solutions based on *dom-kommuna* or the communal house; ideas that were coming out of the Marxist Soviet Union.

Therefore, social architecture was the deterministic tool for transforming society to the acceptance of a more collective mode of life that Ginzburg and others saw



as a “socially superior form of life” (**figure 3.2**). It had its roots in the horrors of war and the inhumanity of the post Second World War period that created the need for resettlement. The massive rebuilding efforts that ensued enabled the place and dwelling to be interrogated by their relationships to the society and humanity.



**Figure 3.2: *Die Wohnung* (Minimum Dwelling Space) at Frankfurt Exhibition**

**Source: Mumford (2000, p.41)**

However, the war was not fought on US soil and as such the country was unaffected by the physical devastation. The approach to the built environment in the US was firstly to provide housing to the returning war veterans in the seemingly open land accessible by the automobile and secondly the clearing of

the deteriorating slums. The response to the urban housing according to Harrison was

“...as shallow as it was in the affluent new suburbs and as a result failed to meet the social needs that would have interlaced human patterns with massive building programmes...” (1998, p.11).

The rebuilding effort was shallow because it focused on one dimension of the problem, shelter. It ignored the complexity of the problem that included the need for work (jobs creation), for education, (structures to support the new community) and it did not actively seek to find what the needs of the community were. It resulted in a market driven and mechanistic approach to the very foundational spirits of the dwelling.

Complacency and affluence were so much rooted in the American dwelling pattern that the philosophical questions of dwelling were ignored until a crisis in the form of urban dwelling took place. The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s was a response not only to social injustice but also to the environmental injustices, and fostered the formation of design advocacy groups as a new tool to represent the desires of the voiceless and usually un-empowered communities [described later under political context in **section 3.3**].

The environmental movement in the USA emerged in the 1950s from agendas that primarily focused on the wilderness, wildlife preservation, pollution abatements and control as pointed out by Bullard (2000). The term ‘environmental racism’ was associated with injustices and defined by Bullard *et al* as:

“...any environmental policy, practice or directive that differentially affects or disadvantages (intended or unintended) individuals or communities based on race or colour...” (1999, p.17).

The environmental injustice was typically practised through schemes that benefited the whites while transferring the burdens to the minorities.

The practices included unequal application of the law enforcement, the exposure of minority communities to harmful chemicals, faulty assumptions in calculating, assessing and managing risks, discriminatory zoning and land-use policies and finally the exclusive practices in decision-making. This ensured that the minorities could not vote to determine the locations of polluting industries.

The advocacy groups used political tools such as the design and graphic representation to influence public policy and to object to the government's funded projects that destroyed communities. However the loudest critiques came from outside the architectural profession such as Jane Jacobs (1961) [**see 2.3 on Critiques of Urban Design up to 1960s**] who criticized the formalised tendencies of the established planners and architects for their grandiose and inhumane projects.

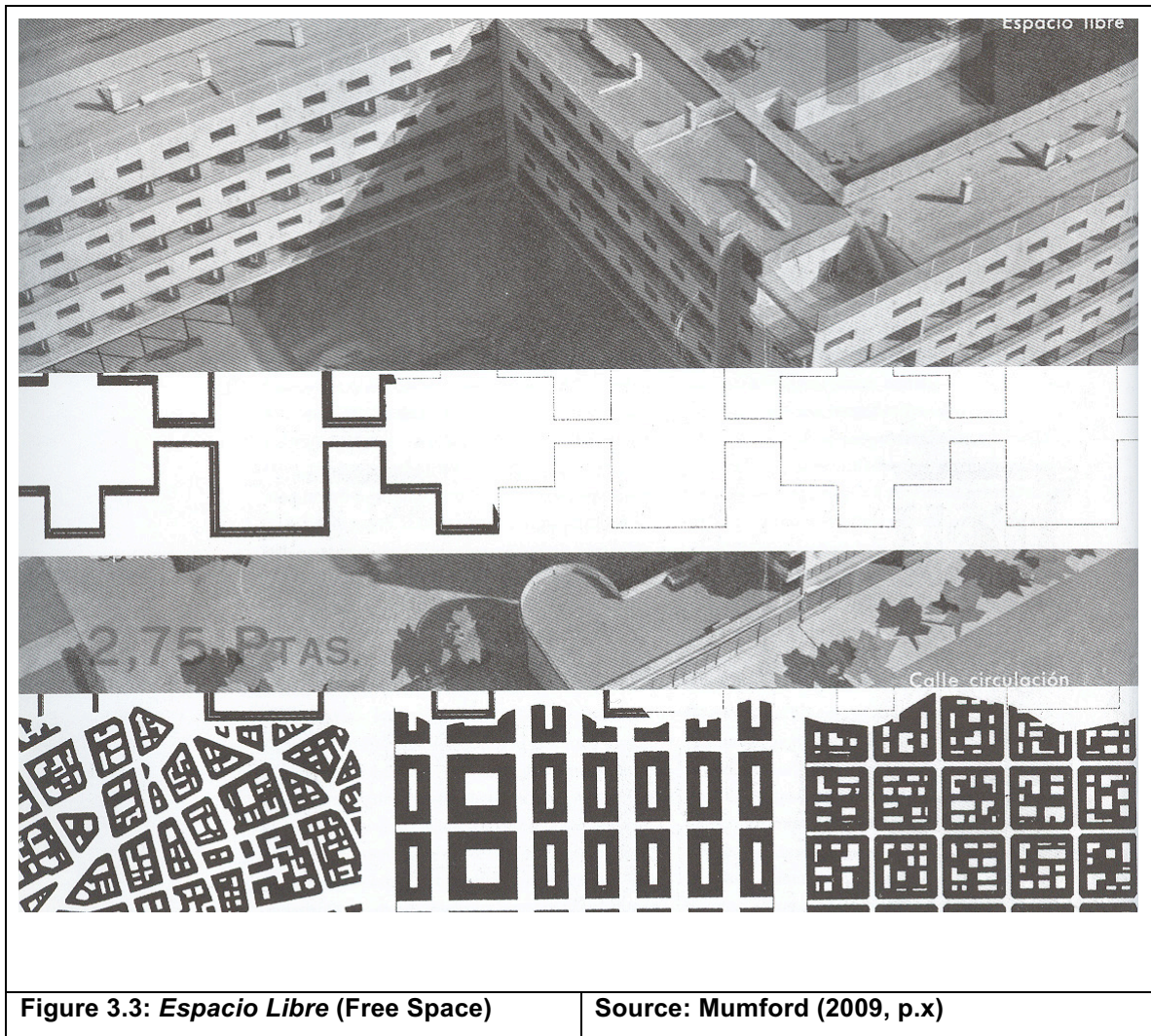
In the 1950s and 1960s there was great new urban growth at the edges of the existing city centres because of the cheap fuel and cars. Highways and roads were constructed, further fuelling the suburbanization. Strip malls were built, steadily draining the city centres of their strengths and attractiveness. This resulted in the decay of the core with offices and industries soon following the residential location to industrial parks in open country. Batchelor and Lewis point out that "...the drain of cities was not merely a geographic event but also there was a change in ethical values..." (1986; p.6).

These ruptured and separated generations, uprooting the young away from their parents and creating a new language in architectural traditions of most building types. Where they were urban, buildings were sited on large lawns unlike previously [**figure 3.3**]. The solution for the blighted areas left over in the 1960s and 1970s was to demolish, leaving the city centre without the necessary tax base that would be necessary to maintain streets, amenities, and services. Things changed, with 'new' thinking at that time aimed at demolishing the supposedly blighted centres, and high-density towers or parks were to be built to

replace them. Since the 1990s things have changed significantly: there is a renewed interest in traditional city centres.

At the same time during this period in both Europe and North America, a new consciousness that questioned the conventional planning and functional urbanisms underpinning the Athens Charter was developing. This new consciousness as pointed out by Monclus as the “...growing appreciation of the traditional city and its components of streets, squares, closed block streets etc...” (2003, p.403). He argued that the 1960s and 1970s saw the development of interest in the morphological study and analysis of the city and architectural typology. Examples are the publications of books by Kevin Lynch (1960) “*Image of The City*”; Aldo Rossi (1966) “*Architecture of the City*”; Jane Jacobs (1960) “*The life and Death of Great American cities*”; Rob Krier (1976), “*Terria y practica de los espacios urbanos*” and many others (this has been discussed at depth in chapter 2).





In 1949 Pittsburgh was depicted as the site of a local metamorphosis that had national and international significance Grendler (quoted in Bauman & Muller, 2006). It was described as a very prosperous heavily modern industrial city, but full of smoke. The transformations it was lauded for are related to the initiation of several programmes to improve the squalor such as air-pollution controls, flood controls, a public park in the downtown area through coordinated partnership of the various businesses, design professionals and political leaders. It thus became known as the city in renaissance, an exemplar for other cities in the US to look at.

By the 1960s and 1970s there was a decline in industrial activities from the steel mills because of the competitions from Asian industrial giants like Japan. This resulted in a decline in the city's population, rising unemployment, an increase in empty sites, abandoned buildings and general blighting of the physical built environment of Pittsburgh. Several areas were affected by the so-called urban renewals that destroyed inner city neighbourhoods.

Barcelona on the other hand in the 1960s experienced a period of large-scale rural-urban migration resulting in shortages of housing. This caused unprecedented real estate dynamics in the city because of the speculation on land values of soon-to-be relocated industrial developments to areas outside the city. Joan Busquets points out "...the transformations led to an increase in building levels without corresponding public services..." (2005, p.332). This created conditions for dissatisfaction by the citizens of the city of Barcelona leading to the formation of neighbourhood groups to fight for their collective goods in amenities and services. The organizations began to mobilize to demand public facilities and services that were lacking in the local neighbourhoods.

The government proposed further renewal programs such as the Ribera Plan that was started in 1965, proposing to relocate the population along the sea front of Barcelona. The plan was met with stiff opposition from the citizens who were already living in conditions that were not suitable, without clean air, open space, amenities, and was congested (**The Ribera Plan is discussed in detail in chapter 5**). The neighbourhood associations, the professionals using the forum run by the *Laboratorio Urbanisme de Barcelona*, LUB, worked together to create a counter plan that halted the project.

In Academia Manuel de Solà-Morales and others at ETSAB established the Laboratorio Urbanisme de Barcelona in 1968, where the discourse of the most important theorist exponent of the Catalan town planning were studied. Sola-

Morales points out that the courses had as fundamental subjects of theory including

“...the strict obligation to discuss the growth of the city in its different forms, in a context where the influence of the social and economic contents is important but not exhaustive. The reading of urban elements (streets, houses, pieces of land, services, centres, etc.) will be the fundamental subject of the theory”. (quoted in Domènech, 2006, p.4)

The importance of the historical contexts in the study of urban design was hence placed in the forefront of the academic programmes and the collaborations with the city and the citizens through an open forum for discussions, as can be seen later in the chapter. This is similar to what was going on in the USA; where for example at Carnegie Mellon University Dean Johnstone introduced a teaching innovation: a contextual approach to design introduced with the appointment of David Lewis who led the first urban laboratory in 1963-1968 using an “experimental design programme” that was later abandoned in 1968 (Johnstone, n.d.). It is unclear why it was abandoned other than for the reason of David Lewis moving to teach at Yale University and also going into private practice.

The programme was experimental in that it did not follow the established methodologies of analysis of the city. The methodologies that were used at that time involved the design professional examining the area, diagnosing the problem and proposing a solution without reference to the users or residents. David Lewis proposed that the design professional approach the residents to find out what their dreams were, define the problem and come with a solution after analysis in the laboratory (studio) that was shared with the community.

The methodology was also experimental in that should it have failed, the school would revert to using the old methodologies. Perhaps it did fail as David Lewis left the school soon after to try it out in both the practice and at the Yale Urban Workshop. However, the information available on the Yale School of Architecture

(2010) website reveals that the Workshop was founded in 1992, some 25 years later!

### **3.3. Political Forces**

The participation of citizens in building and planning their environment is as old as society itself, even though the current form is much more recent. Sanoff explains that it is understood as 'the involvement of local people in social development' (2000, p.1). The roots of community involvement in modern days come from the third world community development movements of the 1950s and 1960s, and western social work and community radicalism as pointed out by Midgley *et al* (1986).

The third world community movement operated in the spirit and principles of co-operatives, and was communitarian in their social economic aspects with the emphasis on the word *self* [*self-help, self-sufficiency, etc*]. International agencies such as the UN, WHO, UNICEF have been very involved in promoting the community participation in its current form through their use of programmes that require the creation of opportunities for all people to be politically *involved*, and to *share* in the development processes.

In the western world however, social work primarily has focused on the individual and families that are in need. This later expanded to the communities, which are groupings of individuals and families. Their organization as a community became the vehicle for social work. This was later to transform itself by taking a radical approach as the needs became more pressing with the members of the community taking direct political action to demand changes and improvements (**see chapter 6 on Denmark and the Welfare State**).

The 1960s have a historical significance in cities in the USA context because of several important legislations enacted (**table 3.1 below**) such as the Voters Act of 1964, the Employment Act of 1967, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968. The



year 1968 was particularly difficult with the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr, and the resultant riots occurring in black communities all over cities across USA such as Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh and Washington, DC. The 1960s was a decade of agitation for civil rights movements, the rise of women's liberation, the anti-war movements (focused on Vietnam where TV, a new media, showed the horrors of war), and the challenge of the alternative energy culture.

Decade	Year and Critical Events
1950s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1954: <i>Berman vs Parker</i>-US Supreme Court upholds rights of Washington FC Redevelopment Land Agency to condemn properties deemed unsightly, though non-deteriorated.</li> <li>• 1954: Housing Act-Stresses slum prevention rather than clearance a departure from the 1949 Act.</li> <li>• 1955: Rosa Parks and Start of Montgomery bus boycott (beginning of Civil Rights Movement?)</li> </ul>
1960s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• October 1961: USA sends troops to Vietnam</li> <li>• 1963: Assassination of President J. F Kennedy</li> <li>• 1963: "I have a Dream" Martin Luther King Jr. in Washington DC</li> <li>• 1964: Selma boycott sponsored by Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)</li> <li>• 1964: Voters Act</li> <li>• 1964: War on Poverty efforts that led to the Economic Opportunity Act and the Social Security Act of 1965</li> <li>• 1964-1965: Free Speech Movement: Student Protest - U.C. Berkeley</li> <li>• 1965: Riots in the Watts section of Los Angeles due to high unemployment and poverty</li> <li>• 1967: Employment Act</li> <li>• 1968: Fair Housing Act</li> <li>• 1968: Martin Luther King Jr. Assassinated</li> <li>• 1968: Student protest at Columbia University New York</li> </ul>
<b>Table 3.1: Timeline: Historical Events 1950s-1960</b>	
<b>Source: Author (constructed from literature review)</b>	

A quick review of literature on historical events in 1960s reveals that no major events occurred in 1962 or 1963 that could be linked to the formation of an urban laboratory at Carnegie Mellon University. There however may be local events linked, which will be examined in detail later in chapter 4. The grassroots movement in the USA has been impacted by the community-based struggles of the 1960s. Within the US, unlike in Europe, the term 'urban movements' is hardly used, however known by names such as Black Power; the movement for welfare rights; and tenants' interests.

Nevertheless, they are all categorized as social movements. Manuel Castells first introduced the term urban social movement, (USM) in early 1970s as a critique of the existing methodologies in urban sociology that excluded issues of power and politics on the basis that these were under the discipline of political science. The organizations that were known by USM dealt mainly with social issues in urban communities such as welfare, tenant rights, crime, education, and fair access to housing

To Castells, the state in advanced capital societies was deeply involved with the consumption processes of the citizen creating opportunities for conflicts. The USM encompassed the potential for urban struggles that were manifested through the existing contradictions. These are resolved through *radical approaches* to the political power relationships. It is radical in the sense that it calls for alternative methods of resolution outside the nominal.

The power wielded by the USM came through the trade unions, political groupings, and other urban-based organizations with an interest in the power differentials. However, in this dissertation I prefer the rendering given by Pickvance, which "...refers to any and all citizen actions irrespective of its actual or potential effects..." (2003, p.4). They gained legitimacy via the various governmental social welfare programmes such as the 'War on Poverty', the Community Action that arose at the back of the political transformations that happened. The USM became the neighbourhood organizations that supported the demands for the poor communities.

They were however, not successful in achieving the demands for the poor neighbourhoods. The failure was due to the great diversity of issues related to the organizations and the lack of common goals. In parallel to the USM model Saul Alinsky promoted an *alternative* community organization model that used a different strategy, further breaking the focus on specific issues. Castells (quoted

in Sanoff, 2000, p.2) identified the strategy as based on 'urban protest to improve the living conditions of the poor, empower the grassroots and achieve greater democracy and social justice'. Alinsky's approach went further than merely asking for supplements, but actively built the capacity of the grass roots organization that was able to identify other important issues to the community, prioritize them and strategize ways to get them sorted.

Sanoff (2003) further identified two types of community organizations; first, the traditional that operated from the premise that those in power will not cede power willingly and as such, it is only through massive confrontation tactics that transfer occurred. The second model worked relying on the collaborative partnerships between the establishment institutions and the community. It created opportunities for capacity building, creativity and skills development of the members of the community. It relied on a strategic approach that is pragmatic and built on the relationship network. [for those interested in detail descriptions of the grassroots relations see work of Park (1928); Whyte (1959); & Burges, (1964)]

### **3.3.1. Models of Community Organizations**

The first model of community organization promoted radical reactions against centralized and bureaucratic authority and represents a very important link to the transformation of the representative democracy into participatory democracy. Saul Alinsky's (1909-1972) ideas were the foundation of 1960s radical movements or organizations. He argued in the 'Rules for Radicals,' that "the most effective means are whatever will achieve the desired ends that would lead to social justice" (1971, p.3). Even though the book was published in 1971, Alinsky had argued for this strategy as early as during the 1968 Democratic Conventions in Chicago.

He saw the immediate interest of the community as the driver for rallying to its defence and hence organized people around sensible ideas and identified

opponents to fight. The power must always lie with the community to hire and fire the organizer or ask him to leave once the objectives are met. The role of the organizer was facilitation and capacity building through education in an effort of self-help.

Alinsky's approach was criticized for being antagonistic and confrontational towards the established institutions and authority. Some of the organizations he ran for example are Community Service Organization (CSO) in Los Angeles, and in Chicago's West Side called Back of the Yards in Chicago according to Goldblatt (2005, p.275). They were not diverse in composition and fought each other and were eventually co-opted and absorbed into the management organizations they were supposed to control, therefore leading to failure. (for those interested in more on Alinsky's model refer to several articles reviewing his work).

During the same period that Alinsky was promoting the radical model, another leader, Paul Davidoff, challenged planners to promote participatory democracy and positive social change using the second model. He argued for advocacy as a method of achieving these goals by enabling all groups of society, especially those representing low-income families, to voice opinions on the transformations of their built environment.

The advocacy model differs from Alinsky's in that it used the professional bodies and individuals with interest in improving communities to make a case for their voice. Examples of Davidoff's model are the Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team (R/UDAT) organized by the American Institute of Architects; the Community Design Centres, (CDC); Architects Renewal Committee of Harlem in New York City (1964); Urban Planning Aids in Boston (1967); and the Community Design Centre in San Francisco (1967) among others. R/UDAT and CDC are discussed in detail later in the dissertation.

In the 1960s the US government through Community Action Programs placed emphasis on resident participation in key decision-making, budget controls and risk analysis in all improvement proposals that involved outside consultants. This does not however mandate the local authorities to abide and, unlike in the European context, in the USA during this period of advocacy, the government provided the financing for the participation of the citizens. Today this has been transformed to what Kingsley, McNeely and Gibson (1997) see as “community driven initiatives that place the community at the centre of both the planning and implementation of the projects” (quoted in Sanoff; 2000, p.6).

Place Making is a community building process that focuses on the residents taking control of their destiny and that of their community. It relies on the building of social capital by enabling them to take ownership of the whole process. In any case, they have tacit knowledge of their environment that the professionals are unlikely to have. The process of community building, unlike radical advocacy models previously looked at, is a mixed approach that combines both the top-down and bottom-up approaches. The partnerships were formed from agency driven controls as opposed to government agency controls. Therefore it follows the second model of advocacy as opposed to a more radical model proposed by Alinsky.

Naparstek, Dooley and Smith (quoted in Sanoff, 2000, p.7) outline the principles required in building a community; the collaborative involvement of residents in setting goals and strategies, identification of the community's assets and liabilities and working with manageable sizes of groups within the community. They also point to the recognition that each context is unique and requires its own strategies as well as the reinforcement of the values it holds dear; finally the creation of partnerships with the locally based institutions that are not only part of the community, are owned by the people in the community, but also provides employment to them. Therefore the buying in or the desire for a better deal is always present.

In Pittsburgh, the local government plays a role that goes beyond policy setting for place creation and often takes on the role of a client in setting the development agendas. It helps the regional urban development companies acquire and clear specific sites targeted for redevelopment through compulsory purchasing powers. It also at times uses low interest loans, grants, and tax abatements to finance new construction and regeneration of targeted areas. But why would a government in a commercial republic have interest in controversial real estate development? What drives them to take interest?

The reasons can be found in Crowley (2005) who points to the work of Paul Peterson who argued that “elected officials are rational actors who compete in the open market for votes in a similar manner to buyers and sellers competing in other commodity markets” (2005, p.14). The local governments compete for investment that will result in increased demands for commercial real estate thus causing a rise in land value. This boosts residential development because of increased business that results in increases the tax revenues. Therefore the cities strategise to use the resources they have to stimulate growth by manipulating the land-use matrix, giving tax concessions and offering financial arrangements to firms willing to invest in the area.

This section looked at the historical impacts of the political forces of the 1960s mainly in the US. In addition, it touched on changes that were occurring elsewhere in Europe that were related to those in the US. In the next section, the effects of the socio-economic forces are examined.

### **3.4. Socio-economic Forces**

The post World War II period heralded a baby boom in most Western European countries and there were the beginnings of the enjoyment of the fruits of affluence. Eric Hobsbawm called the period between 1945-1973 ‘the golden age.’ The impacts on society took time and came mostly because of what Schildt and Siegfried see as ‘...crucial demographics, technological, ideological and

institutional factors' (2006, p.41). This made the society secure and self-confident, as I discuss later.

The triumph of the Allies in World War II was an effort that involved people of all social classes, workers, peasants, women, minorities, resistance movements etc, giving rise to the promise of a greatly changed world. Reforms began right after the war in several spheres including education while at the same time the problems of the societies continued. These were of a high conservative nature such as rigid social codes, racism, and class distinctions, discrimination of women in employment, housing and leisure.

It is interesting to note that young people, who had previously not been known to have any interest in politics and were resistant to the typical radical Marxist thoughts, became very much involved in the protest movements in the 1960's. They perceived the authorities and the police in particular as an illegitimate force of the capitalist system, though they had concerns mainly against university authorities. The examples are the 1960s student protest movements at University of California Berkeley, Columbia University, Salem North Carolina and many other places in USA joined the million-person march to Washington DC. Likewise in Europe, there were student riots at Nantare in France, Copenhagen in Denmark, Barcelona, Spain and many other countries.

The socio-cultural revolution by the youth in the transformations that took place in the 1960s and 1970s affected participatory decision-making. Schildt and Siegfried (2006, p.43) identified seven interrelated phenomena that operated as the contextual influences on the youth culture. The first force was the growth of new urban social movements, in different shapes and forms, that brought new ways of perceiving the social concerns, new forms of social participation exemplified by experimentation, art, drama, and music; the new left-leaning political ideology, civil rights movements, anti-war movements, environmental protection movements, etc.



The period also heralded profound entrepreneurialism, individualism, and hedonism that defied convention and glorified the youthful body. This was followed by the upheaval in personal and family relationships, in public and private morals and the growth of permissive sexual liberation and perceived honesty.

It led to the rise of unprecedented influence on young people, expressed in youth culture. The commercialism specifically targeted to the youth slowly but surely increasingly began to impact the rest of society. The youth culture was transformed. It was no longer inward looking and belonging mainly to teenagers but ‘...integrated with and, at the same time, reactive against, the rest of society, with university students more...’ as further pointed out by Schildt and Siegfied (2006, p.45).

It became fashionable to be reactive and against capitalist consumerism, racial discrimination, oppression of the lower classes etc. This created an environment where demands for social justice, environmental justice or any cause that seemed to support the under-represented was prominent and this was the birth of a new consciousness.

There was great unity of the youth culture, despite the intensities with which the various groups held their ideology or belief, and this was reinforced by two slogans. Those who subscribed to the view of the young in spirit believed in ‘Changing the World’ and ‘Having a Good Time’ and did not see the differences between the two. The most important characteristics were flexibility and accommodation. During this period, there was growth in the number of young people from all backgrounds involved with higher education, and this fostered the rise of the civil rights movements, challenges to the traditional norms and attitudes, making the desire for change even more palatable (Ward, 1995; Schildt and Siegfied, 2006). This flexibility and accommodation fostered the acceptance

of consensus and the support for collective goods above the selfish wants of the individual.

The fourth phenomenon was the growth in the international exchange of cultural products and practices with the monopoly of cultural exchange being broken. The media thus became an important tool for exchange and knowledge transfer from place to place. The ease of information transfer enhanced communication encouraging the growth of networks and grass-root organizations. The next phenomenon was the 'strengthening of a liberal, progressive presence, privilege tolerance and due process within institutions of authority' as argued by Schildt and Siegfied (2006, p.52).

In the US, the historical contexts within which all the changes occurred fostered demands for equality and fairness. This led to the political changes, for instance in the Court decisions such as Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, (1954); Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act of 1965 and Fair Housing Act in 1968. They were all aimed at addressing the inequalities in access to education, accretion of voting rights, and access to housing without discrimination among other grievances.

The period between the two wars brought demographic changes in Pittsburgh mainly due to the war cutting off European immigrants creating labour shortages. The shortages attracted southern black migrants that resulted in the doubling of the population from 25,000 to 55,000 between 1910 and 1930. Consequently, the built institutions and organizations of the Blacks in Pittsburgh needed to attack the racial prejudice head on. Examples are two baseball teams, the Pittsburgh Crawfords and the Homestead Grays; the local paper with national circulation, the Pittsburgh Courier; the Young Men/ Women's Christian Association YM/YWCA, National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), the Urban League and Churches.

This section looked at the impact of socio-economic changes to the circumstances in the US. It linked the economic growth in the cities like Pittsburgh to the migration of both the blacks from the southern states of the country and Europeans from Poland, Germany, and Ireland to the industrial and mining towns. The new arrivals lived in squalid conditions, had very few rights and were keen to have these. In addition, the economic boom led to unprecedented growth in youth with access to education leading to the growth of the youth alternative culture resulting in a new consciousness. In the next section, I will look at how the new consciousness was manifested.

### **3.5. Collective Actions**

This section looks at how the community was empowered to take collective actions in betterment of their lives due to the effects from the various forces.

#### **3.5.1. Pittsburgh: Urban Social Movements**

The image of all American citizens, black and white, young and old, male and female resisting the wrath of segregationist supporters by non-violent means captures the tenets of the Civil Rights Movement. Pittsburgh, a city in the north of the divide, had a more complex context and targets in comparison to the other cities in the south of USA. The racial lines in the pre-Civil War Pittsburgh were sharply drawn as portrayed by Glasco (2001). The black majority suffered institutional discrimination as evidenced by the 1837 amendment to the state constitution that stripped them of the right to vote and forced their children to segregated schools. Glasco further pointed out that the local Civil Rights Movement galvanized around the leadership of Martin Delany, John Vashon and Lewis Woolson. They also had support from white sympathetic and visionary leaders such as Jane Carey Swisshelm, Julius LeMoyre and Charles Avery.

The oppressive legislation was repealed during the post Civil War period and the schools were desegregated, culminating in the election of the first African American Lemuel Googins to the City Council in 1881. The repeal was mainly

due to changes at the national levels to the US Constitution that guaranteed franchise to the southern freedmen. Despite these changes, the effects were slow in some areas such as education, but in housing little happened because of Restrictive Covenants that prevented white home-sellers from selling to black couples even when they wished to do so.

The increase in the institutions or organizations that supported or were engaged in fighting for rights was limited for four reasons as pointed out by Glasco (2001). Firstly, the population of blacks was only 10% of the overall city total and they were dispersed all over the city hence had limited impact at local levels. The second factor was the black leaders focused their direction elsewhere to the state level in Harrisburg rather than in the local arena. Thirdly, the local political seats were not contested on the constituency level but on a citywide basis thus enhancing the power of the dominant political establishment and lastly, black political apathy.

For this reason during the era between the wars, blacks in Pittsburgh achieved more on the social and cultural fronts than on the political front. The turning point on the political front, however, occurred during World War II, firstly in the united fight against German racism shifting the American whites' attitudes. In Pittsburgh interracial citizen groups and forums were formed to improve the inter-cultural and inter-racial relations. Secondly, the fight against racism raised the self-consciousness of the blacks and inspired them, prompting the setting up of organizations to protest for their rights. The Courier as the dominant black paper rallied them around the common double victory of democracy at home and abroad.



**Figure 3.3: Demonstration against discrimination**

**Source: Explore Pennsylvania History (2008)**

Participation in design processes by any community would require the existence of strong community organizations and networks that start to build the desire to participate beyond protesting stages. Laurence Glasco points to the existence of “...interracial coalitions that provided the Civil Rights Movements in Pittsburgh with additional momentum...” (2001, p.5).

The coalitions included the all-white member Urban League, the Pittsburgh Presbytery, National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), etc, who tackled various important issues that would have divided the community on race. This multi-racial coalition, he argues, helped change public perceptions of the Civil Rights Movement from one that fought only for the exclusive benefits of blacks to one that fought for social justice and rights of all Americans, as enshrined in the constitution and promoted by Jefferson.

The rise in organizations that agitated for participation in the decisions that affected the communities in Pittsburgh was rooted in the injustices coming out of the Urban Renaissance renewal efforts of the 1950s and 1960s. The injustices in the renewal efforts can be traced to the politics that arose out of the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933 and the Housing Acts of 1934 and 1949.

The Act of 1933 established the Home Ownership Loans Corporation (HOLC) and the one of 1934 established the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), mandated with the responsibilities of improvement of the standards of living conditions. The department of Housing and Urban Authority (HUD) was formed for the purposes of executing the requirements of the Act.

Harold Kaplan in his book *“Urban Renewal Politics: Slum Clearance in Newark”*; points to two very important aspects to the Acts. He argues that the HUD and the FHA were:

“...firstly designed to develop housing for poor residents of urban areas, and secondly they required cities to target specific areas and neighbourhoods for different racial groups, and certain areas of cities were not eligible to receive loans at all” (1963, p.1)

The Act therefore firstly gave power to the redevelopment of areas seen to be depraved and blighted. The definition of what blighted meant was not clearly outlined, leaving discriminatory practices as is indicated below. The Acts, secondly, made it difficult if not impossible for minorities to access the funds for redevelopments based on indicators that were racially motivated. This contributed to an increase in disparities in the living conditions of various racial groupings.

Teaford (1979) supported the view pointing out that a loophole existed in the Act due to ambiguity in its wording. It appeared firstly to be aimed at meeting the challenges of poverty and racial divisions by providing for slum upgrading and rebuilding of residential units. It however did not specify if the new proposals were to provide housing for those who originally lived there.

Secondly, it also allowed for the slum clearance and redevelopment of commercial developments. It is not clear though whether that was intentional or not, but looking at what followed and the prevailing political conditions one might

read it as such. Several other scholars like Rossi & Dentler (1961), Lowe (1969), and Mollenkopf (1983) hold this view.

The HOLC Act led to the development of a practice called Redlining, a term that Amy Hillier attributed to:

“Community groups in Chicago’s Austin neighbourhood in the late 1960s, in reference to literal red lines lenders and insurance providers admitted drawing around areas they would not service.” (2003, p.395)

The use of redlining under the terms of Housing Acts of 1934 and 1949 made it easier for the neighbourhoods with minorities to be identified and targeted for demolition and renewal but without necessarily providing replacement housing. In that sense, these communities were cleared and destroyed in the process.

In addition, through the Act the appraisal manuals from the FHA instructed loan originators to avoid neighbourhoods with inharmonious racial groups. This further enforced the zoning laws on a racial basis, resulting in a further decline in property values in minority neighbourhoods.

The urban renewal process caused two kinds of stress points in the affected communities, first to the group that owned businesses and lived in the community earmarked for demolition without their say and secondly to the communities that were to receive the displaced persons.

The living conditions became worse because of imposed overcrowding and stretched services, which would eventually lead to the area earmarked as a slum for clearance. The knock-on effects seemed set to continue until what would be perceived as prime land close to the city centre was cleared off for redevelopment with properties that would attract tax.

The affected communities formed ad hoc committees to coordinate their actions against demolition efforts. This was a grassroots action that came out of their need to fight for their collective common good. Unfortunately, few housing officials and professionals at this time were supportive or even interested in working with these groups.

The Civil Rights Movements and the riots of the late 1960s fostered “citizen groups who were engaging or using professional architects and planners as advocates [vehicles] for confronting the insensitive official policies” and to plead the citizens’ case by demanding a hearing, as pointed out by Lewis and Gindroz (1974, p.27). The environment in government offices created bureaucrats at all levels that made decisions on behalf of the citizens without reference to those whose lives were affected by those decisions.

The citizens had to take back control of the decisions about things that affected their built environment and lives achieved through the recognition of them as a community. Unfortunately, in the process there were conflicts over design issues between the advocacy groups and the bureaucratic officials and technical specialists because of their different viewpoints. In other words, the first group were looking at the problem from the outside while the community looked at the problem from the inside, already living and experiencing the forces of change.

In Pittsburgh, a different approach to renewal was used even though underpinned by the Housing Acts of 1949. Mayor Lawrence in his speech at the first Harvard University Conference in 1956 argued that redevelopment of Pittsburgh was taken with the view that:

“...it was a city worth saving; that a successful organism in the plan of nature must have a head and nerve centre; that the people of a city can take pride and glory in it in our own times as the Athenians did under Pericles or the Florentines under Lorenzo.” (Krieger and Saunders, 2009, p.61)



This highlighted important aspects to a community's redevelopment; firstly, the belief by all involved that it was worth saving. Unfortunately in the case of Pittsburgh during the first urban renaissance of the 1950s-1960s, it was the belief not of the community but the elite business people, politicians who thought they knew what was best for the city. The second aspect it highlighted is the importance of visionary leadership, in this case Mayor Lawrence and wealthy patron Richard King Mellon.

The third important aspect to the approach in Pittsburgh's redevelopment was the reliance on building a coalition between politicians, developers, bankers and influential wealthy patrons. This approach is what one may call the urban regime coalition, as pointed out by the seminal work by Floyd Hunter (1953).

Crowley cites that Hunter used "a power matrix to describe a network of top financiers and corporate executives that had the ability to influence the local policy agenda" (2005, p.9). He examined the decisions by a panel of fourteen highly knowledgeable people in the community affairs to select the top ten leaders from four categories of leaders in business, government, the non-profit sector and social circles.

His findings revealed a high correlation between the panels on which the top leaders or movers and shakers were. It revealed the existence of a closed group mostly from the corporate world that influenced the policymaking before it was brought to the public agenda. This pushes the community interest to the bottom of the rung of decision-making; they are merely surrogates! It was the feeling of not being involved in decisions that affected their lives that partly contributed to the rise in the Civil Rights Movement, the formation of community advocacy groups and the involvement by institutions in the provision of service to these communities.

Most stakeholders in place-creation are property investors, developers, estate financiers and users. The interest of the first three groups of participants is purely economic gain. It is not therefore surprising that the key stake holders will come from this group rather than the consumers and users of the place created, whose contribution is always on the margins.

In Pittsburgh, the ruling elites who controlled development worked through the Allegheny Conference on Community Development (ACCD), a private sector leadership organization dedicated to economic development and quality of life. The ACCD coordinated the partnership of the private and public sectors in dealing with issues of redevelopment in Pittsburgh even before the Federal government had provided the funding for most of the redevelopment efforts. This placed Pittsburgh on top of the nation's cities as a model for urban renaissance.

The ACCD started in the early 1940s with projects to improve transportation links within the region and to tackle environmental pollution that was typical of Pittsburgh from the coal industries. The coalition consisted of the wealthy Richard King Mellon who also was the president of Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association; the Carnegie Institute of Technology president (perhaps from influence of Andrew Mellon), the mayor David Lawrence and other local leaders.

In Pittsburgh, the renewal of the Point district has been cited as one of the successes of the private-public partnership. Teaforde posits that the renewal was the result of:

“...product of state, local, and private effort...example is the park development on which Equity Life Assurance Society constructed a complex of office towers...triggering further private office construction” (2000, p.457).

The idea of the rebuilding of Pittsburgh was driven by the leadership of Richard King Mellon who chose to rebuild the city rather than abandon it, as pointed out by Lubove who argues that ACCD was effective because

“Mellon’s leadership and the recruitment of the corporate elite provided it with the extraordinary potential power to be exercised through person deliberation as individuals rather than as representatives of their companies...” (1996, p.109).

This effectively interjects moral and ethical responsibility to the individual who is a member of the ACCD committee on voluntary basis without influence by parent company. The process of urban regime coalition is different from the typical voting system as pointed out by Crowley who argues that

“...widely shared political interests often fail to organize effectively because the constituents have rational incentives to free ride on the effects of others while the small group of elites on the other hand do not suffer the same organizational problems and will normally defeat their many, less well organized opponents...” (2005, p.12).

This further explains the reasons why in place making, the power still resides with the few elites rather than the community it is supposed to serve. However the advantages of such a coalition is that once a consensus is reached, the actions could be quick and significant but carried the risk that the actions would likely be based on satisfying the needs of the business community and thus alienating the rest of the community.

The uniqueness of the ACCD was the collaborative approach where not only key movers and shakers of development were involved but also they relied on:

“...technical and professional assistance of the leading planning and research agencies such as the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association...” Lubove (1996, p.110).

In addition, Richard King Mellon was a wealthy Republican businessperson who had never met or spoken to David Lawrence, a Democrat mayor of Pittsburgh, but they were able to work across party lines in collaborative ventures.

### 3.6. Summary

The dissertation started with a key question:

1. How and why did urban laboratories come about?

The primary question addressed through looking at several secondary questions that emanate from it:

- a. To what extent did the historical context contribute to the formation and methodological practices of the Urban Design Laboratory at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh?
- b. How do the methodologies of the urban design laboratory model at CMU in Pittsburgh compare with others in the European continent (i.e. in Barcelona and Copenhagen)?

This chapter explored the historical contexts that framed the founding of the urban laboratories at Pittsburgh and Barcelona. It linked the deteriorations of the physical and environmental conditions despite the renewal efforts to the rise of new approaches to urban developments. It examined the impacts of the transformations in the social and economic conditions and the political realignments on the collective action and participation. The chapter also looked at the tactics used by the communities and professionals to respond to the changing landscape conditions mentioned above.

The chapter revealed that worldwide there were changes demanded due to perception that the corrupt and tired older hegemony of the *Beaux-Arts* methods of design had to be done away with. CIAM was formed in 1928 to deal with urban problems that were linked to socio-economic changes due to industrializations and to the related health problems associated with crowding from the rural-urban migration. Also in tandem, the industrial revolution brought about a new mode of private transportation, the motor vehicle.

The architects of the time recognized the complexity involved in solving these urban problems and began to develop new methods of analysis in response to developments coming from both the Frankfurt School of Sociology and later Chicago School of Sociology. It was thought that solutions would come after the experts' professional had studied the city in public interests. On one hand, the approach was elitist and on the other hand, they claimed all was to be done in the public interests. In this sense the introduction of the ethical values went beyond the individual client interest. The designer/ expert now had to work with the user in mind.

However one of the shortcomings that the new methods revealed were the separation of human activities of dwelling, working, leisure and travel were seen to require specific solutions. A new kind of human being would have sufficed! Unfortunately that was not the case, resulting in failures. The idea of the minimum dwelling as a solution for housing shortage was short-sighted.

Within the USA, wealth and poverty grew hand in hand, with those without denied basic rights and liberty. The urban renewal efforts of the 1950s actually led to the destruction of the vulnerable communities in the process. Two opportunities developed from the social injustice seen during the period from discriminatory environmental policies, firstly, new advocacy groups to give voice to those without and to empower them to demand their rights. Secondly, the communities once empowered with the new tool began to form coalitions to

counter threats to their civil liberties and the right to make decisions that affected their lives.

The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s was a response not only to social injustice but also to environmental injustices, and fostered the formation of design advocacy groups as a new tool to represent the desires of the voiceless and usually un-empowered communities.

The environmental injustices included schemes that benefited the elites and majority white communities while transferring the burdens to the minority immigrants and black communities.

In tandem, there was great new urban growth in the 1950s and 1960s at the edges of the existing city centres fuelling the suburbanization. The strip malls, which were built, steadily drained them of their strengths and attractiveness and led to decay. The solution for the blighted areas left over was demolition that left the city centre without the necessary tax base that would be necessary to maintain streets, amenities, and services.

Pittsburgh for example, experienced, in addition to the drain on the centres, a decline in industrial activities from the steel mills due to competition from Asian industrial giants like Japan. The population of the city declined, unemployment

rose, and more empty sites, abandoned buildings and a general blighting of the physical built environment of Pittsburgh occurred.

The ruling elite formed urban regime coalitions to spur renaissance, which was rooted on the renewal by destruction policies that had been in place since the Housing Acts of 1949. Communities were uprooted in the process; their livelihoods destroyed and they were not given a voice or choice on the matter. The passivity of the citizens changed with the enactments of the antipoverty campaigns of 1964 and model city programs of 1966. They become conscious of their rights and demanded action, forming neighborhood groups.

In response to the decay, an interest in the morphological study and analysis of the city and architectural typology developed around the same period in academia. This is evidenced by the influential publications of books by Kevin Lynch (1960) *Image of The City*; Aldo Rossi (1966) *Architecture of the City*; Jane Jacobs (1960) *The life and Death of Great American cities*; Rob Krier (1976), *Terria y practica de los espacios urbanos* and many others. These were to become the new materials used in schools of architecture across both the USA and Western Europe.

The study revealed that even though no major historical events occurred in the 1960s, there were major pieces of legislations that framed local events in different regions. They included the Voters Act of 1964, the Employment Act of 1967, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968. They gave rise to the civil rights

movements, women's liberation, anti-war movements (focused on Vietnam where TV, a new media, showed the horrors of war), and the challenge of the alternative energy culture. All these led to the rise of a new consciousness, an alternative culture of desiring a say in all affairs affecting the future of not only the young people but also the local communities. The students' free speech movements came out of this period as well.

The above actions by community led to the developments of two types of community organizations; first, relying on massive confrontation tactics while the second model depended on the collaborative partnerships between the establishment institutions and the community. The urban laboratories as advocacy groups were built on the second model of community organizations. They relied on an extensive network to build capacity and gather data required in preparing of the alternative proposals and visioning.

The next three chapters examine the individual case studies of the urban laboratories. They explore how their methodologies developed from the historical circumstances if at all and what were the differences in approach taken by the laboratories.



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## **4. CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY 1: PITTSBURGH**

The previous chapter explored the historical contexts that framed the urban laboratory with reference to USA and Pittsburgh in particular. It made references to parallel circumstances that occurred in Barcelona and linked the deteriorations of the physical and environmental conditions to the demand for a new approach to urban developments. In addition, it examined the transformations in the social and economic conditions and the political realignments after the Second World War.

This chapter will examine the extent to which the historical context contributed to the methodological practices of the UL at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh. It starts by giving some background information on the Pittsburgh region where the UL projects were located, followed by a brief history of the laboratory and the founder David Lewis. The methodologies of UL are then described and how the strategies and tactics used correlate to the historical context are looked at by use of examples from case studies. These are taken from three different distinct UL phases. Each phase of the UL is investigated and linked to the sphere of influence that drives it. Three case studies are taken from the three periods of UL (UL1: 1963-1968; UL2: 1982-1992; UL3: 1992 to date), to see how the methods are used, and how they have changed over the years as outlined by Toker (2007).

The chapter has the following structure:

### **4.1. Historical Context**

### **4.2. Urban Laboratory (UL) at Carnegie Mellon University**

### **4.3. Strategies and tactics of the processes at the CMU laboratory**

### **4.4. Methods and Influences**

### **4.5. Examined Case of Urban Laboratory Project 1**

### **4.6. Transformation in methods over the years**

### **4.7. Examined Case of Urban Laboratory Project 2: Charm Bracelet 2006**

### **4.8. Summary**

## **Chapter 4 References**

#### **4.1. Historical Context**

In 1960 almost half of the dwelling units (238,000) in Alleghany County were built before 1920 and more than 90,000 before 1900. By implication most of the housing units were of old stock and a census report of 1960 indicated that at least almost a quarter (112,318) of them were deficient, as pointed out by Lubove (1995, 143). The matters were made worse by revelation that only 13 out of 80 municipalities were participating in the urban renewal program. This meant that most of the units were likely to be condemned under the Housing Act of 1949.

The arrival of German, Polish, Italian and Irish immigrants, and freed black migrants from the southern states contributed to the shortage of housing in Pittsburgh. This continued despite a report in 1957 by the Pennsylvania Economic league that explicitly linked the future of the renewal to the housing deadlock. It pointed out that "...the minority, the aged and the lower-middle income housing market had been neglected ...” Lubove (1995, 144). The urban renewal efforts had been focused on providing housing for those able to access the financing, in other words both the middle income and the wealthy, yet was funded through the Federal government programs meant to benefit all.

In 1936, the Pennsylvania Economy League (PEL) was incorporated aimed at cutting government spending through research. Cooke (1961) pointed out that it came to wield great influence over the making of public policy instead of being only a research agency. It was financed by big business, respected by politicians in both parties, commended by the press and cooperated with by groups that might be considered natural enemies.

In this sense it was a common vehicle to achieve business despite political differences. This was possible because, as Cooke argued "...the League has furnished from time to time men from its own staff for important public assignments..." (1961, p.69-70). It was therefore an inside-outside organization that allowed the business elite to run the city and county through the urban coalition regime. Decisions were made that suited their

business interest as opposed to their initial objectives of merely cutting government spending on behalf of the citizens.

Because of the challenges faced by the minority groups pointed to earlier, the PEL "...recommended the formation of new non-profit agency the Allegheny Council to Improve Our Neighbourhood-Housing (ACTION-Housing) which was established in 1957..." (Lobove ,1995, 145) ACTION-Housing however, was a non-profit organization; it operated in an efficient, business like manner, acquired sites for development, and worked with professionals to experiment on the best way forward in the provision of housing. Between 1961 and 1966 it had erected and sold 187 townhouses.

In 1959 ACTION-Housing had attempted to approach the redevelopment differently by collaborating with owners and tenants of Windless Street. It had worked with "...architects and planners of the Amber Company's established home division and tenant group who had formed self-help group..." according to Lubove (1995, p.154). The efforts failed due to the lack of a master plan for the area available from the city. By 1966 ACTION-Housing was working with low-income residents in the Hill district to assist in providing capacities for self-improvements of the homes. This was enabled by the passing of the 1964 Employment Opportunity Act that allowed for expansion of the rehabilitation efforts.

According to Lubove, "...in 1958 ACTION-Housing participated in the organization of East Liberty Citizens Renewal Council, in 1959 the Bluff Area Citizens Renewal Council and the Perry Hilltop Citizens Action Committee on Northside, in 1961-63 worked intensely with the Southside citizens groups..." (1995, p.161). One would therefore argue that Pittsburgh had by 1963 well-organized community action groups that fought for their rights. The Civil Rights Movements therefore dovetailed onto the existing community network.

The growth in citizen participation and neighbourhood organizations in Pittsburgh was a result of the City Planning Department's programmes established in 1961 under the

Community Revitalization Plan, CRP. The Mayor's office employed a liaison officer, James Cunningham as associate director to aid the formulation of the CRP and neighbourhood programmes that went beyond citizens' council and housing renewal. He brought experience from Chicago from 1956 where he had successfully experimented on arresting the deterioration of neighbourhoods. Lubove points to two important lessons he brought on board: "...an alternative and superior strategy to bulldozing was the use of conservation and rehabilitation and secondly acknowledging that renewal was a long-term process that depended on the establishment of machinery for widespread citizen participation in decision making..." (1995, p.162).

Cunningham's ideas and efforts brought a dilemma for ACTION-housing in that it had been established as an urban coalition of business interests and now had to mediate between the neighbourhood interests it aroused and the business interests.

By 1964, ACTION-Housing had started to play an important role in shaping the anti-poverty programmes in Pittsburgh through what Lubove pointed out were "...encouragement of the emergence of new neighbourhood leaders that provided the other citizens with some voice in decisions affecting the physical and social environment..." (1995-174-175).

It is interesting to note that ACTION-housing was involved in neighbourhood extension programs that relied on extension workers to "...alert and equip citizens so that they would be willing and able to take upon themselves much responsibility for developing their neighbourhood..." (Lubove, 1976, p.233). It helped develop partnerships between the universities, school systems, and government departments into a working relationship with the neighbourhood residents. The context, which David Lewis came to in 1963, was ripe for the experimentation of ideas. It was not unique in any way in that the framework had existed for at least five years as demonstrated by the projects ACTION-housing was involved with.

#### **4.2. Urban Laboratory (UL) at Carnegie Mellon University**

David Lewis, the founder of the UL came from England in 1963 to join the faculty at Carnegie Mellon University. He had previously moved from South Africa to England and joined a group of modern artists at St Ives in Cornwall in 1947. He was described as “...an inspiring young poet who met and married Wilhelmina Barnes-Graham...” (Hall, 2010). There is no record of his involvement in painting, though he curated and wrote on subjects related to art and architecture while in St Ives. David Lewis joined the University of Leeds School of Architecture in 1956 where he stayed till he moved to USA in 1963.

While still married to Barnes-Graham, Lewis met the modern artists of the day based there. These included Terry Frost, Peter Lanyon, Bryan Wynter, among others, according to Stephens (1997). As a contributor to *Archigram 2* in 1962, he met members of Team X such as Peter Cook and Shadrach Woods and collaborated with Peter Stead in 1962 on Houses built from Industrial Units in Huddersfield, as pointed out by Hall (2010). He contributed to a commentary on art and architecture in *Architectural Design*, an influential mouthpiece for Team X (Gathercole, 2006).

Lewis and Peter Stead were to later move together to Pittsburgh USA where they formed a practice, Urban Design Associates, and to join the faculty at the school of architecture at Carnegie Mellon University (Johnstone (n.d.)) Several things need highlighting from the above; firstly, when David Lewis had contact with artists and architects through the circles of artists residing at St Ives he was a writer and a poet.

Secondly, Stephen (1997) points out that artists such as Peter Lanyon at St Ives strove to underpin their work on the local context. He is however very critical of the writings of Lewis on the work, considering them as lacking in the fundamentals: “...in place of a historical narrative or analysis there is a personal memoir by David Lewis, a ‘St Ives’ protagonist between 1947 and 1955...” (1997, p.624). I suspect there is a bit of self-promotion going on here, the type talked of by Pierre Bourdieu. He argued that the elites could use art as a tool of power. He posited “...the cult of art is intensified by the



discrepancy between *subjective* radicalism and *objective* wealth, but also by political disappointment...” (1984, p.366).

Despite the criticisms levelled at his writings and interests, it is acknowledged that “...St Ives was an avant-garde centre in 1950s whose notional leaders had been subversives of the 1930s...” according to Garlake (1986, p.83). Having trained in architecture at Leeds he moved to USA as an architect rather than an urban designer. He was an architect who had been in contact with the new thinking coming out of Team X, considered rebels to the CIAM movement. However, he was still a strong believer in experimentation, of technological determinism, as revealed by his collaborative projects with Peter Stead at Huddersfield.

Having given some background information on David Lewis who founded the Urban Laboratory at Carnegie Mellon University, the research will next look at some background material about the UL followed by analysis of three projects to work out the methodological strategies adapted and their influences.

A review of universities that have urban design or architecture programmes that engage communities, reveals that it was the first such programme (see UL timeline **table 3.1 in chapter 3**). However, Paul Davidoff at the University of Pennsylvania had started the Advocacy Planning programme in the 1950s. A review of the list of visitors to the school during the UL when Paul Schweikher (1956-1969) was the director of the school includes Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch, Sibyl Moholy-Nagy and Ludwig van de Rohe. There was therefore influence coming from other schools including writings by Dennis Scott Brown who was based at the University of Pennsylvania who wrote extensively on planning, urban design and the city during that period. Therefore UL as a process of students engaging the community was not the first, but as an architectural programme that used community engagement within its urban design course, it was a leader.

David Lewis in his acceptance speech for the 2007 Athena Medal pointed out that the founding of the UL coincided with the activities of the Civil Rights Movements of the 1960s where citizens were demanding a platform for “...participation in the discussion and design of social and urban futures...” (2007). He thus acknowledged a link between the founding of the UL and the fight for social justice in USA and the Pittsburgh area in particular, where he lived and worked. Lawrence Glasco (2001), a notable Pittsburgh historian corroborates this view; however the direct linkages seem difficult to establish.

The UL proponents argue that the principles of democracy articulated by President Thomas Jefferson are at the core of the UL programme. Lipscomb and Bergh cite the following words:

“I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education. This is the true corrective of abuses of constitutional power.” (quoted in Schuman, 2009).

Two aspects of the UL are reflected in the above statement; firstly, the process acknowledges that the *power of decision-making lies with the citizens* and is therefore a participative methodology. Secondly, it accepts that *not all citizens have the knowledge and skills that would give them the full capability to make that decision* and as such its methods are underpinned by ethical values. This requires the designers to have the moral responsibility of building the capacities of the community to enable them to participate fully in the decisions that affect them. How well they participate is investigated in the dissertation.

The course materials suggest that the UL programme at CMU is mandatory for students in the final year of the Bachelor of Architecture undergraduate degree and those undertaking the Master of Urban Design postgraduate degree. In addition it is also open to students from other disciplines interested in *urban issues* and *participatory* approaches that can be used to solve them. This openness introduces a multi-disciplinary approach without necessarily adding new courses to the curriculum.

The stated aim of the 2006-2009 UL design studio programmes was to educate architects (*not community*) to be leaders with a *vision* at the level of neighbourhood, city and region (Gatti, 2009). This was done by broadening students' training through the introduction of new skills in *community leadership* and *urban design* that other architecture and urban design programmes lacked (**see the Realm of National Architectural Accrediting Board criteria discussed in the previous chapter**). The urban design methods used approached the integrated problems through a *participatory* design process. The students worked *directly with the community* to create visions for change [emphasis mine].

The ethos of the UL is that urban design created the physical structures for collective life: in other words, places that foster and support activities of the people (Gatti, 2009). This implies that the designers are responsible not only to the clients who commission them but to the collective city as a whole (users). The UL strives to train the architects and urban designers who make places for people that are also *beautiful, inspiring and open*.

The last section of the ethos of the UL points to both the visual artistic and social usage traditions of urban design as discussed in chapter 2. The visual artistic tradition is characterized by emphasis on the product rather than process involved in creating places. It focuses more on the visual qualities of urban design and the aesthetic experience (delight) of the spaces produced than other aspects. This tradition was very much influenced by the work of Gordon Cullen, "*The Concise Townscape*" (1961). David Lewis must have been aware of this publication, having lived in England for a while and having just arrived in Pittsburgh just two years later in 1963, as revealed by the reading list at the UL he led (see **table 4.2**).

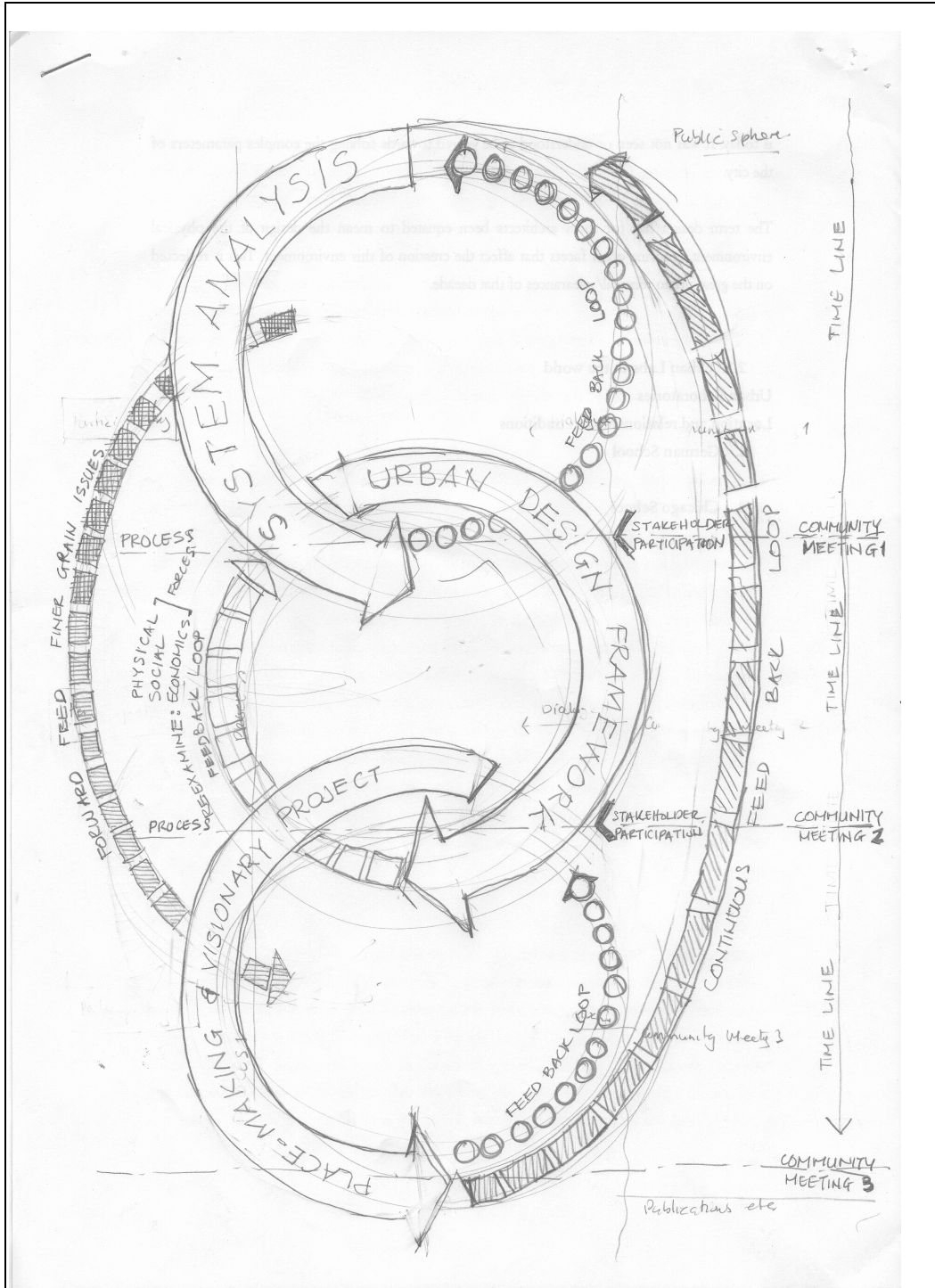
The UL studio focused on a particular kind of urban project to achieve the aims by creating a long-term vision. The success is measured by the existence of three key characteristics; a vision that is shared and supported by the community; one that is

comprehensive yet detailed and finally is positive and inspiring. Hutzell and Rico-Gutierrez, argue that it requires that the process “....be interdisciplinary and hands-on and iteratively improves the quality of the design...” (2007, p.1-2). It is thus action-based and reflexive through the looped iterative and engagement process as illustrated (**figure 4.1**).

#### **4.2.1. The Design Process**

The documents from the 2006-2009 UL reveal that the design process occurs in three key phases; the system analysis, the urban design framework and finally the place-making- visionary project phase (Gatti, 2009). The three phases are organized in such ways that not only are the school’s curriculum objectives met, but also those of the community at large. These include enhancing skills in team-work and collaboration; analysis and communications. The process is summarized in **table 4.1** and **figure 4.1** and followed by detailed description. In the examination of the design process, several questions are examined: what is the UL process used at CMU? How well does the UL adhere to their aims and objectives; (used as a measure of their success?) How does the UL interact and relate to both the client and users? How do they achieve the right balance without compromising the other visions?

PHASE	SYSTEM ANALYSIS PHASE This phase mines and analyses 1. Ecotonic data 2. Social Data 3. Physical morphology	URBAN DESIGN FRAMEWORK PHASE 1. Identifies crucial issues 2. Sets objectives 3. Looks at bench marks [use of typologies] 4. Finds relationships [building framework] 5. Makes connections to success 6. Strengthens existing relationships between various area/ corridors	PLACE-MAKING & VISIONARY PROJECT PHASE 1. Details single area of focus 2. Explores typologies [how they can be applied appropriately] 3. 3D contents and representation 4. The area of focus must be at CRITICAL location of community 5. INSPIRES continued investments 6. Is the larger urban design goals for community investments
<b>Skills acquired</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Gain communication skills [students]</li> <li>2. Leadership skills [students]</li> <li>3. Capacity Building [community]</li> <li>4. Analytical Skills [students]</li> <li>5. Collaborative skills [community and stake holders]</li> <li>6. Learn importance of INTERDISCIPLINARY nature of design process [students, community and professionals]</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Learn team-work / collaboration</li> <li>2. analytical skills</li> <li>3. Leadership skills</li> <li>4. Relationship between buildings and surrounding</li> <li>5. Learn about typologies as urban building block to be varied and repeated</li> <li>6. Use of community vision for building and revitalization</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Learn about team-work / collaboration</li> <li>2. Acquire creation skills for outdoor urban areas</li> <li>3. Role of landscape architecture in urban design</li> <li>4. Learn about landscape typologies to creation of public space</li> </ul>
<b>Participatory Activity</b>	Community Meeting 1	Community Meeting 2 Symposium	Community Meeting 3
<b>Products</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Physical models [3 D large scale]</li> <li>2. Maps [2 D]</li> <li>3. Demographic data, diagrams</li> <li>4. Photographic records</li> <li>5. Publications / Exhibitions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Strategic Vision</li> <li>2. Creation of brief or programme for interventions</li> <li>3. Typologies [building and urban]</li> <li>4. Publications / exhibitions / presentations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Typologies [building and landscape]</li> <li>2. Detailed design [architecture, infrastructure and landscaping]</li> <li>3. Reports</li> <li>4. Publications [journal papers, conference outputs, exhibitions]</li> </ul>
<b>Theoretical Framework</b>	1. Social-Usage Tradition [Chicago School]	1. Visual-Artistic 2. Social-Usage Tradition	1. Visual-Artistic Tradition 2. Place-Making Tradition
<b>Beneficiaries</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Students</li> <li>2. Community</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Students</li> <li>2. Community</li> <li>3. Community leaders</li> <li>4. Practitioners</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Students</li> <li>2. Community</li> <li>3. Practitioners</li> </ul>
Table 4.1: Summary of Design Process of the UL at CMU			
Source: Author from summaries at the UL			



The first diagram (**Table 4.1**) was built from the description given in the student's handouts and the Remaking Cities publication. It is used in this research to identify the skills that the professional urban designer needs (Kumar, 2009) and locates the different phases when community participation occurs. Also it indicates the products expected and who the beneficiaries are. The first row with the phases suggests to the students issues that they need to focus on in discussions with the community at a later date. The community even though it is argued it is at the centre of the process, is actually engaged later within each phase as discussed elsewhere within the chapter.

Even though the UL syllabus indicates that there are no predominant theoretical underpinnings, an analysis of the reading list and documents provided reveal that two schools of thought dominate. These are the social-usage and visual artistic traditions.

The diagram, (**figure 4.1**) is the author's model of a reflective urban design model and has been developed from the materials provided and literature review on learning methods. The key text used to draw the diagram is Schön (1983) "*reflective practitioner*". The diagram reveals emphasis on an open ended design process that has feedback loops embedded within it at every stage. The process is a linear iterative loop. How much reflection is allowed will be revealed from interviews with former faculty at the school and published texts. I will now describe the various phases and what occurs in them.

#### **4.2.1.1. Phase 1: Systems Analysis**

The first phase is used as the stage for the students and the participants to understand the community, to discover the weaknesses, strengths, opportunities, and perceived and real threats to its existence and growth. The phase uses several methods for discovering the common interests within the community and the subsequent induction of convergence (agreement, see more discussion on methods by Sanoff, 2008; and Till, 2005) of interests from what initially appeared as sticking points, which are explored below.

The whole process is constrained by the typical short sixteen week academic semester schedule, in addition to the limitations on the capabilities of the institutional partners involved and the nature of their political agendas and processes. It changes the perception of the roles and responsibilities of the designers from provision of services to enabling and empowering the stakeholders, the community.

The phase starts with the interrogation of the question of what a place is, through the use of a think piece. It is an opportunity for individual perceived interpretation of what defines the community where they are working. It is also used as an aid to developing personal observation, and documentation of what has been seen. This is in reference to the linkages between different points, one within the study site, and the other which could be either within or outside. They are especially encouraged to look at connections to the other areas of the community. The students finally interpolate the character of the connections between the points, (**Figure 4.2 and 4.3**) by creating compelling representations of what the connections are.

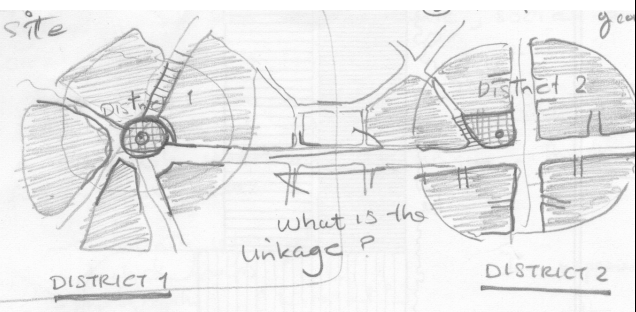

	
<p><b>Figure 4.2: Connections: Source: Author</b></p>	<p><b>Figure 4.3: Think Piece Representation: Source: RCI, (2008, p.124)</b></p>

Figure 3.2 above is my interpretation of what connections between two different points under study might look like. This is developed from literature reviews of the forces that impact place making/ quality of place (Bianchini and Parkinson (1993); Danson and Mooney (1997); Landry (2000), CABE (2005) and others). It relies on identification of two distinct locations and a mapping of linkages between them. These could be a



physical link (road, river etc); economic (e.g. residences and shops); social/ cultural (residences and say community building like a church or library) and so on.

The process of drawing the diagram encourages investigations of what the possible relations could be, very much in line with the work of the Surrealists discussed later in the section. Figure 3.3 above brings to mind works of Surrealist artists. Between 1947 and 1962 David Lewis was very much involved with the artists at St Ives in Cornwall: some such as Peter Lanyon were Surrealists. Their style and methods of work must have influenced not only his work, but also his methods. For example, Andre Breton (1924) wrote about the surreal in the first manifesto explaining that the

“...visual hallucination of the image of a man cut into two by a window is the product of the exploration of the relationship between the unconscious thought and the poetic production...”

Williams (1981, p.10).

This he saw as an important means to express the content and process of the unconscious. The technique involved the use of games where random objects are placed out of context to research on the irrational knowledge of the object. Williams argues that the “...Surrealist artistic images only pretended to create illusions of real spaces, no matter how meticulously drawn or photographed the object might be...” (1981, p.12).

In the think piece above, the ribbons flowing across the model are separated from their customary surrounding and combined with other objects of wood to create illusion of the new context. The ribbons are used to elucidate the connections between the two sides of the model, I assume the community to be divided yet united by the wider ribbon of the river. One sees in the methods, the techniques of the Bauhaus period, a new way of thinking about space and objects within it. This was different from the traditional methods used in architectural schools where the representations had to be more realistic as opposed to whacky and personal. It raises questions on how well the community was involved in the creation of the image used in the think piece.

In addition, David Lewis spent time with Ben Nicholson (whom he was very fond of) and wrote an article on the 'Scratching the Surface' exhibition of 2009 at Tate St. Ives. Ben Nicholson was a constructivist artist and surrealist. His work was abstract and he argued that:

“...a good idea is exactly as good as it can be universally applied, that no idea can have universal application which is not solved in its own terms and if any extraneous elements are introduced the application ceases to be universal. Realism has been abandoned in search for reality: the principle objective of abstract art is precisely this reality” (1971, p.75).

The abstract representation of the landscape at Val d'Orcia depicted by Nicholson (**figure 4.4**) and Wilhelmina Barns-Graham (**figure 4.5**) are similar in style to those used by students in the think piece above (**figure 4.3**). The influence of abstract and constructive art is inherent perhaps from the time Lewis spent at St Ives and encouraged the students to look at.



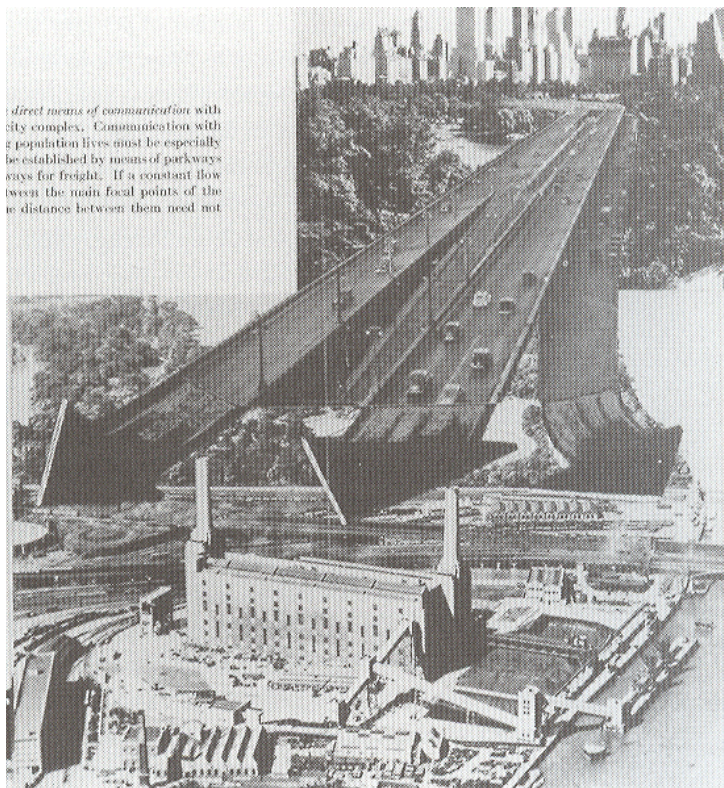
**Figure 4.4: August 1956 (Val d'Orcia) Ben Nicholson**

**Source: Tate Exhibition St. Ives exhibition  
Scratching the surface**



**Figure 4.5: White Relief on Black and Grey - 1954 - acrylic on board by Barns-Graham (1954)**

**Source: Wilhelmina Barns-Graham Trust**



*...direct means of communication with city complex. Communication with a population lives must be especially be established by means of parkways ways for freight. If a constant flow between the main focal points of the the distance between them need not*

<b>Figure 4.6: Representation of Future means of Communications</b>	<b>Source: Mumford, (2000, p.137)</b>
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The process interrogates the connections by looking at what the economic interrelationships are; what the social interrelationships are and finally what the physical interrelationships or the connectivity are. The process also considers the scale of the linkages, be they local, regional, national or global. At the end of the UL process, a compelling representation of the chosen place under study has to be constructed illustrating the character of the place in use, its scale, and the morphological relationships as observed and documented.

The term ‘compelling representation’ suggests the idea of marketing or use of power of persuasion. It brings to mind two important writers of the period, Breton (1969) who pointed out that Surrealism could not be defined solely from constructive or destructive points but from the events in life of the period. The second is Sert who used the persuasion of photomontage developed by Moholy-Nagy to portray the state of the city (**figure 4.6**). Mumford asserts:

“ the images suggest how the modernizing processes are inevitably producing the constituent elements of the functional city underscoring that the CIAM polemic was indeed a scientific response to these forces...” (2000, p.136-7)

In addition, the compelling representations seem to borrow from the works of the Situationist International artist methodology of psychogeography. Coverley (2006) suggests that psychogeography is the interaction between psychology and geography and the emotional and behavioural response of the environment. The assignment could be interpreted as examination through navigation between the two points. The design would thus be reflections of the response in derive as individuals (think piece) and as a collective (community visioning). The process allows for a critical awareness of the potential of the urban spaces they live in and a response by modifying to improve it .

This first phase of work is carried out in groups within the studio to lighten the task at hand as well as to impart communication, collaborative and negotiation skills in the students. The three-value system of the place is represented in three different ways; as perception of the place, as evaluation, and as the understanding of the place. The term value-system is used here to refer to the factors that determine the meaning of a place. Tuan posited that “...a place is the centre of meaning constructed by experience...” (1975, p.152).

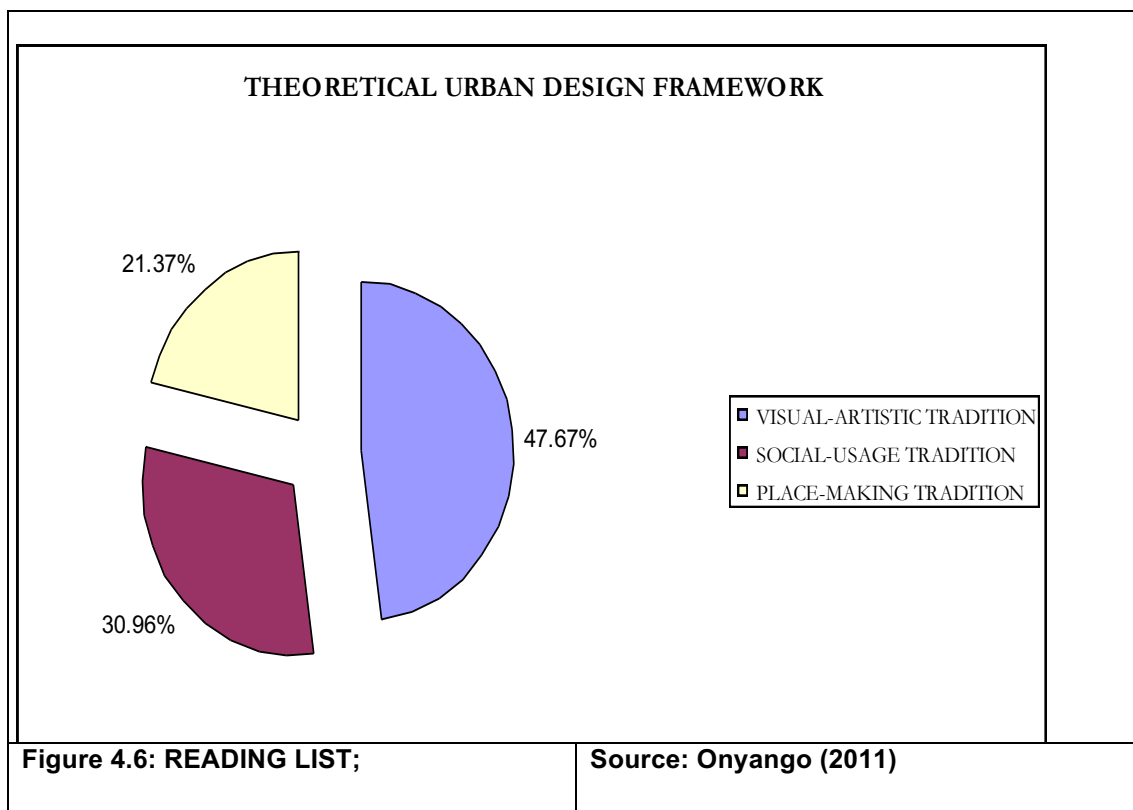
The representation of the place is evaluated against the data collected during the walk through of the site, their own preconceived notions, and checked with the community during the first meeting. Later during the second phase, the work is checked against the benchmark set up and agreed with the community.

The success of places is measured by their usage by people and therefore the creation of places is linked to the understanding of how people interact with each other in the place, how they use and modify the environment they use, and how universal the place is in accepting all people regardless of gender, age, or ability. It also looks at the various layers of the community that exist; and the politics of the community organization suggesting ownership to the process is thus critical for its success.

The documents of the laboratory state that there is no sole theoretical framework that underpins the design process at the UL, but it draws from all the three well-known existing frameworks (Hutzell and Rico-Gutierrez, 2007). The reading list reveals that the study of the social value system is underpinned by the social-usage tradition. [See literature review on the traditions and **figure 4.6 & table 4.2** below].

Required reading (main author)	Urban Design Tradition
1. Haussmann (1809–1891 civil planner)	1. Traditional Beaux Arts
2. Summerson, J. (1963) The Classical Language of Architecture )Historian and critic)	2. Traditional Beaux Arts
3. Le Corbusier	3. Modernists CIAM

4. Theo Crosby/ Team 10/ Smithson 5. Camillo Sitte 6. Rodrigues Perez de Arce 7. German, Dutch and Viennese Socialists 8. Bruno Taut 9. W. H. Whyte 10. Aldo Rossi  11. Maurice Culot  12. Ebenezer Howard 13. Kevin Lynch 14. Rem Koolhaas 15. Collage City	4. CIAM 5. Traditional Beaux Arts 6. (no fixed leanings) 7. Modernist CIAM rebels 8. ? 9. Social- usage tradition 10. Social-usage tradition/ visual artistic 11. Social-usage tradition/ visual artistic 12. Garden city-functionalism 13. Visual artistic tradition 14. Post modernist? 15. Visual artistic
<b>Table 4.2: 1982 CMU Urban Laboratory Reading list</b>	<b>Source: Lewis, 1982</b>



The figure above (**Figure 4.6**) is a representation of the theoretical frameworks based on an analysis of the reading lists provided to the students. According to Jarvis, (quoted in Carmona *et al* 2003, p.6) they are the visual-artistic, the social-usage and place-making traditions (**see Chapter 2, sections 2.2.1; 2.2.2 & 2.2.3**). The figure is a reflection of the percentage breakdown of the reading in the course handed out at UL2. The books were then categorized by the main emphasis the authors were aligned to (**table 4.2**). The list is compared with those at other schools contemporary to the UL at CMU in the discussion section.

It reveals that although the programme claims that there is no single dominant theoretical direction, almost half of the books can be categorized as underpinned by the social-usage tradition. I therefore argue that the methodologies are likely to be influenced by this.

If we are to go back to the place-making process, we find that space (Euclidian) is transformed into place by the meanings attributed to it by the users, and, I would argue, the community. The meanings are attributed for various reasons and this is what gives it the sense of ownership and responsibility to the place. Therefore we may argue place creation demands willing user-participation in what happens to their community so that they can have a sense of shared responsibility to the space so created.

There is a gap that exists because of the competing interests between the client, the users or community, and the designers who are typically aligned with the clients. The gap is an ethical one because it relates to the competing interests in the built environment as realized, against one where the desires and needs of the users are ignored or interpreted by one group over the other. This is the conventional way of designing and developing the built environment. The participation as a process of place-creation provides the space to address the difference if the parties with inherent interests are engaged early in the production of the place they live in.

There are very many methods that can be adopted and used in the participatory design and planning process. Sanoff (2000) gives three purposes for participation as, firstly, involvement of the people in the design decision making processes; secondly, giving a voice in the process; and finally the promotion of community cohesion and a sense of pride.

The use of interactive methods serves the purpose well and there are different formats to meet those. There are five methods used singularly or in combination to enable participation. They are: “awareness, indirect, group interactions, open-ended and brainstorming methods” as pointed out by Sanoff (2000, p.68).

A review and analysis of the 2006-2007 UL studio programmes reveal three main methods used in the first phase of the UL process; awareness, indirect, and group interaction methods.

#### **4.2.1.2. Systems Analysis: Methods and Influences**

The first, the awareness method, involves finding out perceived meaning that the site of study in relation to other areas and factors has to the community and the student designers. It has to be pointed out here that the students tour the site with community leaders or representatives. Hence the meanings may not be the true reflection of how the community understands and perceive the place. The information gathered is specific to the locality, hence driven by context, and allows for later discussion at the first community meeting on the differences in perception of the issues the community see as assets or threats, and the view point held by the students and other stakeholders, such as developers.

For example, at the 1991 UL worked on a proposal for the Southside Community on behalf of the Southside Local Development Company (SSLDC), according to Faassen, Fredrickson and Temkin (1991). The site in question was owned by



Ling- Temco-Vought (LTV) and was to be developed over a period through the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Pittsburgh. The briefing documents had a condition requiring the designers to work with the community through a liaison (SSLDC). The final study was presented to the Southside Planning forum at completion. At no point in the process were the community involved directly except at the end to be given the final proposal (**Figure 4.7**). The feedback loops that would have embedded the process were lacking. The community were therefore surrogates to the process.

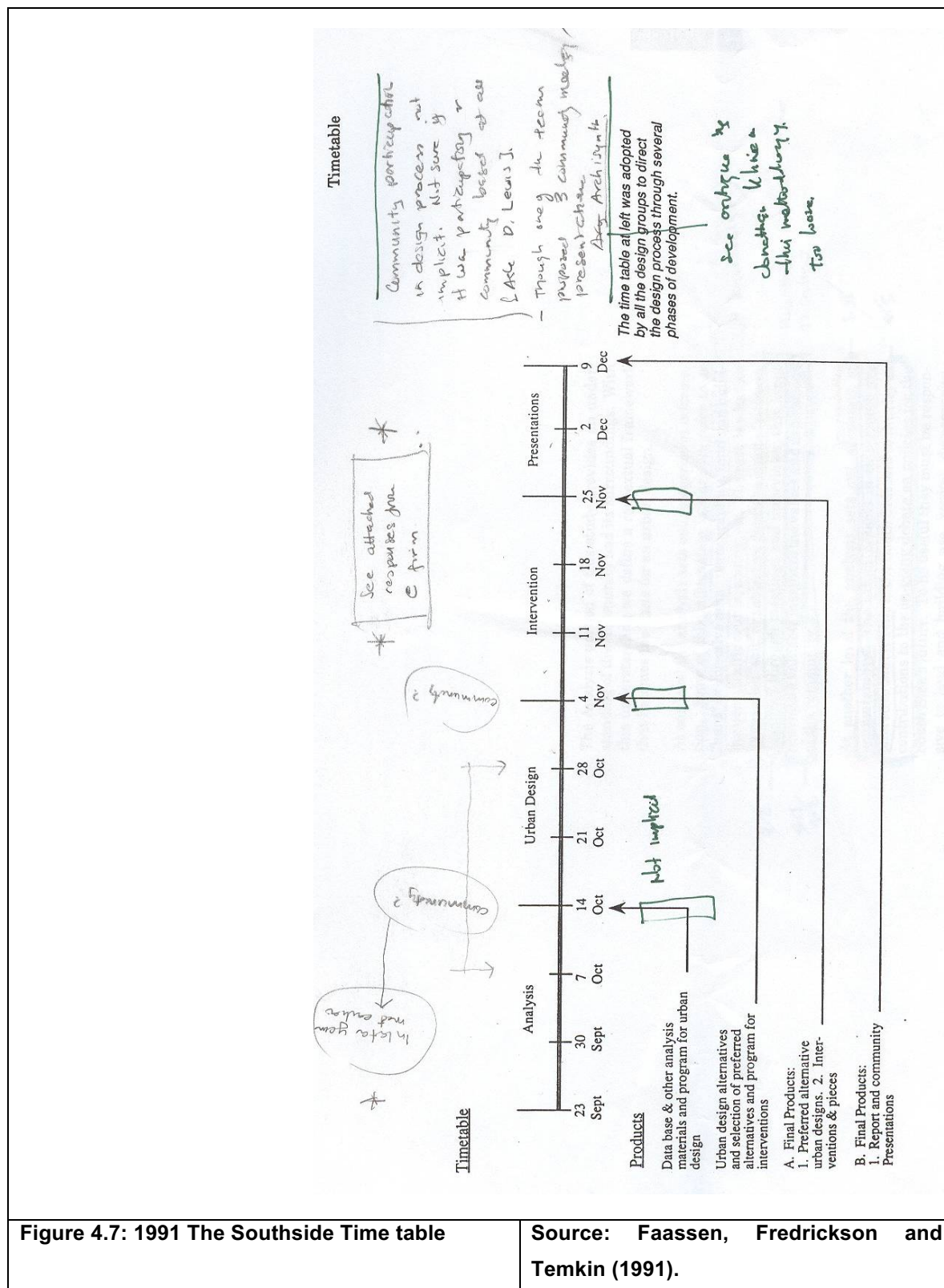


Figure 4.7: 1991 The Southside Time table

Source: Faassen, Fredrickson and Temkin (1991).

There are three basic ways that the community's awareness can be raised, the order depending on the organization. These are: use of media, holding of exhibitions or rallies, and walking tours of the community to see the current contextual state of their built environment. In UL the community awareness is raised through friendly media like the *Post-gazette* and the *Pittsburgh Courier*. I call them friendly here since I could hardly find critical reports from any of their commentaries on the works of the laboratory (see captions **Figure 4.8**) below.

## 'Urban lab' meeting set

Saturday, November 26, 2005

**Pittsburgh Post-Gazette**

A third and last community meeting for North Siders to contribute to a Carnegie Mellon University "urban lab" study will be held Wednesday from 6:30 to 9 p.m. at the Children's Museum.

CMU architecture students are proposing ways to "mend disconnects within the neighborhood," said Flora Bao, one of the students.

## CMU architecture students plan for Downtown of the future

Monday, December 13, 2010

**By Diana Nelson Jones, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette**



The Urban Lab's plan for Downtown Pittsburgh promotes a pedestrian friendly environment that connects Downtown.

Imagine a Downtown with an iconic part of the Civic Arena as a scenic overlook, a cable car connecting the Hill to the Convention Center, a looping midtown tram, river buses, and pedestrian alleys connecting river to river, and small greenspaces dotting the path from the Point to Uptown like breadcrumbs.

**Figure 4.8: Press Reports**

**Source: Post-Gazette Archives**

The *Post-gazette* was first established in 1786 and as such is a historical paper for Pittsburgh. They claim to have had a reputation for fighting for the public good, and campaigned vigorously for the urban renaissance in 1950s that unfortunately led to the destruction of many communities. They promise to continue to highlight, in their commentaries and reporting, what they perceive as public good, the community collective.

The Pittsburgh Courier on the other hand, is a much younger paper established in 1907 and has had an established history of calling for improvements in housing, health and the education of black people. The paper also had a very large circulation among black people in the pre-civil rights movements and therefore historically the local black community have associated with it.

The Audit Bureau of Circulations (2005) report on reader profiles of the Post-Gazette newspaper reveals that 92% are white, 63% are in full time employment. Of these over a fifth of them are in professional jobs and also own their residences and over 50% are educated to university level. The first paper, the Post Gazette, is likely to appeal to a conservative audience, while the second, the Pittsburgh Courier, is likely to appeal to the minorities in the Pittsburgh area.

It thus appears that the selection of the two papers is strategically based on historical facts about Pittsburgh and the complex racial relationships that have always existed (**see section 4.1**). The local political context thus was a driver to choice of the awareness methods. One could therefore argue that the method used for creating awareness responds to the historical context of the place.

The second technique used in the awareness method is “the walk-about” where both the students and the community leaders take a walk in the community to jointly discover what is actually happening on the ground rather than relying on the perceptions of what is on the ground. At the end of the walk-about the students are able to examine the value system of the community such as; what does the ownership of land and property

in the area look like? Who works there? Where do they come from? Where are the perceived edges to the locality, what historical changes over time, etc? A 3D physical model of the site is built up to assist the discussion of the context later during the first community meeting (**Figure 4.9**).



**Figure 4.8: Lorimer Studio 3D model**

**Source: Remaking Cities Institute (2008, p.10)**

This method has an academic history in the rebels to rationalism of CIAM like Bakema, Allison and Peter Smithson, Woods, Candilis, De Carlo, etc, who advocated for the return to contextual “critical regionalism”. The situation or context was important to them and hence was aligned to the ideas of the Situationist International. They were driven by the “...totalistic will for change...” as indicated by the founder Debord (quoted in Sadler, p.2). The will for change created the new consciousness, new thinking completely different from the functionalism of CIAM.

John McKean (2004) in his monogram "*Giancarlo De Carlo: Layered Places*" points out that for people like De Carlo, it is the design process which is dependent on the identification of the layers of the context; reading these layers then designing a response to the contextual forces.

An examination of the minutes of the first community meeting during the 2008 Wilkinsburg UL held on 17<sup>th</sup> September reveal that the model was used in discussion around the physical environment; the social activities, economic activities and to identify problem areas that needed addressing.

The residents were able to identify misrepresentations of vacant lots within the model and had extensive discussions concerning the dilapidated buildings and vacant lots. One resident commented:

"There needs to be single family homeowner- occupied houses. The Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, (PHLF) has done that. Single family homeowner- occupied homes raised the tax base and provide relief for other taxpaying community members."

"There's a lot of kid activity on Whitney. All of Whitney Ave. is inundated with kids. The activity has both positive and negative influences on the neighbourhood."

"Wanted to replace them with community gardens. ?\* Centre / Holland could become a neighbourhood grocery store. The vacancies could become children play spaces" (Urban Lab - Wilkinsburg (2008))

Suggestions also came from the community in response to prompting by the facilitators on ways to improve the areas. And possible areas of catalytic projects that might help develop the community economically.

The third technique adopted by the UL is the indirect method. It is used to develop the understanding of the value system of the community through direct observation, surveys and questionnaires. The data can be easily quantitatively analysed and most

researchers and some design professionals prefer it as it avoids the feared pitfalls of confrontation that direct participative methods may bring.

A sample of the questionnaire that was used in conjunction with the School of Social Policy and Management is included (**appendix B**). The questionnaire collected the profiles of the residents, how frequently they used communal facilities, positive and negative aspects of the existing facilities, activities they enjoyed and whether they intended to purchase property in the area.

It may be perceived as a weak method because the information obtained will be based on the questions asked by the researcher and as such may not reflect the true voice of the community. Also the sampling procedures assumed a homogenous population which may not reflect true social-cultural and political forces that shape that community.

For the city of Pittsburgh, this could probably not reflect the true picture in a context that has had a history of racial tension. However as indicated above, it still is a robust technique to yield data, especially ones based on co-observation and discussions on perceptions held by both the community members and the students.

The forces that affect the physical, social and economic systems of a community are complex and require research to understand the local context. The local knowledge base provides the materials for research which can be untapped using the skills of expert students from outside the community acting as catalysts to unpack the intricacies. Community participation is used as a process where co-design and co-discovery of issues occur on equal footing.

Most architects and schools of architecture approach design as consisting of instrumental problems as Till points out:

“...in education, the architectural studio is held up as an exemplar of problem-based learning, the space where students are set a problem and through creative and reflective act of design come to a solution...” (2005, p.35)

The approach is negative because it ignores the assets that already exist in the community in which the design is situated, and crushes the hope of the community with the only hope being transforming places from being bad to less bad. The process of seeking the solution is separated from the one of forming or framing the problem to be solved.

The participative process becomes an asset as the citizen-experts (resident) come together in a shared negotiation with expert-citizens (professional) to reach consensus on what the problem to be solved really is. The definition of the problem is not the preserve and privilege of the experts, but of all who experience the forces that shape that community. John Forester (1985, p.119) introduced a new way of seeing design not as a "...search for solution but for sense-making". I would argue it is not only sense-making, but design becomes place-making; place-creation because in the process of the co-design, a community is built.

It comes from the transformative approach of participation and empowers the users, it builds consensus and community, creates cohesion among the participants and a sense of belonging. This is underpinned by the desire of the will of the participants to achieve mutual understanding; thereby also developing new ways of communicating to be able to reach this consensus.





**Figure 4.9A: Co-Design at Community Meeting?**  
**Source: Remaking Cities Institute (2009)**



**Figure 4.9B: Co-Design at Community Meeting?**  
**Source: Remaking Cities Institute (2009)**

The images above (**Figures 4.9A and 4.9B**) are an illustration of how co-design methods are used at the UL at CMU. An examination of the images reveals that the power of decision making still resides with the design-expert rather than the expert-citizen as the designers rather than the residents/ community are in control of the drawings.

Success in the participative process requires good communication between the designers and the other stakeholders. In traditional processes the predominant method is almost always a one-way communication system with those holding power informing or simply telling the users what decision have been made. Thus, even though it will affect their lives, no one really seems to care. The main language of communication used by architects is drawings, which as reduction representation are not always clearly understood by lay persons. Furthermore, the main hurdle with the method of representation is that it resides in the mind of the designer and as such is not “available for mutual understanding with other participants” Jill (2005, p.37).

There are several possible reasons for this; firstly, the community's capacity to express views may not have been built to the level required prior to the meeting. Secondly, the pedagogical agenda drives the process and methods. The students have to present their finding in a particular manner to meet their submission requirements.

The choice of the two methods mentioned above have a historical background that is rooted in the local context both socially and politically. Whether they make a difference to the outcome is open to debate. In both methods, the pedagogical needs seem to be the driver rather than the community who are used mainly to gather data required for the students' design.

The level of participation by the community residents in decision making is secondary because they are asked during the meetings to respond to what the students have prepared outside the scene in the design studio. However, there seems to be an attempt to get them involved through the use of focus group discussions. I will now look at some of the social and political layers that fostered circumstances where such methods could succeed.

Participation in design processes by any community required the existence of strong community organizations and networks that start to build the desire to participate beyond protesting stages. Laurence Glasco points to the existence of "...interracial coalitions that provided the Civil Rights Movements in Pittsburgh with additional momentum..." (2001, p.5).

The coalitions included the all-white member Urban League, the Pittsburgh Presbytery, National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), etc, who tackled various important issues that would have divided the community on race: examples include housing, and employment. Collins argued that:

"...segregated schools led to unequal education... and in Pittsburgh in 1959 an overwhelming majority of the city's classes for "slow learning" and "retarded" children were located in schools with 80 percent or higher black enrolment. At the same time, 85

percent and 69 percent of the classes for "mentally superior" children at the elementary and secondary levels, respectively, were in schools that were at least 75 percent white..." (2003, p.124).

This multi-racial coalition, Glasco (2001) further points out, helped change public perceptions of the Civil Rights Movement from one that fought only for the exclusive benefits of blacks to one that fights for social justice and the rights of all Americans, as enshrined in the constitution and promoted by Jefferson.

The group interaction method was thus adopted in the UL in the form of a participatory community meeting. The method responded to the political context in Pittsburgh where the minority groups were demanding to be heard and to stop the demolition of their communities. David Lewis (1978) attributes the methods adopted in response, to understanding the community better.

This argument is based on the premise that the citizens have a better view and understanding of the local needs, with greater clarity and wholeness than the bureaucrats and the technocrats looking in. This came from the "...help offered by people coming out, public officials and citizens' working together to identify and resolve problems..." And in addition through the meetings with the community leadership; the result was that "...many local issues of the community were identified because of citizen participation..." (1979, p.28). There is thus a claim to collaboration between not only students of architecture but also from other disciplines such as Social Policy and Management.

However as pointed out earlier, the minutes of the Wilkinsburg Community meeting in 2008 reveal that just over a third of the participants were students or faculty members of the UL. In addition, the minutes reveal a muted response from the community as previously pointed out by David Lewis, the participation is not as overwhelming.

In Pittsburgh, a different approach to renewal was used even though underpinned by the Housing Acts of 1949. Mayor Lawrence in his speech at the first Harvard University Conference in 1956 argued that redevelopment of Pittsburgh was taken with the view that:

“...it was a city worth saving; that a successful organism in the plan of nature must have a head and nerve centre; that the people of a city can take pride and glory in it in our own times as the Athenians did under Pericles or the Florentines under Lorenzo...” as posited by Kreiger and Saunders (2009, p.200)

This highlights important aspects to a community's redevelopment; firstly, the belief by all involved that it is worth saving. Unfortunately in the case of Pittsburgh during the first urban renaissance of the 1950's-1960's, it was the belief not of the community but the elite business people, politicians who thought they knew what was best for the city. The second aspect it highlights is the importance of visionary leadership, in this case Mayor Lawrence and wealthy patron Richard King Mellon both usurping the opportunity for community participation, thus negating their importance. It was a top down decision making process that was bound to cause problems as it did.

The third important aspect to the approach in Pittsburgh's redevelopment was the reliance on building a coalition between politicians, developers, bankers and influential wealthy patrons. This approach is what one may call the urban regime coalition, as pointed out by the seminal work by Floyd Hunter in 1950s.

Hunter used “a power matrix to describe a network of top financiers and corporate executives that had the ability to influence the local policy agenda” (quoted in Crawley; 2005, p.9). He examined the decisions by a panel of fourteen highly knowledgeable people in the community to select the top ten leaders from four categories of leaders in business, government, the non-profit sector and social circles.

His findings revealed a high correlation between the panels on which the top leaders or movers and shakers sat that revealed the existence of a closed group mostly from the corporate world that influenced the policy making before it was brought to the public

agenda. This basically pushes the community interest to the bottom of the rung of decision-making; they are merely surrogates. It was the feeling of not being involved in decisions that affected their lives that partly contributed to the rise in the Civil Rights Movement, the formation of community advocacy groups and the involvement by institutions in the provision of service to these communities.

Most active participants in place-creation are property investors, developers, estate financiers and users. The interest of the first three groups is purely economic gain. It is not therefore surprising that the key stake holders will come from this group rather than the consumers and users of the place created, whose contribution is always on the margins.

In Pittsburgh as early as the 1940s, the ruling elites controlling development worked through the Allegheny Conference on Community Development (ACCD), a private sector leadership organization dedicated to economic development and quality of life.

The ACCD coordinated the partnership of the private and public sectors in dealing with issues of redevelopment in Pittsburgh even before the Federal government had provided the funding for most of the redevelopment efforts. This placed Pittsburgh on top of the nation's cities as a model for urban renaissance.

The ACCD started in the early 1940s with projects to improve transportation links within the region and to tackle environmental pollution that was typical of Pittsburgh from the coal industries. The coalition consisted of the wealthy Richard King Mellon who also was the president of Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association; the Carnegie Institute of Technology president (perhaps from influence of Andrew Mellon), the mayor David Lawrence and other local leaders. The process was top down in that the community views were not solicited, yet decisions to redevelop were taken that affected their lives completely. They lost homes, businesses, schools and social relations through the demolition and renewal efforts as discussed elsewhere in the dissertation.

In Pittsburgh, the renewal of the Point district has been cited as one of the successes of the private-public partnership. Teaford posits that the renewal was the result of:

“...product of state, local, and private effort...example is the park development on which Equity Life Assurance Society constructed a complex of office towers...triggering further private office construction” (2000, p.457).

The idea of the rebuilding of Pittsburgh was driven by the leadership of Richard King Mellon who chose to rebuild the city rather than abandon it, as pointed out by Lubove. He argued that ACCD was effective because

“Mellon’s leadership and the recruitment of the corporate elite provided it with the extraordinary potential power to be exercised through person deliberation as individuals rather than as representatives of their companies...” (1996, p.109).

This effectively interjected “moral and ethical responsibility” to the individual who was a member of the ACCD committee on a voluntary basis without being influenced by parent company. One wonders whose ethics they were underpinned on. I argue they paid allegiance to their parent company.

The process of urban regime coalition is different from the typical voting system as pointed out by Crawley who suggests :

“widely shared political interests often fail to organize effectively because the constituents have rational incentives to free ride on the effects of others while the small group of elites on the other hand do not suffer the same organizational problems and will normally defeat their many, less well organized opponents” (2005, p.12).

This further explains the reasons why in place-making, the power still resides with the few elites rather than the community it is supposed to serve. However the advantages of such a coalition is that once a consensus is reached, the actions could be quick and significant but carry the risk that the actions would likely be based on satisfying the needs of the business community and thus alienating the rest of the community.

The uniqueness of the ACCD was the collaborative approach where not only key movers and shakers of development were involved but also they relied on:

“...technical and professional assistance of the leading planning and research agencies such as the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association...” Lubove (1996, p.110). Also Richard King Mellon was a wealthy Republican businessman who had never met or spoken to David Lawrence, a Democrat mayor of Pittsburgh, but they were able to work across party lines in collaborative ventures.

It is thus not surprising that the UL at CMU used similar methods and techniques that were already well established historically within Pittsburgh. They however modified the approach by ACCD in that they involved the community in minor aspects of decision making. The collaboration was between the key stakeholders such as the developers/landowners and financial institutions with the community involvement coming in when the decision to develop the area has been taken. The minutes of the UL at Wilkinsburg in September 2008 reveal that out of the 44 participants, only 2 are recorded as either resident or neighbour.

The UL relied on the existing grassroots network through the Community Design Centre of Pittsburgh, CDCP and the delegated leadership that already existed within the community, to learn about the community issues. The majority of the community had surrogate roles. It is not clear why they did not participate in large numbers despite the public announcements. The clue perhaps comes from the comment by Prof. John Nolan of CMU:

“A lot of Wilkinsburg residents are suffering from ‘plan fatigue,’” he says. “They’ve heard a lot of ideas, but their outcomes are not readily apparent. We are going to come up with an idea, one concrete thing, and we will leave something behind.” (2008, p.1).

However, the urban regime coalition approach enabled them to identify and formulate the vision statements and “community” objectives, and the partnerships with the local politicians and businesses to ensure success of the proposals.

Hutzell & Rico-Gutierrez in their conference paper presented at the 43rd ISOCARP Congress point out that:

“...the students and community have developed several visionary designs and have left behind a community group trained on participatory design process...”(2007, p.2).

The university has therefore provided a long term partnership with the community without necessarily being providers of direct technical assistance. The methodology of group interaction where partnership is formed is cognisant of the already existing history of a community working together, rising out of the civil rights movement in 1960s. This view is supported by comments from Don Carter of Urban Design Associates and the current director of Remaking Cities Institute in an interview in April 2009.

A community meeting is held at the end of the systems analysis phase as discussed above. It provided the opportunity for reflection on what had been done so far and also for the students to check with the community if they had understood what the issues were. The use of the community meeting served as space for reflection and as part of what Hutzell & Rico-Gutierrez point out is “...a sequence of cumulative feedback loops that lead to a detailed and nuanced urban vision...” (2007, p.4). However, the flow diagram of the process (**figure 4.10 and 4.11**) does not reveal the presence of continuous feedback loops. It is a linear telescopic process rather than a cyclic and reflective process. The direct interaction method thus responds to the community's needs and demands to be heard.



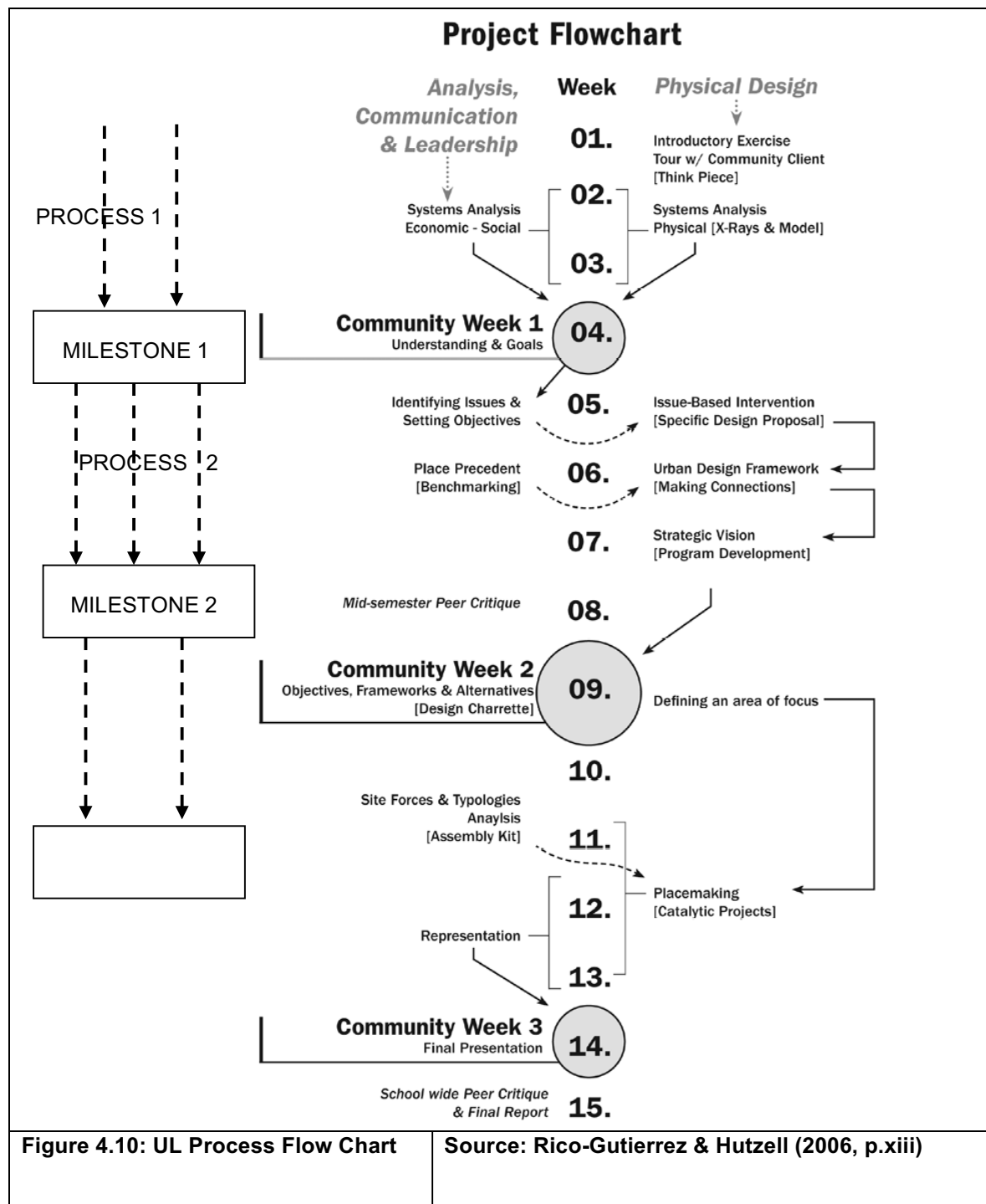


Figure 4.10: UL Process Flow Chart

Source: Rico-Gutierrez & Hutzell (2006, p.xiii)

## THE URBAN LABORATORY PROCESS

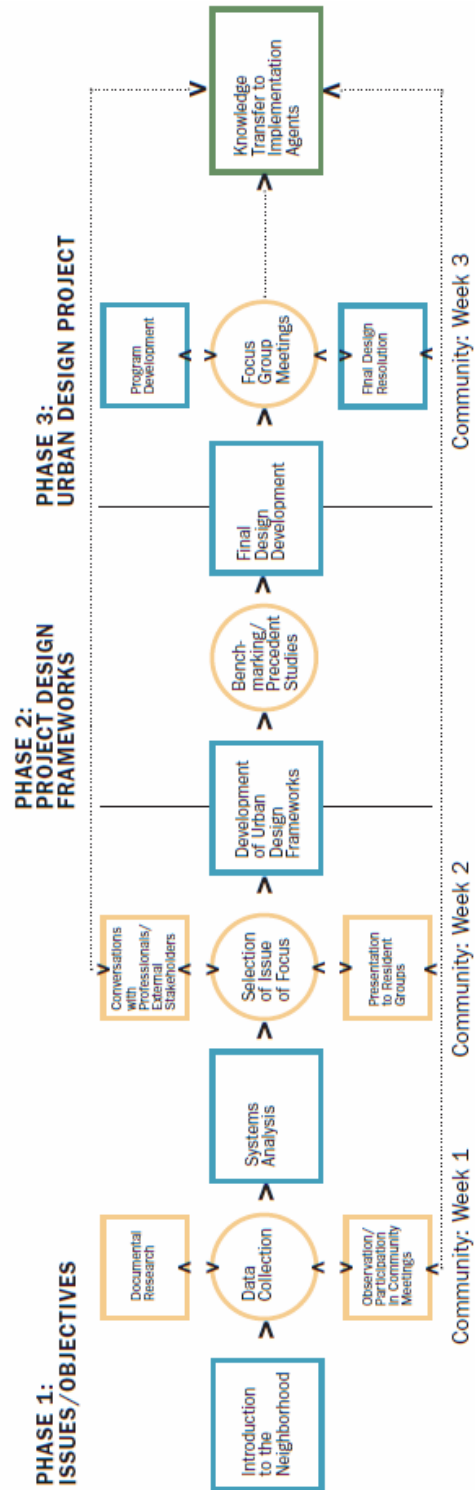


Figure 4.11: UL Process Flow Chart

Source: Gatti (2009, p.14)

#### 4.2.1.3. Urban Design Framework Phase: Methods and Influences

During the urban design framework (UDF), three main techniques emerge as preferred ways of working; indirect, group interaction and brainstorming methods. The first has been discussed but the second and third are discussed below. In the group discussions and brainstorming methods, participative processes really come to the forefront. I will first give a summary of the methods used in this phase then discuss how the techniques arose from the circumstances.

The UDF is one of the most important phases of the Urban Design process of the laboratory. It could potentially break the whole of the UL's work as pointed by Hutzell & Rico-Gutierrez (2007, p.5). It is developed through five stages; issue-based intervention, precedent study, making connections, strategic visions and definition of an area of focus.

The systems analysis findings from the first phase are presented to the local community meeting and discussed. It provides opportunity for the residents to express their views on the walk-about, and also for the setting up of the objectives as pointed out in the previous section. The feedback is recorded to summarize the issues, goals, and objectives for the area and in addition to amend the initial goals set after the meeting with community leaders during the systems analysis phase when awareness methods were used (**see minutes in Appendix B**).

The community meeting is a participative process even though the agenda seems to be run by the outsiders (students) acting as facilitators. Sanoff (2000, p.13) argues that the "appropriate or good decisions are not a preserve of the expert professional designer" hence even the non-professional designer has the capability and ability to examine alternatives and make decisions given the facts. It is from this basis that the student designer as an expert takes on the role of a facilitator to guide the community in identifying, discussing the various options and consequences and stating an opinion. It involves a lot of listening, which allows the community to draw (representing thoughts visually), build models, modify, and analyse maps together with the students to come

out with a problem statement (**figures 4.9A & 4.9B**). The issues identified as problems are discussed and mapped with correlating community objectives. This becomes the brief or basis for generating and evolving the design idea. The methodology therefore responds to the local contexts in that it evolves from local issues.

#### **4.2.1.3.1. Issue Based Intervention**

In the first stage of the UDF, the UL work is carried out through focused intervention that is based on one objective. The objective is selected from a summary list that came out of the first community meeting. In this sense, the community has contributed to the definition of what is at the heart of the community. A review of the minutes of the 2008 Wilkinsburg UL reveal consensus on the need to tackle the vacant properties on the site. One suggestion was:

“...to replace them with community gardens; a neighbourhood grocery store or children play spaces...” (Urban Lab -Wilkinsburg (2008))

The scope of intervention is limited in scale, but is on the urban scale, not limited to a small building. These could be used as areas for catalytic projects that might help develop the community economically.

This echoes Sola-Morales’ argument where he tells his students:

“...always to distinguish size from scale, in other words to say that being urban does not mean to be big, and that the question of urban scale, which is certainly large, does not mean it has to be expressed in huge elements or in huge buildings. Sometimes small elements, small buildings, small spaces are charged with urban meaning with larger implications than huge interventions or large combinations of it” (cited in Klebanow; 1998, p.5).

The proposed intervention must be clearly communicated to the audience and the changes proposed must be physically visible. This method seems to be heavily leaning on the visual-artistic tradition theoretical framework that follows on from works of Lynch (1960) and Rowe and Koetter (1978).

A method used by the UL to address issue based intervention is that of participative community meetings. The process can be quite tense as pointed out by Lewis that:

“...something good could come out of the fights that occur during participation as it allows for dialogue that would lead to a healing process...” (1979, p.27).

It is claimed that the community meeting resulted in two important things; firstly healing began as the resident participants started to see the assets of their neighbourhood and started talking of their visions and inspirations, where they would like to see the community go. It is claimed that their capacity to listen to one another was enhanced through the process and their public speaking skills developed leading to the capacity for civic responsibility. Would this process lead to the development of a new consciousness, a new way of thinking of place creation process?

Secondly the new participative process brought forth the realization that architecture is an act of intervention informed by the social, political and physical forces of that particular moment, time and place and therefore responds well to the local context. The help offered by the local people dropping in and out of the venue where the design *charrette* was taking place allowed the stakeholders in students and the citizens to work together to resolve the common problems. The desire to participate is driven by the importance of the issues at stake and their wish to resolve those issues. This allowed for the formation of collaborative joint ventures that are focused the issues. However, it seems contradictory in that the documents of the UL reveal that joint ventures had existed prior to the engagement with the community.

It is difficult to ascertain otherwise all processes would be underpinned on this methodology. What might emerge as crucial in the abilities and charisma of the facilitator? It appears that the facilitation process relied on methods coming from psychotherapy of the 1960s. The benefits are suggested by Frank who argued that the

“...primary function of all psychotherapies is to combat demoralization which aggravates and is aggravated psychiatric symptoms through restoring the patient's sense of mastery...”  
(1974, p.271).

The aggrieved community are given a forum to vent their feelings freely in order to break the boundaries that separate them. Frank further argued that “psychotherapy was

an influencing process and that we may learn about what accounts for change by looking at other influencing processes” (quoted in Arkowitz 1997, p.242).

Faber (2006) noted that the sharing typically occurs after difficulties such as antagonistic fights over decision making, resources etc. He identifies the origins of use of psychotherapy methods to the:

“...political sensibilities of the 1960s such as civil rights, women’s rights, sexual openness offered and at times demanded, new ways of accepting and understanding others that emphasised learning about and sharing of ourselves with others...” (2006, p.8).

Therefore one would argue that the objectives of a good facilitator are to persuade to align the community’s objectives with those of the designer who normally is paid by the elite. Here we see the use of palliative cure as a process of engaging the community.

#### **4.2.1.3.2. Precedent Study**

The second stage of the UDF is called benchmarking, that is, setting the standards that drive the framework. It starts with the identification of relevant place precedents that relate to the selected objectives. The precedent must be a completed and “successful” project hence its use as a benchmark. It is not clear what is meant by “successful”, however. The choice of the precedent is important to demonstrate relevance. The precedents are represented in graphics; photos, diagrams, etc.

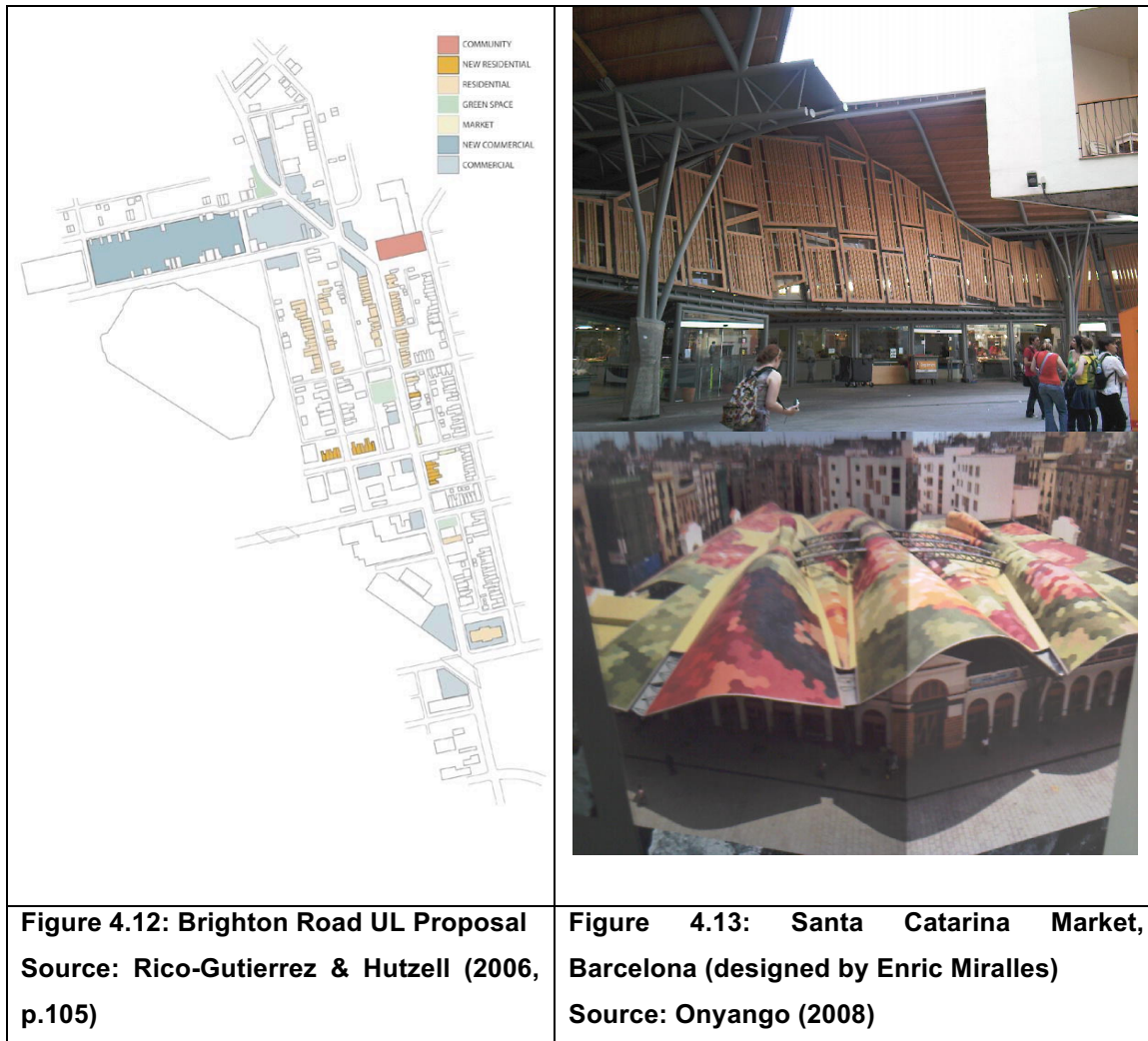
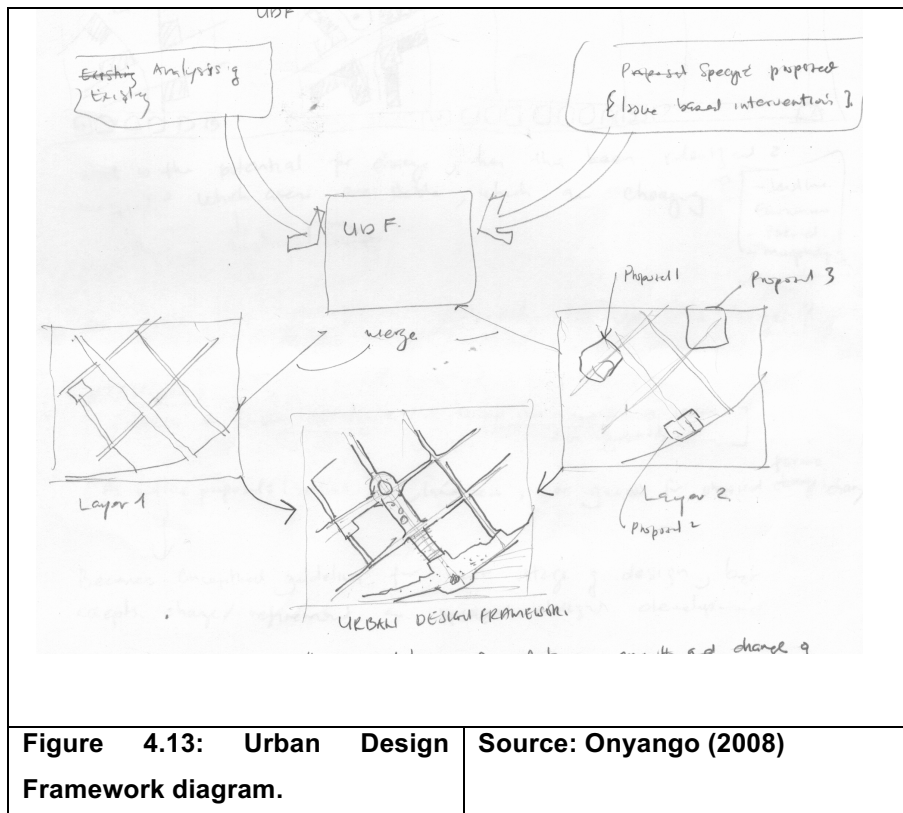


Figure 4.12 illustrates how the proposal relies on the traditional urban morphology of the area. The infill typology echoes the urban block of Brighton road prior to deterioration. For the market proposal, the students looked at two precedents; Santa Catarina Market in Barcelona by Miralles which is within residential neighbourhood and the markets in Istanbul.

#### 4.2.1.3.3. Making Connections

The third stage of the Urban Design Framework is focused on linking the various strategic single projects by making connections between them. This is done through the analysis of existing linkages (phase 1), corridors, districts, nodes then recommendation of areas of intervention and what the new connections will be.



The image above (**figure 4.13**) is my interpretation of what an urban design framework might look like. It highlights that the methodology chosen is in response to the recognition that the place-creation process is the result of a mesh of layers. This is underpinned by the situationist methods of Italy, France and UK where the Team X rebels were going back to regional criticisms, as previously pointed out.

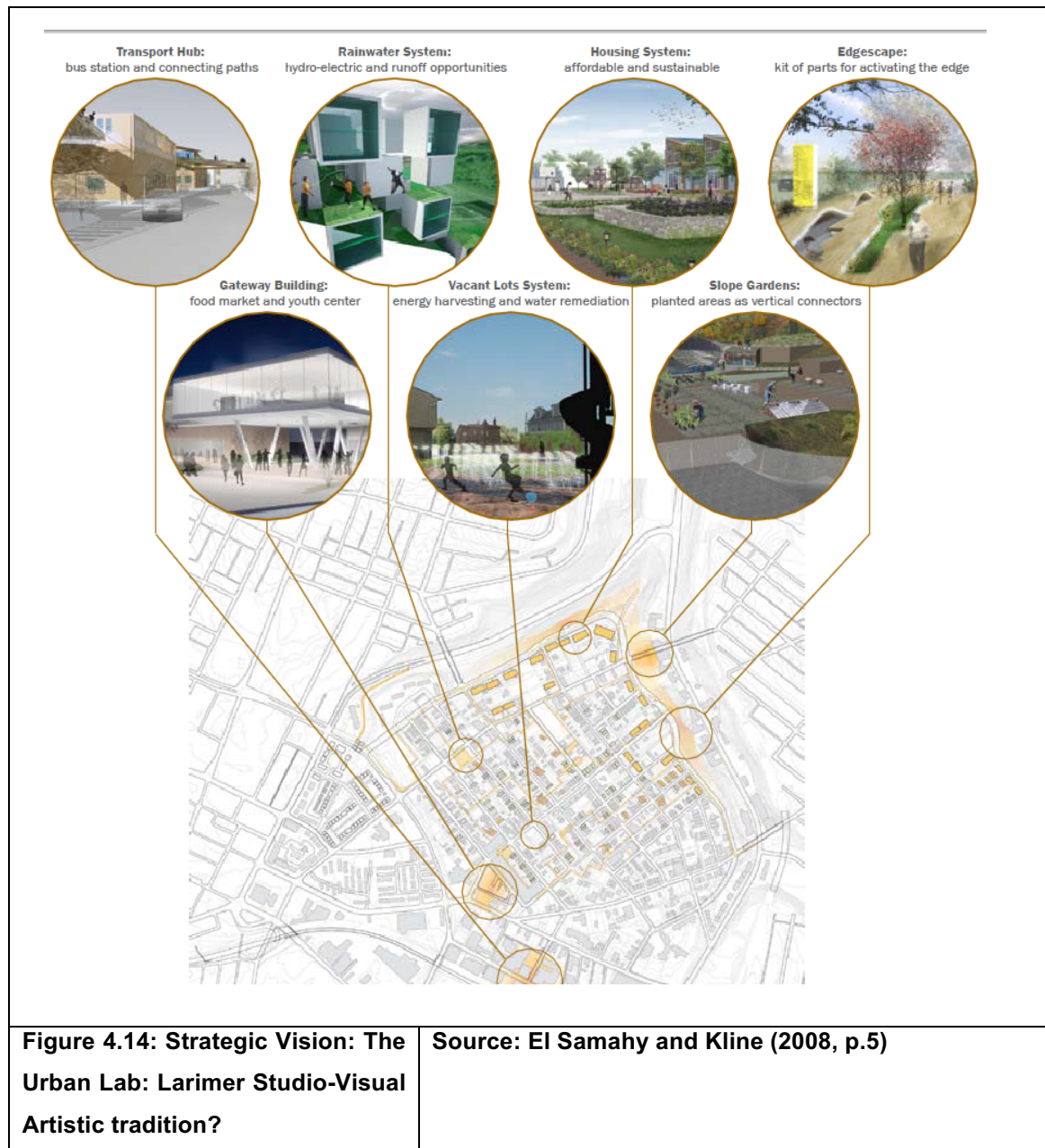
#### 4.2.1.3.4. Strategic Vision: Programme Development



The fourth stage of the UDF is aimed at producing a guide of *where* and *how* the intervention will be required to address the issues that meet community objectives. The concrete intervention is informed by and checked against the issues the system analysis revealed. Alternative proposals are produced, not just a single idea and are used as tools for generating and evaluating the proposals.

The key word in this stage is *strategic*, not everything everywhere, but an intervention that is limited in scale and number. It should not be a rebuilding programme that will disrupt and disperse the community. The strategic vision is seen as the catalyst that positively transforms the community, tackling questions such as which comes first, where and why. It should be flexible and not prescribed, and as such it is not a comprehensive plan.

This stage is presented and communicated in the form of perspective sketches, modified photographs, sections, plans and precedent studies. It leans heavily on the visual artistic traditional framework of Urban Design (**Figure 4.14**). Note that ten proposed projects are located in specific areas within the site as agreed in the community meeting number 2. This strategy allows for focus that would be catalytic to the renewal of the area



**Figure 4.14: Strategic Vision: The Urban Lab: Larimer Studio-Visual Artistic tradition?**

**Source: El Samahy and Kline (2008, p.5)**

#### 4.2.3.5. Defining an Area of Focus

This is the last stage in the UDF and is used as community feedback. The use of a single focus allows for depth of the intervention and a catalyst for community renewal. However the project selected must be complex enough for further development for the rest of the semester (design process) to meet the pedagogical requirements of the course. The area of focus is selected through a mini- *charrette* at the community workshop where work done to date is presented to a group and discussed.

The student groups then work with the affected neighbourhood to refine and develop the area of focus during the second community meeting. The methodology used relies on a series of questions to gather feedback from the community (**see minutes of Wilkinsburg UL in appendix B**). This is how dialogue is introduced into the process since it is the community that should drive the area of focus and not the designers. However, the minutes reveal that the designers prompted the community to respond in a particular manner as reported by Nolan:

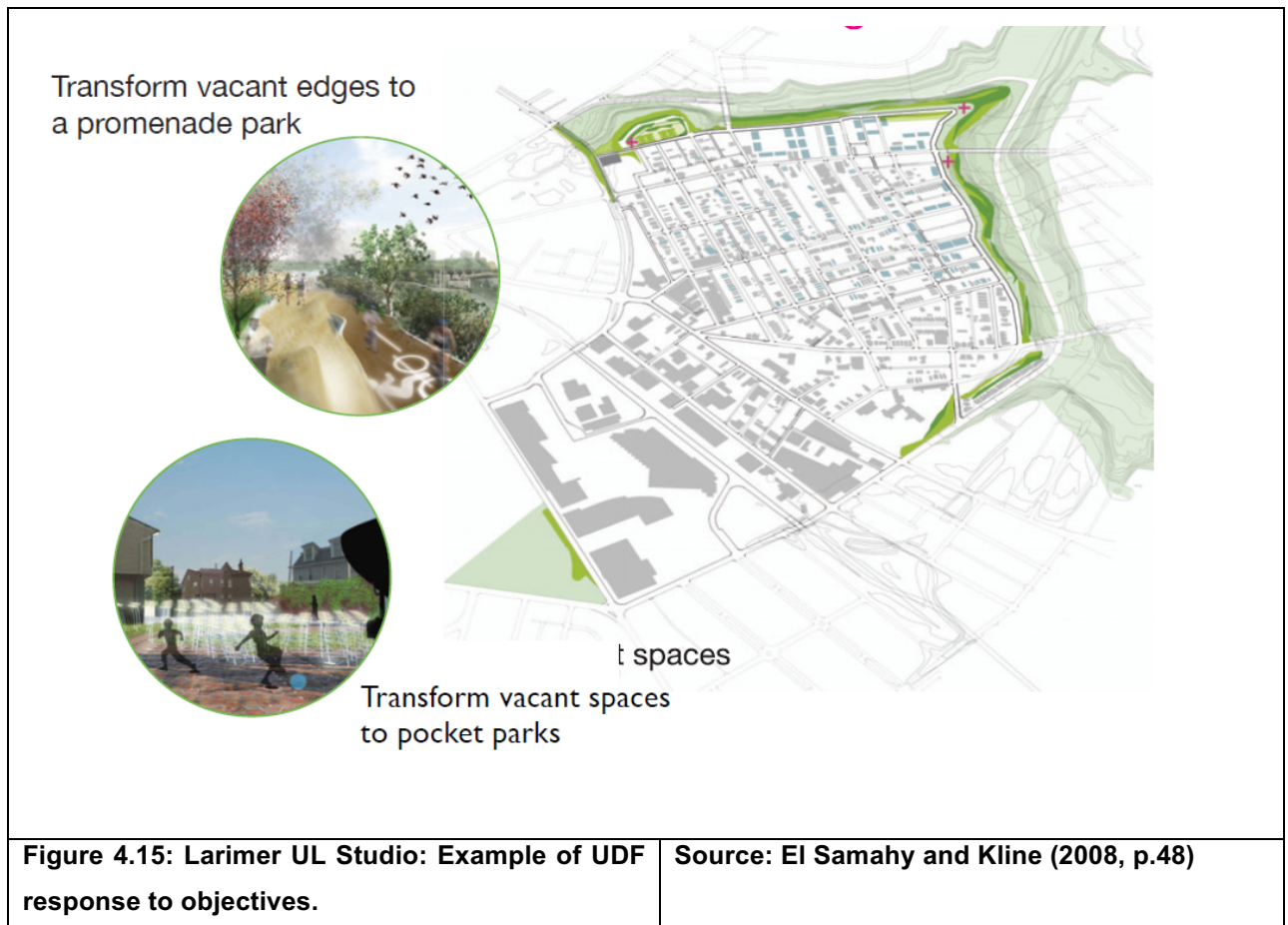
“Could the Park and Ride facility be used as weekend gathering space while it is vacant? What areas shown on the model are often traveled for pedestrians and cars?”  
(2008, p.1).

The UDF is seen as the guideline for the future growth and change of neighbourhood over time. It looks at; strengthening existing corridors (filling up empty sites, nodes, re-aligning blocks, introducing pedestrian areas etc); interrogating the potential for new nodes; connections of activities. To do this it uses multiple scales, not just one.

During the UDF phase, the potential for change is identified and analysed and the areas that are stable are highlighted, as are the areas that are changing in land-use, economics, and social and physical value systems. For example in the Larimer Studio, some of the opportunities identified for action by the community

included; "...greening of vacant lots, new Green business start-ups, new charter School, more local shops, vacant lots to gardens, pedestrian routes..." El Samahy and Kline (2008, p.10). The UDF is used to demonstrate how the proposed interventions tie into the changes identified above.

The proposal is presented in graphical form based on community objectives and is an outline spatial guide for the physical form of change (**figure 4.15**). The image illustrates the interpretation of the vision from the community objective to provide more green space and to transform some of the empty lots into activity areas. These are represented as bike path and river walkway and urban garden that includes children's play area. The UDF is the conceptual guideline for the next phase of design, but still accepts changes or refinement as the specific design develops.



#### **4.4. Strategies and tactics of the processes at the CMU laboratory**

The three methods that are predominant in this phase are indirect, group interaction and brainstorming methods. The indirect method is used during the community meeting to gather information about urban problems. This is done through the use of surveys and questionnaires that are sent out to the community earlier in first phase.

The data is analysed and presented to the community for discussion in graphic forms. Its drawback is that the information obtained is based on the questions asked by the researcher and as such might not reflect the true voice of the community. The student designer who facilitates the conversation has the power to direct the conversation in ways that suite the pedagogical objectives of the studio requirements. Also the sampling procedure assumes a homogenous population, which may not reflect the true social-cultural and political forces that shape that community.

##### **4.4.2. Indirect Method**

The indirect method arises out of the historical circumstances of injustices of the new deal of 1950s and 1960s. Communities redlined for renewal efforts through demolitions had not been involved in the proposals. The understanding of how communities were formed and what actually makes them work had been ignored by most professionals involved with the renewal efforts despite good work coming out of academia in that period led by the Chicago School of Sociology.

Within academia there had also been research work coming from the Chicago School over the previous half-century. This impacted the research into urban problems through their new methodology which used the city as both the laboratory and truth spot. (Gieryn, 2006). The appreciation of the complexity of the problems increased and the use of the traditional top-down regulatory and

redistributive techniques for seeking solutions were waning. A bottom up approach or a mixture of both seems to be a way forward.

Not far from Pittsburgh, at University of Pennsylvania, (UPenn) a sociologist Herbert Gans, who had studied at University of Chicago, was critical of the renewal efforts. His work was based on the study of a diverse neighbourhood in Boston occupied mainly by an Italian community targeted and redlined as a slum. Gans, along with many other professionals like Davidoff and Denise Scott-Brown at UPenn, was willing to challenge the accepted common wisdom of the time.

Of interest perhaps is the possible link between David Lewis and Denise Scott Brown who were both born in South Africa and were aware of the disparities in economic and social justice that existed there. She pens: "...no child in South Africa could be unaware of the agonized issues of justice and equity among the races there..." (2004, p.107). Denise Scott-Brown had studied in England where she met Peter Smithson during the 1956 CIAM summer school in Venice who encouraged her to study at UPenn under Louis Kahn if possible.

At UPenn, Denise Scott-Brown met David Crane and Herbert Gans who were among the first to criticize the urban renewal for ignoring the '*is*' and focusing on the '*ought*'. Gans saw the *ought* as a top down approach to renewal that ignores the context and people in it as it was and suggest that the

"social thinkers at Penn set the kinetic notion of city building that focused on sequence and the roles of many players, against the traditional view of architect-controlled master planning, action and reaction..." as pointed out by Scott-Brown and Venturi (2004, p.114).

In parallel there was the work of William F Whyte on urban society that studied the social organization of an Italian Slum in Boston published in 1943 as *Street Corner Society* where he illustrated that "...the urban underclass relied on its participation in dense social networks, albeit visibly different from those of middle-class Anglo-American society..." as pointed out by Haumann (2009,

p.36). This work not only dispelled the core idea of the renewal efforts through redlining by making the argument that the poor were not living in conditions at the peripheries of social decay that needed intervention.

Herbert Gans like Whyte followed up on the work, publishing findings on another Italian community in Boston where he was critical of the approaches used by the designers then that:

“...the professionals’ evaluation of the behaviour of slum residents is based on class-based standards that often confuse behaviour which is only culturally different with pathological or antisocial acts...” (quoted in Haumann; 2009, p.36).

He argued for a change in approach to one that considered the values and opinions of the communities affected by the renewal efforts if legitimization and acceptance were to occur.

By 1962, Davidoff and Scott-Brown were teaching their students at the School of Design radical approaches that questioned the role of the professional within the society. Scott-Brown had as early as 1950 researched on “...Gesalt psychology’s notion that meaning is derived from context...” (2004, p.8). Her work contributed to the revolutionary reactions to the failings that were coming out of the CIAM’s ideology of functional purity and minimalisms.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Scott-Brown and others at UPenn were working on the evolving ideas that connected politics and planning through democratic community participation. She points to the work of David Crane emphasising the importance of understanding the change within a city in order to design for it. The efforts at UPenn contributed to the adoption of the new methodologies of understanding community formation, the communities themselves, and also the development of participatory methods by planners and architects.

#### **4.4.2. Group Interaction Method**

The second technique, the group interaction method, relies on a smaller number of participants, of about six to ten, working with a facilitator to discuss relevant issues as pointed out by Sanoff (2000). It is interactive and takes the form of workshops where ideas, recommendations and decisions are made. It is a hands-on approach using all available materials in the discussions such as photographs and models to explore alternatives (**figures 4.16A, 4.16B & 4.16C**).

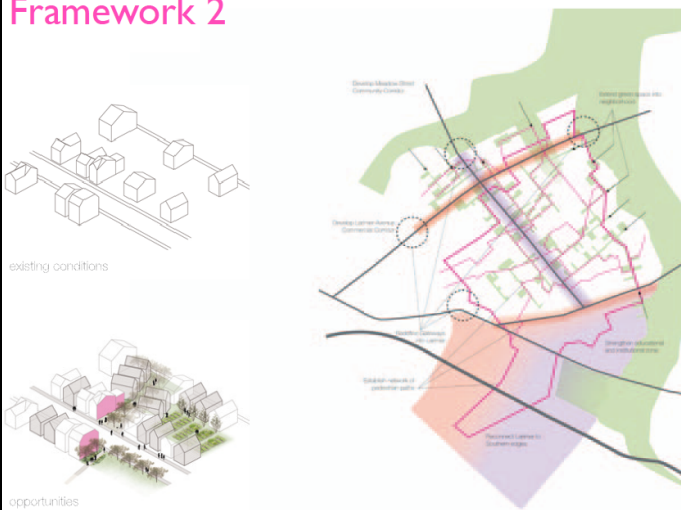


## Framework 1



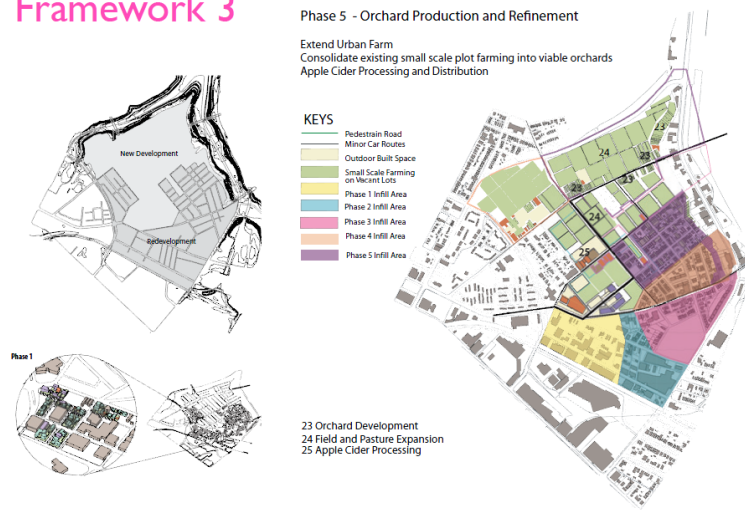
**Figure 4.16A: Larimer UL Studio: Example of UDF Alternative 1. Source: El Samahy and Kline (2008, p.42)**

## Framework 2



**Figure 4.16B: Larimer UL Studio: Example of UDF Alternative 2. Source: El Samahy and Kline (2008, p.43)**

## Framework 3



**Figure 4.16C: Larimer UL Studio: Example of UDF Alternative 3. Source: El Samahy and Kline (2008, p.44)**

The Larimer Studio demonstrates how the group interaction technique was used to come up with three UDFs or alternatives. The image above illustrates three alternatives, figures 4.16A/B/C. Figure 4.16A, and is one proposal that deal with vacant land by firstly tackling the smaller spaces between the existing building stocks. These are catalytic projects with a mobile kiosk, which becomes the gathering space. At a later stage this can be moved elsewhere when the decision to infill the gap is carried out. The next two images illustrate the before and after intervention of a lonely block on a stretch of road at the edge of a steep cliff. The proposal is to demolish the block, build a bike/ footpath and create a picnic area overlooking the rest of the city. The strategy responds to the community objective of greening the area and in addition, a wind farm is proposed.

Figure 4.16B has two images illustrating infill-housing blocks. Note how the immediate work is provision of canvas for community artists or public use to enhance the area. Secondly the infill blocks are placed in such a way as to create square/ open spaces for local gathering. The area at the back of the blocks is proposed for urban farm/ allotments to provide employment as well as locally produced fresh vegetables and flowers. The gables are to be used as a canvas for painting murals by local artists or young persons.

Figure 4.16C proposes targeted redevelopment starting with areas with the most building stock. The areas with most vacant lots were used as apple orchard linked to cider processing plant that both meet community objectives of provision of employment. The areas used for the orchard were earmarked for expansion later should the community grow.

The interactive group meeting at the end of the UDF phase and the first community meeting takes the form of a *charrette*. The community is broken down into small groups working to facilitate students to explore issues and design. It also relies on the third method, the brainstorming.

The brainstorming technique is very good for the generation of many ideas by a group working rapidly, relying on producing as many ideas as possible without criticism. Sanoff (2000, p.71) identifies six ways in which brainstorming is carried out: gallery, pin card, nominal group techniques, Cranford Slip Writing, the *ringii* process and the Delphi method.

UL uses the pin card techniques where cards are passed around the table and facilitators ask the community participants to write down ideas within a limited time. After the time has elapsed the cards are passed around and ideas shared; additional discussion is encouraged in the process. These cards are then evaluated by another group and ranked according to perceived priority. The groups then reconvene and discuss the ideas from each group and consensus is reached.

As previously pointed out (**section 4.2**), David Lewis' time at St Ives must have exposed him to the Surrealists like Peter Lanyon and their methods that were common at that time that relied on what Breton calls:

“...psychic automatism in its pure state, by which one proposes to express verbally, by means of the written word, or in any other manner, the actual functioning of thought. Dictated by thought, in absence of any control exercised by reason, exempt from any aesthetic or moral concern...”  
(1969, p.26)

Many design professionals and even institutions have avoided direct community participative techniques because of the risks of unpredictability and hostility, a fear that perhaps stems from Saul Alinsky's (1909-1972) radicalism where he argued in '*Rules for Radicals: A Pragmatic Primer for Realistic Radicals*' that “...moral rationalization is indispensable at all times of action whether to justify the selection or the use of ends or means” (1971, p.43).”

He saw the immediate interest of the community as the driver for rallying to its defence and hence he organized people around sensible ideas and identified

opponents to fight. In his view the power must always lie with the community to hire and fire the organizer or ask him to leave once the objectives were met. The role of the organizer was facilitation and capacity building through education in an effort of self-help.

Alinsky's approach has been criticized for its antagonistic and confrontational approach towards the established institutions and authority. David Lewis agrees that because of this antagonism "...most architects are afraid of citizen activists..." (1979, p.27). The idea that the designer would use participative methods to work with the community is therefore shunned out of fear of the activist, an empowered citizenry.

In Alinsky's model, according to Bailey, "the organizer is a consultant from outside the community whose job is to get people to adopt a delegitimizing frame to break the power structure that holds them." (1971, p.137 in Stoecker and Stall, 1996). One may argue that the architect's role traditionally has not included organization. It is therefore a different approach to design that has been adopted at the UL which tries to meet some of the criticism of the Boyer report (see chapter 1). His model called for trained and experienced people.

In the 1960s Paul Davidoff challenged planners to promote participatory democracy and positive social change. He argued for advocacy as a method of achieving these goals by enabling all groups of society, especially those representing low income families, to have a voice in the transformations of their built environment.

In the UL, the methodology responded to Alinsky's model by providing opportunities for training the designers to be facilitators, leaders who collaborate and work with the community for social and environmental justice. In addition it responding to Davidoff's model of advocacy for the poor.

In the 1960s and continuing into the 1970s there was a decline in industrial activity from the steel mills, resulting in a decline in the city's population, rising unemployment, an increase in empty sites, abandoned buildings and the general blighting of the physical built environment of Pittsburgh. Several areas were affected by the so called urban renewals that destroyed inner city neighbourhoods.

The physical morphology of the city of Pittsburgh revealed an extensive network of vacant lots from aggressive demolitions by the city authority contributing to further blighting of the city. In areas such as the Hill district the areas considered blighted and eligible for redlining increased from 22 percent in 1950 to 66 percent in 1960 according to McIntyre (quoted in Hays; 1989, p.106). The vacant lots and destructions have caused a physical disconnect and isolation between various destinations of Pittsburgh that actually have great historic assets.

The poor communities saw their neighbourhood destroyed or earmarked for destruction and the proposals that were on the table did not represent their views or way of life. The new development had no meaning to them. For the redevelopment to be meaningful, the *process* of its creation; the *involvement* of the citizens in its creation and the *sharing* in its creation process is what will give it value.

When the communities rejected the proposals for urban renewals in the Hill district, David Lewis saw the opportunity coming from an alternative view. In his article "*Listening and Hearing*" he attributes one of the UL methodologies to the "...new consciousness having been born out of situations like the students' riots and citizen activities..." of the 1960's (1979, p.27). He points out that this called for a new way in which architects looked at urban problems, how they engaged the users not as subjects, but as co-designers to the solutions that affected their lives. The architects had to start responding by acquiring skills that were sensitive and responsive to the local contexts in order to create the right form.

The community participates at various levels and times in the design process. This responds to several forces, including political ones, in the context of the Civil Rights Movement. Firstly, the political context that surrounded the USA, and Pittsburgh in particular, including during the 1960s several legislations that were enacted to deal with poverty, racial problems, social, economic and environmental injustices. The landmark legislations were the Voters Act of 1964, which gave minority black communities the right to participate in the democratic voting process, and therefore, determination of their built environment. The Employment Act of 1967 also enabled the pursuit of employment that was previously inaccessible due to discrimination.

Prior to the passage of legislations in the 1960s the US government through Community Action Programs had placed emphasis on resident participation in key decision making, budget controls and risk analysis in all improvement programs that involved outside consultants. Today this has been transformed to what Kingsley, McNeely and Gibson (1997, quoted in Sanoff 2000, p.6) see as community-driven initiatives that place the community at the centre of both the planning and implementation of the projects.

In the academic field, Paul Davidoff challenged planners to promote participatory democracy and positive social change. He argued for advocacy as a method of achieving these goals by enabling all groups of society, especially those representing low income families, to have a voice in the transformations of their built environment. Attempts were made to relate design to social as well as its physical contexts through the setting up of the joint inter-agency and citizens' review processes such as R/UDAT (**see section 3.31**).

The UL methodology was also driven by the ideas that were based on Team X especially in the US where Perceval and Bakema were teaching at Columbia, and Lewis Mumford at UPenn, as pointed out by Van den Heuvel and Risselada (2005). The approach heralded a new thinking in designing cities that

emphasised sociological cluster formation as a method of creating human associations and also collaborations with other professionals and users/participants.

Denise Scott-Brown points out that “Herbert Gans rocked their functionalist ideas asking the question, functional for whom and was critical of modernist experts who set norms for others without awareness of their own biases...” (2009, p.30). The essential political questions underpinned by social and environmental justice were thus information on who participates, who decides, who benefits.

The Civil Rights Movements and the riots of late 1960s fostered “citizen groups who were engaging or using professional architects and planners as advocates [vehicles] for confronting the insensitive official policies” and to plead the citizen’s case by demanding a hearing, as pointed out by Lewis (1979, p.27). The environment in government offices created bureaucrats at all levels that made decisions on behalf of the citizens without reference to those whose lives were affected by those decisions.

But then one could argue that the citizens have a better view and understanding of the local needs, with greater clarity and wholeness than the bureaucrats and the technocrats looking in. This necessitated a need for a different approach to designing communities, cities, neighbourhoods, underpinned on consensus building.

Jeremy Till (2005) in his article “*The negotiation of hope*” illustrates how the transactions in the new deal for communities are reached through the statutory mandated process that embeds consultation and participation. I have in mind here the Fair Housing Act 1968 that was to be a remedy to discriminatory practices in renewals and mandated participation of the affected communities in the process.

Unfortunately, forced participation by legal means not only leads to fatigue and numbness because of this reminder to the participants of the history of failed promises. The failure is in the methodology that does not transfer power of decisions from the designer professionals to the community as Till (2005) explicitly pointed out there is barely discussions that take place about the merits of the schemes during the meetings yet a consensus must be reached to conclude and move forward.

The problem here lies in how the whole process takes place; the community has not been party to the creation process, neither were they party to the decision to have the community hall, but yet they have to decide on one choice, the drawing presented and the drawing presented! The alternative is missing; the very idea of their vision of what makes their community is also missing.

The statutory requirements must be met by a vote; preferably a positive vote, and any attempts at absentia are coaxed into a positive vote through manipulation...

“...the facilitator is concerned about the hands that have not gone up and gently coaxes a response out of two old ladies sitting at the back of the hall...‘couldn’t hear a word you said’ to which they shout, ‘but it is a lovely building’...” Till (2005, p.23)

The mismatch between ideal participation and real participation has the undercurrents of power play that lead to manipulations, and disenfranchisements. In most of the cases where participative processes are used, the level of control given to the citizens is minimized for various reasons. One of the oft-cited statements is that the:

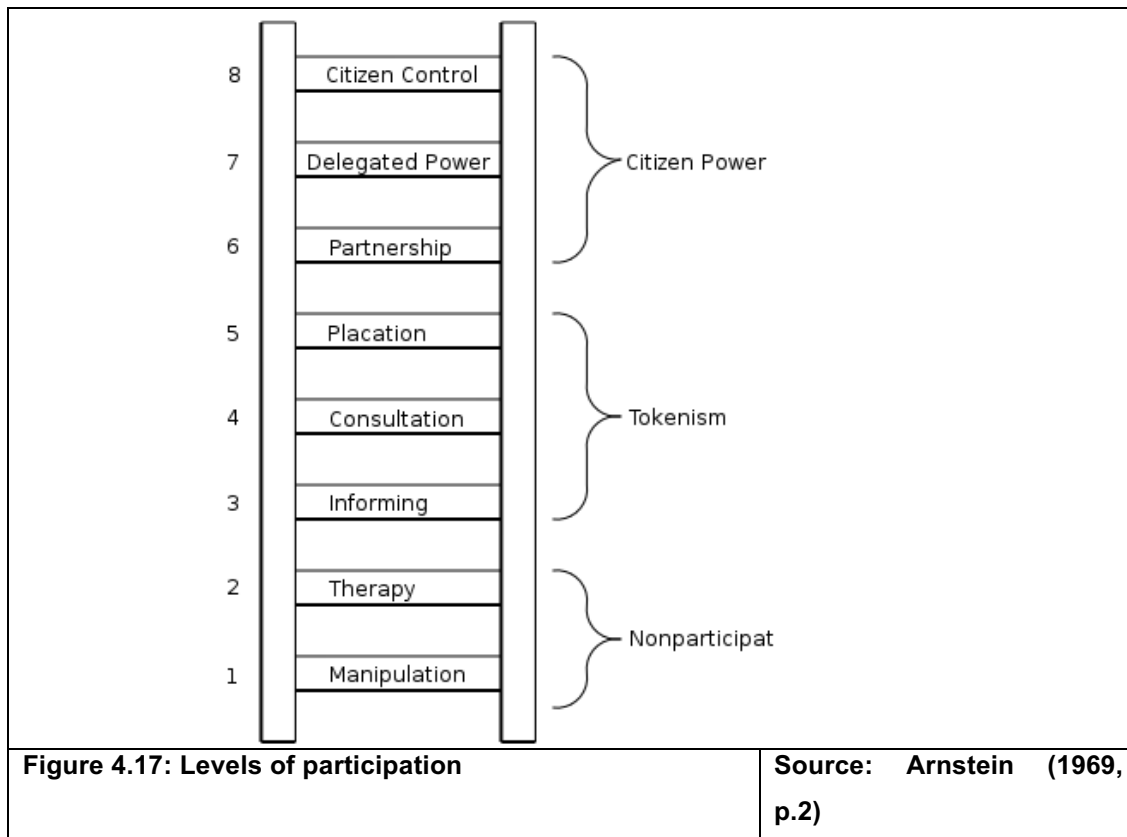
“...open design process and meetings become stages for confrontations...” between the various contending and competing interests which “...result in verbal abuse, violence and even arrests of one or two of the participants...” Lewis (1979, p.27).



This may be the case because, for peaceful participation, the political context has to be right; in other words, the capacity of the citizens to participate has to be built to accept divergence of opinions and views.

Jeremy Till rightly points out that participative architecture is fraught with challenges and it is probably not the first time such views have been expressed [see S. Arnstein, “The ladder of citizen participation” *Journal of the Institute of American Planners*]. The range of participation in the place-creation process is wide, starting from barely any involvement to complete control of the decisions. The seminal paper by Sherry Arnstein (1967) identified the various levels of participation that she called “the ladder of participation” (**Figure 4.17**).

The top of the ladder represents a participative process in which the citizens have complete control of the process from the ignition of the idea to the transformation of their community. This is done through the identification of the problems, formulation of the problem, designing a solution to the problem, implementing the solution and finally reviewing or monitoring the transformed place. The middle part of the ladder, placation, is what is problematic because “...it is effectively deemed as an acceptable outcome of participation” Till (2005, p.25).



Literature reviews of participation and democracy reveal that in reality participation does not in itself shift the locus of power in decision-making hence “defeating the expectations of the participant citizens in actually gaining anything from the real process of spatial production”. Till (2005, p.24). Despite the critiques, a participative process in place creation is definitely a better way of doing things because it does foster engagement of all stake holders in the decision process, if done properly and taken beyond the simple dialectic of ‘you against us’, inclusive versus exclusive; democratic versus authoritarian; bottom up versus top down.

But the politics of participation is complex, yet it lies at the core of the Western democratic ideal in that it:

“...serves as part of an educative process through which an individual will eventually come to feel little or no conflict between the demands of the public and private sphere...”  
 Pateman (quoted in Till, 2005 p.25).

One may argue from the above that participation is likely to create the sense of belonging to a community, however; in contrast, its power to transform could threaten the existing democratic political systems, as can be seen in the health-care debates in the USA today. For this reason, there exists a power matrix where the maintenance of the status quo is to be desired and as such it leads to the acceptability of a placebo in the participation process.

In architectural participation, there is no difference from the model by Pateman in that in most cases the process is often used as a means to legitimize the decision by getting the support of the citizen user to decisions already taken and acted upon through a government's agent, the professional designer! This is supported by authoritative writer in the field, Sanoff, who argues that:

“participants have a sense of influencing the design process...it is not so much the degree to which they have their individual needs met, but the feeling of having influenced the decisions...”. (1985, p.178-234)

This is further confirmed by Watts and Hirst (1982) and Lozano (1990) both advocating and accepting that their use of participative process is not only to increase acceptability of the designer but also to see the designer's role as steering the decision process to the desired goals. This raises questions on who does the designer work for as pointed earlier by Scott-Brown (2009).

The UL uses a *charrette* technique at the end of the urban design framework phase as part of the direct participation and brainstorming method. This is a forum where an interdisciplinary team, typically consisting of the community, elected officials, designers (students), developers, business owners and other stakeholders, work together to create a plan that could be implemented within a time frame. The key element of a typical *charrette* is the compression of the process in time to an average of between four to seven days, participants working together through a series of feedback loops in brainstorming sessions, and sketching workshops.

The UL *charrette* however, is carried out on a community evening. One would thus be tempted to argue that the time frame may be too short for it to qualify as one. The mismatch between the ideal participation and real participation has the undercurrents of power play that lead to manipulations, and disfranchisements. In most of the cases where participative processes are used, the level of control given to the citizens is minimized for various reasons. However in the UL, the short time is a response to the time constraints imposed by the rigid and short academic semester.

The meetings take place in the evenings at a community site which allows for the community to feel empowered by having control of the venue of the meeting and also having meetings occur at a time that suits them. The entire community, however, participates whenever it suits them without the need to take several days off, as there are at least three community meetings held over the entire semester. However, most other stakeholders such as developers, architects, business owners, transportation authorities and local leaders participate through scheduled meetings. This may raise questions of whether there is an urban regime coalition going on. **(see chapter on literature review).**

A review of the minutes of the UL available reveals that the time available for community participation is limited to the one given on the notice. The community do not in actuality have the opportunity to give feedback. However, a blog was set up in the Larimer Studio, but it is not certain if this alienates most members of the community who are in need as they may not be adept at using digital communication systems and may not even have access to a computer. In addition, only eighteen out of the forty four attendees at the meeting were not either affiliated to CMU or an interested empowered stakeholder body such as consultant, owners of the building or the developer. The environment could easily have been intimidating to say the least.

The success of the *charrette* as a method is very much dependent on having a good facilitator who can read the group mood, and deal with participants who try to stall the process. They need to have certain personal characteristics that encourage participation by all, be patient, generous and humble. Not all these are available to all persons hence a question that arises is whether the UL process would produce good facilitators at the end of their education. I argue that it is not the case as these are personal characteristics of charismatic persons.

Therefore it may not be a good method to use where mandated by legislation. It is very intense and as such is effective when the problems have been identified. Even though the students arranged and led the community meetings, the experienced teaching staffs were always at hand to assist in steering the discussion should it stall because of difficult participants with hidden agendas. The record of the meetings reveals that the community meeting ended with concluding remarks by the faculty leading the Studio thanking the participants and asking them to spread the word. There is no evidence of agreements on what to take forward or promissory notes that the views had been heard and would be considered.

The *charrette* process has typically been adapted to fit different projects using the same basic strategy with the planners as the catalysts; involving as many stakeholders as possible in a series of short, intensive design sessions. During the *charrette* there are times when collaborative hands-on sessions are used where the participants help root out potential problems, identify and debate possible solutions.

The forums are not merely to be used for informing the community about the development but they are in addition encouraged to be actively engaged in the shaping of the development and the building of confidence and community. The method could be successful as an approach to setting goals, where collaborative dialogue is needed, and for solving problems that cross different disciplines like

those encountered in architecture and urban design. It can also be used in combination with other techniques during the participative process.

There are four type of charrettes as identified by Zuker (1995); educational, leadership forums/ retreats/ focus groups, traditional problem-solving and interdisciplinary teams all depending on how well the problems are defined. The first category of charrette is carried out by university students and their faculty members as facilitators/ guides and are geared toward service provision to the local community.

The students are not yet professionals, but the process is used as a training ground for their future career in urban design. As such the problems must be well defined for it to be a success and the faculty members must be available to take over the process dynamics if it is stalling. Just as urban design is difficult to define, the handouts given to the students in the various laboratories are not precise on what the task at hand was other than to develop a vision for the community. The pedagogy seems underpinned on enhancing students' experience in leadership and communication skills as pointed out by Gatti (2009).

Because of being rooted in the community and neighbourhood, the various forces affect them in a way that the traditional method would not have dealt with. The choice is crucial in that it is the appropriate scale where the community can find meaning and be empowered.

The *charrette* has a fast pace in the participation and problem solving process. Because all the stakeholders are in the same room willing to participate, the process allows for consideration of the individual's interest placed for discussion which is then modified by others through the discussion. The modification is important to the process; reflection of decisions made earlier is carried out to eventually arrive at a consensus.

The consensus itself is not a loss to the original idea that the individual came to the meeting with, but rather again as Avery (1981) commented:

“...consensus is not a compromise where one gives up something they want, something assumed fixed, but is rather a profoundly different event, allowing for reformulation such that what you had wanted changes with new information and a better vision is generated...” quoted in Sanoff (2000, p.52).

The UL methodology at CMU emerged in response to the need for reflection if the citizens are to be empowered. It should allow for reflective feedback loops that occur at various levels (**see figure 4.1**) to constantly echo the citizens' views and iteratively correct the design to achieve an acceptable outcome. However it is not explicitly clear from the flow charts of the process that feedback loops exist (**Figures 4.10 & 4.11**). From the minutes, though, one may suggest that feedback did occur, the purpose and effectiveness is debatable. The key to the process is the ability to respectfully listen to the ideas and constraints from each side and the results achieved through negotiations.

The urban environmental development required flexibility and collaborations at both the individual and community levels, necessitating the civic innovations that involve community dispute resolutions, good neighbourhood agreements and institutional collaborations. Empowering strategies that went beyond the dominant newer, elite-directing mode of participation began to form, such as the public interest groups that permitted greater precision and details in the representation of the individual and the group. It is not surprising that of late the UL has been transformed to concentrate on research on the local context.

The UL is now under the Remaking Cities Institute (RCI), which is an urban design research centre in the School of Architecture. The Institute's objectives include real time capturing and evaluation of the conditions of neighbourhoods and regions. The reports of the laboratory became documents that are aimed at

policy changes, as frameworks that the community could use to hire professionals who would work in changes that affect them.

The products include the requirement to have a poster presentation for the community. The UL therefore becomes a resource for the community by going beyond a mere academic programme. It becomes a university-community partnership building infrastructure of shops and schools. This positions the university as an affiliate to the community to carry out research on the local community in a practical oriented way.

The UL curriculum process also addresses the leadership skills of the students and, by engaging city leaders in the process of participation, the capacity building takes place. The students are trained through the support of partners like the Community Design Centre of Pittsburgh (CDCP), on the value of being a neutral facilitator who comes to the community without a hidden agenda.

The partnerships with Urban Regional Authority of Pittsburgh support the process by fostering the client's ability to have a design developed. CDCP empowers the communities to be able to choose the right designer through the lobbying process and hence acts as an urban design advisor. Heinz Foundation supports the process by providing funding for the studies through CMU's UL.



#### **4.4. Methods and Influences: Place-Making Phase**

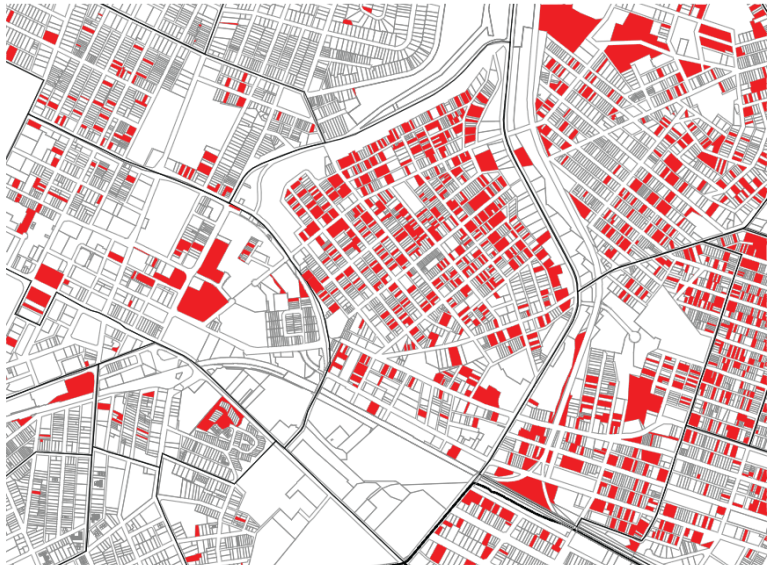
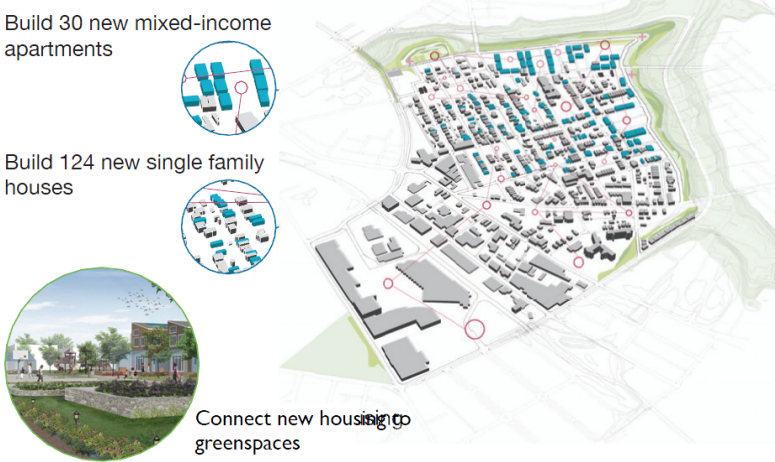
The final phase of the urban laboratory is the place-making phase and has three stages: “the analysis of site forces, the identification of typologies and the use of catalytic interventions to address the objectives” as indicated by Hutzell and Rico-Gutierrez (2006, pxii). Two main techniques emerge as the preferred way of working; the group interaction methods and the brainstorming methods. The first and second have been discussed but the third is discussed below. But first I will describe the methods based on content analysis of the 2007 UL.

The content analysis is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use...” as pointed out by Krippendorff (2004, p.18). It is used to find meanings hidden within a body of work in textual form through breaking them into meaningful units developed from grounded theory. The categories in this context arise from the literature review related to the research on urban design, place making and participatory processes.

In it the data analysis is iterative or cyclic in a process that continues until time runs out or the questions are understood. The analysis was carried out on the data that has been transcribed from the interviews, and the published material on the UL process. The content analysis started with line-by-line reading to break it into units of analysis called categories by either inductive or reductive reasoning. These categories or themes emerged from the data through careful examination and constant comparison between the various forms of data. There are three approaches to content analysis according to Hsieh and Shannon (2005); conventional content analysis, direct content analysis and summative content analysis. The coded texts, code book and analysis are available in **Appendix A**.

#### 4.4.2. Methods and Influences: Site Forces Analysis

The first stage starts with further detailed analysis to extract the specific cues and sources for architecture, development and place-creation. It is underpinned by two theoretical frameworks; the visual artistic and place-making traditions. The stage involves the re-examination of analysis from phase one with specific areas of focus in relation to the value systems acting on the community.

	<p><b>Figure 4.18A: Larimer UL Studio: Example of Site Force analysis identifying problem of vacant land.</b> Source: El Samahy and Kline (2008, p.9)</p>
 <p>Build 30 new mixed-income apartments</p> <p>Build 124 new single family houses</p> <p>Connect new housing to greenspaces</p>	<p><b>Figure 4.18B: Larimer UL Studio: Example of Response provision of housing and green space</b> Source: El Samahy and Kline (2008, p.49)</p>

Examples of the use of site forces is illustrated above (**figure 4.18A**) which reveals that the high percentage of vacant land is a problem for the community, causing blight and reduction in both people and tax revenue. The response is found from within, transforming vacant lots into greenery as well as adding more housing units. The analysis was followed by the identification of key site forces and layers impacting the place specifically as identified and confirmed during the first community meeting. These included a radically reduced population that meant a lower tax base; a high proportion of vacant lots concentrated in the area; and the edge conditions unclear with a resultant lack of identity etc as pointed out by El Samahy and Kline (2008). It is important to correlate the specific local issues with the global ones. A massing model is required at this stage to illustrate the impact of the proposed development. The design tool included the use of several drawings representing the various alternative proposals.

#### **4.4.2. Methods and Influences: Identifying Typologies**

UL teaches and emphasizes the importance of type as abstractions, which is a methodological tool in urban design guides and does not determine the future form. Colquhoun in discussion on typology suggests that it is the part given to the problem of “design methodology, and to the process of design as a branch of the wider process of problem solving.” (1969, 71).

He pointed to arguments against type on the basis of being a vestige of an age of craft. But craft in itself as a vocation has been considered dying because of the developments in the sciences and technology. However in history, the craftsman used the type as a model resource for creating the new objects or artifacts. The object then became a signifier of a culture with value. Fundamental to Colquhoun’s thinking is that the “creation of the socio-spatial schemata is endowed with meaning that is not measurable...” (1969, 71) and thus is a representation.

Quetremere on the other hand argued that “...the type is the original reason of a thing...” (quoted in Westfall, 1991; p.148). In other words it is vague rather than precise. In this sense the type when used in architecture provides the symbolic value to the building yet its character is contingent on the contextual timescale.

The importance of the type in this sense is related to the finding an architectural form that would provide the pragmatic solution to the activities. Although in modern architecture of 1950s and 1960s there was a denial of the use of imitation as a method through which artefacts including buildings were made. Colquhoun suggests that the:

“...intuition must be based on knowledge of past solutions to related problems, and that creation is a process of adapting forms derived either from past needs or on past aesthetic ideologies to the need of the present...” (1969, p.73).

Therefore, the typology as used at the UL is mere representation of the forms of possible solutions to architectural programmes that respond to the objectives. The detail of the immediate however is left to the individual student designers when working out the catalytic project (**figure 4.19A & 4.19B**).

The typologies are manipulated and are used to help to understand and reveal connection before the urban place-making, architecture and developments that that would occur. The various typologies are identified, the urban types, building types and landscape types, chosen on the basis that they would dictate the future direction of the development. It is therefore critical that the appropriate typologies for the specific area of focus are found, as the vision of the community would be dependent upon it.

The UL clarifies and emphasizes that even though urban typologies are related to use they are not always dependent on use. Typologies are not about *styles*. One example is the use of row typology in, say, a place like Nairobi: this does not

mean it has to be Victorian even though the row house has its history in the Victorian era.

This stage places emphasis on the visual-artistic traditional framework with the outcome being a series of axonometric, perspective images to propose the types to be used. The details that include the stylistic issues or otherwise should be kept out and the massing models and images should clearly suggest the locations of parking, courtyards, entrances etc. In the earlier studio, the outside and Felicity studios, the stylistic details seem to have crept in either by design or default. I suggest this was by design based on criticism raised by Kline (2009) during an interview on the UL process prior to the modifications to the curriculum as discussed later. The proposed uses for the projects must be visually clear without the use of texts (colour coding).



**Figure 4.19A:**  
**Larimer UL Studio:**  
**Example of Block**  
**typology at urban**  
**level. Source: El**  
**Samahy and Kline**  
**(2008, p.98)**



**Figure 4.19B:**  
**Larimer UL Studio:**  
**Example of**  
**Response detail of**  
**building**  
**(apartment)?**  
**Source: El Samahy**  
**and Kline (2008,**  
**p.99)**



Figure 10

Figure 8 Sample Sections through the paths.

Figure 9 Axonometric diagrams showing various building / space uses.

Figure 4.20: Hazelwood UL Studio: Example of Four typologies. Source: Hutzell, and Rico-Gutierrez, (2008, p.149)



#### 4.4.2. Methods and Influences: Catalytic Intervention

This stage contains the use of detailed elemental design to propose catalytic interventions that include all aspects of architecture, infrastructure and landscaping (**figures 4.18B and 4.20**). The making or creation of the public realm or space has been made clear because the threshold or interface between the space and the buildings are well delineated. Emphasis was placed on a 3D expression of architectural ideas to create the vision for an urban space. The recurring themes are what the appropriate typologies for the site are, and how they can be used to create an urban place.

The key to the exercise is the *modification* and *definition* of the urban space. It is a summary of the response to the system analysis. This includes the linked public spaces, a significant public space and a mixture of old (as is and as modified) and new (as proposed) that creates a catalyst and defines the urban space. The idea of the use of a catalyst to regenerate an area is a reductionist method. It operates on the premise that the wider problems of the community could be divided into smaller sub-problems identified as site forces. These could then be solved through targeted surgery and when several of these are put back together, the whole community's problems would be solved.

Emphasis is placed on the connections between the strategies developed earlier and the community objectives and the interventions. The result of this stage should NOT be a re-creation or reproduction of an existing city even if one used a precedent. The outcome is presented in a way that clearly shows the ground floor plan relationship with the exterior landscape. It should also show what the private/ public relation is with the other floor plan but with emphasis on how the spaces proposed relate and contribute to the creation on the public realm.

The next section takes three examples of Urban Laboratory projects at Carnegie Mellon University to examine how the methods were applied in specific cases



and how the methods were transformed over time to respond to changing circumstances.

#### **4.5. Examined cases of Urban Laboratories Projects 1**

The first laboratory sessions ran between 1963 and 1968; the second laboratory period I have categorized as 1982-2000 while the third as 2000 to the present. The breakdown of the period was selected to correspond to the active periods of the UL. The gap between 1968 and 1982 represents the period when both David and Ray were away teaching at Yale University School of architecture and also to spend time building their newly formed firm UDA.

The period 1982-2000 represents when both David and Ray returned to teach urban design at CMU even though the UL in the current form had not been founded until 1992. The period 2000 to date marks the start of changes to curriculum and process carried out by Jonathan Kline in 2002.

It was difficult to access records of process, or programmes of the first laboratory as unfortunately no records were kept at the UL archives. There were however some files containing correspondences and notes left by the former deans of the schools over the years. These were looked at in detail and the reconstruction of the start of the UL discussed at the beginning of the chapter come from them. It is therefore difficult to examine the period in detail other than from publications by David Lewis and Ray Gindroz and also from information gathered during an interview with Don Carter and Ray Gindroz.

The founder, David Lewis was kind enough to introduce me to both Don Carter and Ray Gindroz who provided valuable information about the firm, the processes and their work at CMU. Raymond L. Gindroz, a co-founder with David Lewis in 1964 and principal emeritus of Urban Design Associates Ray earned both Bachelor and Master of Architecture degrees from Carnegie Mellon

University in 1963 and 1965 respectively. He taught urban design at the School of Architecture at Yale University.

Donald K. Carter graduated with Bachelor of Architecture from Carnegie Mellon University in 1967 and did postgraduate work at the University of Edinburgh. He is a consulting principal at the Urban Design Associates (UDA) and also the current director of the UL. His biographical sketch suggests that he has been a:

“...consultant to General Motors, Heinz, and Alcoa regarding the reuse of excess industrial land parcels, including their potential for mixed-use and residential developments...” (UDA, 2011).

This is interesting in that it reveals interests and influences in the organizations that have financed the UL projects over the years. Both Don and Ray were studies architecture under David Lewis and share same ideas which they have practiced at the firm since its founding in 1964.

#### **4.5.1. Felicity City Urban Laboratory 1982**

Professor David Lewis and Ray Gindroz, both practising architects and urban designers from the local firm Urban Design Associates, led the Urban Laboratory project. This session of the urban laboratory started from a theoretical perspective taken from the Vitruvius Ideal: commodity, firmness and delight, i.e. structural stability, appropriate spatial accommodation, and attractive appearance. The argument Lewis and Gindroz posited in this laboratory project was that:

“...citizens of a *good* city are happy because of their relationship to the environment and other members of the society. The relations are firmly based on tradition yet evolving continuously and as a consequence civic pride is inherent...” (1982, p.2).

The implication of the argument is that good urbanism must of necessity be rooted in the tradition and the local context and it is this that makes it acceptable to the citizens and therefore makes them happy.

As previously discussed in chapter 1, four main categories used in the content analysis emerged from literature review. These are: the historical context framing the founding of the laboratories; the interrelationships between force fields such as actors, community issues, and organizations; the strategies or tactics applied and, the final category, the consequences of those actions.

I used the suggestions of Ryan and Bernard (2003b) to discover the codes based on important themes related to design pedagogy, and grounded theory that emerged from the texts. I coded individual words and phrases that conveyed meanings related to the research questions (**table 1.5 in chapter 1**).

The content analysis carried out on the report of the laboratory revealed that even though the Vitruvius Ideal was the starting point, the emphasis seemed rooted on the contextual issues and less on other themes such as interrelationships between various parts or stakeholders essential for the place-creation process. The drawings produced by the students were evidence of the emphasis on visual qualities tied to the traditional typology and historical values of the neighbourhoods.

The reading list (**figure 4.6 and table 4.2**) reveals a strong leaning towards the social-visual artistic traditions from both Europe and North America. Most of the books in the required reading list confirm the theoretical leanings of the studio. A quote by Aldo Rossi: "...social realism in architecture was seen as strongly linked to social order and political problems..." points to the rationalist approach that the studio had taken. The rationalist saw the merging of functionalism of the modern movement with humanism. Lobsinger (2002) argues that Aldo Rossi approached architecture from a reductionist point of view in that "rationalist building assemblies determined the type to be the best form suited for it..." (2002, p.51). The list reveals that about half of the books had social-usage traditions as the theoretical leaning.

#### 4.5.1.1. Strategy

The strategy of the seminar was linked to the understanding that place-making of a happy city was based on evolutionary processes that created episodes in the city. They were evolutionary in that the changes occurred in the city because of the systemic forces of economics, culture, politics and social relations. The designers are therefore required to observe, analyse and understand the processes and propose a design response that would support such a happy city. The methodology was based on a study of examples of perceived happy urban spaces from Europe and North America from a list provided by the tutors. These were Piazza Navona in Rome, Piazza del Campo in Sienna, Covent Garden in London; Post Office Square in Boston among others.

This methodology is not so dissimilar to Jan Gehl's approach used in Copenhagen where observation of activities in the public places of the city is used to decide which spaces are happy, based on the intensity of activities especially optional ones. This approach of design has its strengths and weakness. It may reveal locations where activities occur but unless the users are involved by revealing reasons for being in those spaces at those particular times, it will all be guess work by the designer.

A lot of work had been going on in parallel during this period under the user participation; a notable one by William Whyte (1980): *Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*. His work described the substance of urban public life in an objective and measurable way. Whyte's starting point was how plazas are used. Whyte's methods involved use of time-lapse photography overlooking the plazas and recording daily patterns. The users were interviewed to reveal where they came from, where they worked, how frequently they used the spaces (under study). The main data collection method was observation of the people to see what they did.

The urban form was explored in three ways: firstly from a theoretical perspective from a prescribed list of architects (**see table above 4.2**). Secondly, it was

explored through the analysis by drawing on three kinds of urban spaces, historical, contemporary and infrastructural road systems. The final method was contextual in location, but was a similar task to the previous one except that the spaces are a local neighbourhood street and urban space. The outcomes of the exercise were not clear as I have been unable to find examples of the work by students.



#### 4.5.1.2. Consequences

The image above (figure 4.21) reveals that the emphasis of the UL was on the use of traditional building. The approach would result in buildings that are deemed to create happiness, a reductionist ideal that “good” environment equals socially, economically and culturally satisfied people.

#### **4.5.2. The Southside Community: Urban Laboratory project 1991**

This is a significant project in that it was formally the restart of the urban laboratory after having been folded in 1968 when Professor David Lewis returned as a fulltime staff member at the school. It involved the Southside community and was undertaken under the leadership of both Professors David Lewis and Robert Coles.

##### **4.5.2.1. Physical Context**

According to the media report in the Pittsburgh Courier and other local dailies, "...students will show primarily through illustrations, possible river treatments of the Southside from the 9<sup>th</sup> Street to end of LTV property..." Faassen, Fredrickson and Temkin (1991). This implied that the aim of the project as portrayed to the public was vision-making. The brief confirmed that the project was to show the relationships between the north and south sides of the river and also the impact of urban design study especially on the Southside Community.

The south side riverfront area had a diverse community in the 1870s from eastern and southern Europe. Its location by the river made it attractive for industrial developments and nearby there were also coal mines that were used to fire the industries. The main activity was industrial but the fall of the steel industry severely impacted the community.

##### **4.5.2.2. Historical Context**

The content analysis revealed that the project proposals placed emphasis on the economic impact of the collapse of the heavy steel industries, social rights and justice through the availability of rental or multi-family accommodation. Properties were generally sold in a closed market through word of mouth or through the strong social networks in the community. The community lacked essential amenities close to the projects such as parks, yards and schools.

These were symptoms of a divided community where discrimination was likely. The community also had a declining population that could not support any local stores thus making it less attractive for businesses to stay. Young families were moving out as well and as a result more vacancies in properties were prevalent. The community had a strong network that the students would be able to tap into to obtain tacit knowledge.

#### **4.5.2.3. Interrelationship**

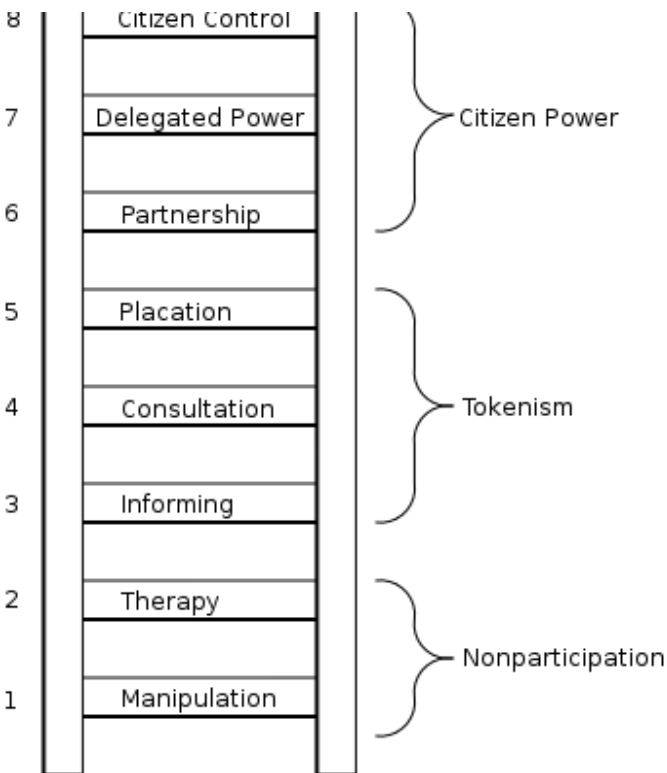
The content analysis revealed that the proposals by the students were carried out using collaborative efforts, partnerships between the Southside Local Development Company, Southside Community Council, the Southside Chamber of Commerce and Southside Planning Community. The project involved partnership with the Southside local development Company who prepared the Request for Qualification, (RFQ), and the Request for Qualification Information (RFI) document that the students used as a brief.

The students formed imaginary architectural firms with four consultants each to simulate reality for the purpose of responding to the RFI. They worked in collaboration with other student teams to collect the baseline data needed for the project then developed urban design framework as individual firms. Individual students then did the detailed work from portions of the urban design framework. What however is not clear other than placed within the brief is how the students interacted with the community. There is no record of the interaction or the events of the day.

#### **4.5.2.4. Strategies**

There were two underlying strategies used in the process: the participative process and reliance on catalytic projects to spur growth, even though the participation of the local community is mentioned several times in the report. Using Jeremy Till's (2005) analysis, I would place the process as pseudo-

participation. In Arnstein's Ladder, (**table 4.3**) the community did have some power at level 2 or 3. The report is not explicit on what transpired.

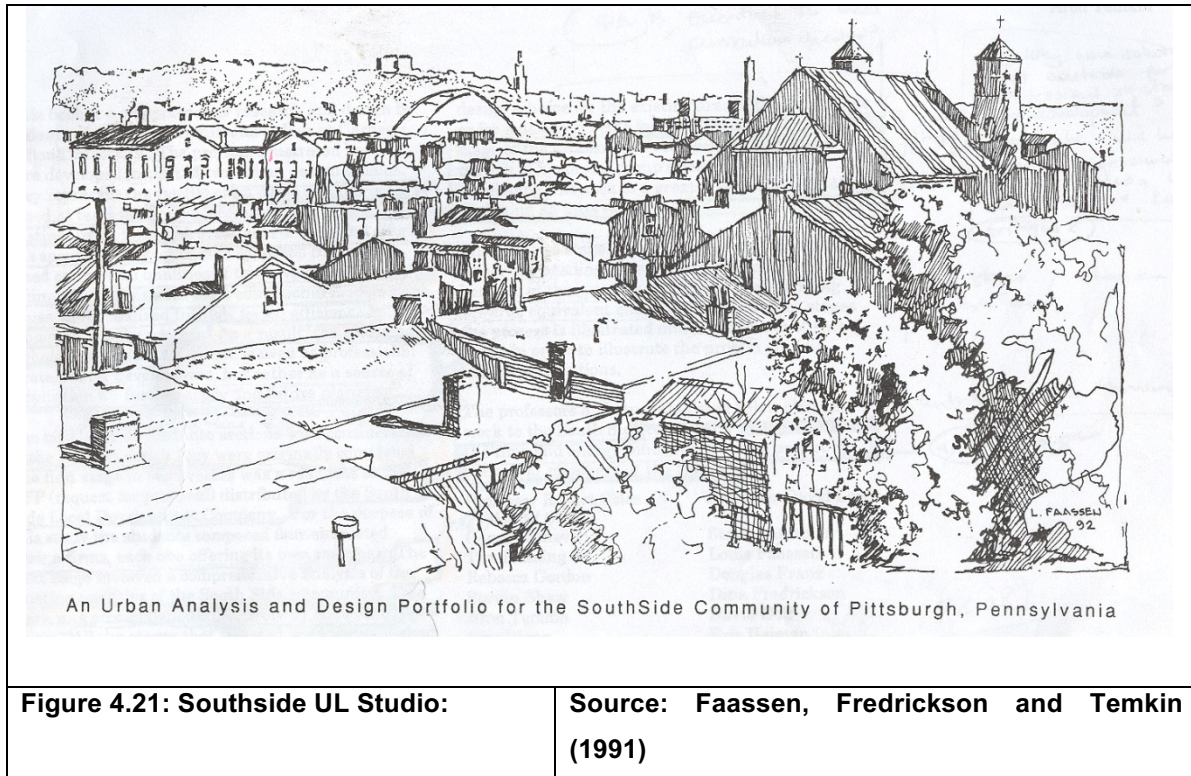
Arnstein (1969, p.2)	Till (2005)
 <p>The diagram shows a ladder with 8 rungs. From bottom to top, the rungs are labeled: 1. Manipulation, 2. Therapy, 3. Informing, 4. Consultation, 5. Placation, 6. Partnership, 7. Delegated Power, 8. Citizen Control. To the right of the rungs, three brackets group them: 'Nonparticipation' covers rungs 1-2, 'Tokenism' covers rungs 3-5, and 'Citizen Power' covers rungs 6-8.</p>	Genuine Participation
	Pseudo- Participation
<b>Table 4.3: level of participation</b>	<b>Source: Onyango (2011)</b>

#### 4.5.2.5. Consequences

The content analysis reveals that the Urban Design lab project targeted a shared community vision and also looked at empowering the community in decision making. Even though the Charm Bracelet project is a follow up that came fifteen years later it is difficult to judge the progress those communities have made since the laboratory projects were initiated. The time span between the two could be



attributed to two things; firstly that initial plans had a time span of 15-20 years; secondly, perhaps are return to the community when most people have forgotten the promises from the first meeting fifteen years later.



The above image (**figure 4.21**) is a representation of what the urban vision developed for the community was. It looks like a romantic memory recaptured, a call for a return to a nostalgic past perhaps. It is difficult to tell either what the interventions are or what it looked like prior to the proposal. It is also difficult, reading from the report, to see what the community objectives to be met were other than being a project aimed at meeting the academic requirements.

#### **4.6. Transformations in methods over the years**

The next Urban Laboratory comes after the curriculum changes had been implemented and as such follows a modified programme and structure. In an interview conducted with Jonathan Kline (2009), he was critical of the approach used at both the Urban Design Associates (UDA) offices and UL at CMU that was based on Neo-traditional urbanism and lacked what he saw as

experimentation and innovation. UDA's methodology is based on the *charrette* model, which he criticizes as being very formulaic; tick the boxes to meet the requirements. It is subject to manipulation and exposes the community to therapeutic participation.

He points out that it is adopted because of its efficiency from a business perspective but in reality is used as a control mechanism of who participates. In some schemes the participation was elaborate while in others there was none at all. This is very much in line with the thoughts expressed by Till (2005) who argued that there exists a mismatch between the ideal participation and the real participation because of the undercurrents of power play that lead to manipulations, and disenfranchisements (**see discussion on participation in chapter 2**).

The pedagogy of UL was "open-ended" prior to 2005 according to Kline and, furthermore, was without clear outcomes and objectives: not even the methodology to be followed was written down. The praxis was based on the social process of new-urbanism that was driven by traditional issues and form. As a result some students were not happy to be forced to learn neo-traditional architecture neither were they enthused with the participatory methodologies. It is based on a reductionist fallacy that Harvey criticizes as "...trying to perpetuate the idea that the shaping of spatial order is or can be the foundation for a new moral and aesthetic order..." (1997, p1) He sees it failing due to its communitarian ideals that avoid confrontation with the economy of power.

Jonathan Kline, after discussions with Prof David Lewis, was given an opportunity to explore ways to introduce a more deliberate process over 3 years. He was granted an award that enabled the curriculum development review to happen and in 2005 Kelly Hutzell and Rami el Samahy joined the UL while Jonathan Kline took time off to pursue an interest in painting. Kelly and Samahy

modified the curriculum, streamlining and consolidating the process, making it more focused.

In the previous years of UL under David Lewis three assignments were used; the first carried out through a Request for Prequalification (RFP) given to the students. It was up to the students to figure out how to address the problems and invent the programme and turned out to be a challenge to weaker students, as it was not clearly structured with well-outlined objectives. They then presented this to the community in one meeting and spent the rest of the time working at details according to the academic programme.

The class was divided into small groups of 2-3 student teams to work on models (GIS analysis); others would start community outreach to identify leaders and understand community dynamics and arrange community meetings. The students were responsible for running the community meetings. The result was a large number of teams (26) that was a burden for the community because of the 26 different ideas being presented that might not be very different.

In the modified curriculum, the class formed fewer teams but with more students (8-10) to improve the structure and generate only 3 urban design frameworks. This allowed the work to be more detailed than previously as the larger team structure contributes more through collaboration and co-design. The new team structure, however, has the weakness that some students who are used to working alone have disliked it. However for purposes of pedagogy and curriculum it meets the needs and requirement of teaching leadership, collaborative and participative and communication skills.

The modification allowed for the presentation of 3 specific alternatives that could be discussed in depth and consolidated to show community actions. In the previous UL the community was bombarded with 30 different ideas! This was quite a task for them and it was difficult to get them engaged throughout; they got

fatigued. The community are reported to have been very positive about the changes.

The changes to the methodologies of UL, according to Jonathan Kline, were: firstly, in terms of serving the community it was more effective in meeting their objectives and therefore the proposals were very likely to be adopted by the community. For the students, it allowed for a greater interaction and collaboration which fostered peer evaluation and learning within the larger group.

Secondly, the new methodological process was more deliberate in identifying the communities to work with through collaboration with the Community Design Centre of Pittsburgh, (CDCP). CDCP have been working with the communities for much longer and earlier than CMU urban laboratory and hence are able to suggest those communities that are ripe for working with. They would commission studies to map and identify the areas that have potential of suffering pressure or stress soon, due to the various system forces.

In an interview in April 2009, Anne Lubenau, the president of CDCP pointed out that it had been involved with the community, firstly through the use of education in helping people understand the value of good design (capacity building); secondly through the provision of a design fund for core programmes, and thirdly through supporting, hosting and promoting events that help achieve the aims of the organizations.

In the period prior to the start of UL, the communities had received funding from the city and CDCP to carry out the planning process through the federal Housing and Urban Department. Unfortunately, the results were more talk between stakeholders rather than the creation of a community vision. The community would then have applied for a grant to hire planners to create a vision. The studio was therefore inserted at the right place and time for the community. Even

though the students are not professionals, their energy and innovations allow for a burst of creativity hardly seen in working with professionals.

The process of inserting UL in the community allows for the educational and empowering process to occur. This builds their capacity to be able to work with professionals later after the visioning process has occurred. The result of the studio is a report that allows for the community to prepare RFP to proceed to next stage. The flip side to working for a long period in any community is participative fatigue and frustration because of the slow progress in transformations.

The new curriculum is effective in that it allows for the partnership between city planners, the Urban Regional Authority of Pittsburgh and CDCP to collaborate in identifying which communities are in most need and which would be able to make most use of the technical support. In previous UL, the collaboration took the form of an Urban Regime Coalition that seems to have been set up to serve the elite through the organization network purporting to meet community needs. For instant, Don Carter who has been heavily involved with running the UL at CMU has also been a consultant advisor to Heinz Foundation among others that have controlling interests in the landholdings in areas where the UL has worked. It is reported that the students found the new proposal more diverse and rigorous and it has become very popular, judging by the increase in the number of students taking the course as an elective.

#### **4.6.1. Community Meeting 1**

The new curriculum allows for fewer schemes than previous UL processes where lots of proposals were carried out and the second community meeting was used as a critical review time. It was thus seen more as a critique than a meeting for dialoguing as David Lewis had invited peer jurors. The community did not really get engaged, as they did not have space to give feedback, therefore the process lacked not only reflection, but also collaboration. It was a controlled process in

the manner previously exemplified by Jonathan Kline. In the new UL process the community meeting is used for discussion and co-design and a separate critique is arranged back at school a week later for the students.

The community meeting is wholly student led and is held in a venue within the community. It starts with the students presenting systems analysis using Power Point slides to show maps and models. They then present the three urban design frameworks as exemplars but open to discussion and modification by the community at a *charrette* to follow shortly afterwards. A large model with x-rays of the community is available for understanding the context. The term x-ray refers to the systems analysis beyond what is visible on the surface. For example, the presence of a high percentage of vacant lots could be an indicator of racial flight from the area, and crime problems, which in turn impact the economic tax base.

The community members are invited to give an oral history of the place, to make the students and the community understand what the place meant to them in the past and what it means to them now. The use of flags or dots on the models for SWOT analysis [strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats] has been found to engage the community more than using maps only. The objectives are identified and the potential uses explored together in small workshops of about 10 community members using design games. They would then vote against issues placed on the table for discussion. The use of the community location makes the process productive, as they are not intimidated.



**Figure 4.22: Northside UL Studio: SWOT Analysis**

**Source: Urban Lab(2005)**

#### **4.6.2. Community Meeting 2**

At this meeting the three student groups had developed the work in detail. The teaching faculty introduced work of the students and explained the differences and moves by three different groups of students. The students then take over and lead the discussion, mainly using models with objects that could be moved in the process of co-design. The changes are photographed to keep record of the process and this can be pulled back onto the screen for reflection using Power Point presentation techniques.

#### **4.6.3. Community Meeting 3**

At the third community meeting, the teaching faculty makes the presentation just like in the second meeting. The faculty's role is supposedly limited to introducing the key ideas and summary, but the students who designed the project answer questions by the community.

The next section will look at the Charm Bracelet project, which was carried out under the new curriculum, to see if there was any perceivable difference to the outcome.

#### **4.7. Examined Case of Urban Laboratory Project: Charm Bracelet 2006**

This was a project carried out after the changes to the curriculum and overhaul of the UL methodologies. It was located on the Northside of Pittsburgh and was a collaborative project in partnership with Pittsburgh Northside Community, Pittsburgh Children's Museum and the Urban Laboratory at CMU. The National Endowment for the Arts funded the project and they received a Heinz Endowment grant for an International Idea Design competition.

Two studios were run in this particular urban laboratory; the Charm Bracelet and the Brighton Road and Herron Avenue projects. The Charm Bracelet project, according to the studio leaders Hutzell and Rico-Gutierrez, was a catalyst aimed at "creating linkages among the varied cultural, educational and entertainment destinations spread across the Northside..." (2007, p.6). This project had been improved in comparison to the previous ones in that it added a dialogue process between the community, the students and four international teams of designers.

The second of the studios collaborated with the Pittsburgh Urban Regional Authority, the Urban Land Institute and the Community groups, and was funded using Urban Land Institute grants. The aim was to integrate the blighted urban corridor in the north with Pittsburgh city centre.

##### **4.7.1. Contextual Issue**

The content analysis of the urban laboratory report reveals that there was more emphasis on addressing the pressing economic context, social rights and political opportunities. This perhaps relates to the booming economic conditions that existed in the mid 2000s and the economic disparities that were apparent



between the Northside communities and even the destinations or charms as they were efered to that existed.

The students carried out the baseline survey work which they shared with the international design teams that had been invited to participate in a competition. The students also participated alongside these teams in the competition. The local community were also engaged earlier in the process to identify and define the problem that the community faced, and to assess their existing assets.

This marked a change in the procedure in that previously the community were not involved in the identification and definition of the problems. The first community meeting was used to “check and confirm” whether the designers got it right! David Lewis concurs when he pointed out that:

“...conflicts over community design issues between the advocacy groups and the bureaucratic officials and technical specialists are caused by their different viewpoints...” (1979, p.28)

The perspective from which the scenario is viewed determined its understanding. As such one could argue that the citizens perhaps have a better view and understanding of their local needs, have greater clarity of the issues than the experts from outside.

This has necessitated a need for a different approach to designing communities, cities, and neighbourhoods, based on the local contexts, by collaborating with, and allowing the participation of, the local community. The proposals in this UL were very innovative perhaps as a result of the higher degree of community involvement and also from the fact that the problems were jointly framed and therefore represented their vision (**figure 4.23**). This is perhaps due to the fact that for the first time there was a real project on board, and four professional teams were invited and the students had opportunity to not only proved the baseline data but to participate alongside them.

The four teams were: Suisman Urban Design (collaboration between office from Santa Monica, California and Pittsburgh; Colab Architecture (collaboration between teams from New York and Pittsburgh); Muf Architecture/ art and Objectif (teams from London and San Francisco) and Pentagram from New York.

#### **4.7.2. Interrelationships**

The project was carried out using the collaborative model not only between the stakeholders and the students, but also with the students co-designing alongside the multi-disciplinary professional teams from both the US and abroad. This simulated real life project scenarios, enriching their learning. The laboratory used a mixture of methods to address the issues, beginning with a top-down approach where community leaders and professionals led in identifying the key issues. This was followed by a bottoms-up approach involving the community in not only framing the questions and clarifying them (week 1 and 4) but also in the *charrete* working out possible solutions (week 9).

#### **4.7.3. Strategy/ Tactics**

The content analysis reveals that the strategies or tactics category had the highest scores of all the other categories as well as the other laboratory projects. There was great emphasis on community participation either directly or at some stage through the delegated power of the community leaders during the various forums. The engagement, unlike in the previous lab, began at the outset of the process and continued through to the last community meeting where the final framework and detailed proposals were presented and celebrated.

The x-rays of students' work showed the community before and after the intervention proposals, the 3D models and drawings; all showed understanding of the contextual issues, respect for typology and innovation through the use of light as the theme to connect the charms. The use of lighting as a feature has surely proven to be an innovative solution drawing communities out in the

evening to use the new public places created and has spurred other activities along the routes. It has been catalytic indeed judging by the continued investments in the area and its growth. The Children's Museum has continued to invite the community to participate in annual projects to improve its vision and outlook based on adverts in 2011:

**Urban Garden Art + Design Project**  
The Children's Museum of Pittsburgh and Team Laminates Co. (TLC) invite architects, artists, gardeners and designers to propose artistic / design solutions for a new community garden at the corner of Vinial Street and Spring Garden Avenue on the Northside. (2011, Children's Museum of Pittsburgh)

#### **4.7.4. Consequences**

The consequence of the project was a shared community vision that has developed legs and grown into the community events lasting years now since the Children's museum got a new building as a part of the process. The reviews in Post-Gazette, Pittsburgh Courier, MetropolisMags were positive. For instance:

"Most design competitions pit one group against another to generate the best design for eventual construction. Here, however, Children's Museum Assistant Director Chris Siefert worked with architect Paul Rosenblatt, of Springboard Design, to select and work with teams whose variety of skills and perspectives would enrich the project in a more collective fashion." (Pittsburgh City Paper; February 22, 2007).

"Siefert cites light installations, projects for an underpass, and museum/school partnerships as noteworthy proposals. "There are things that stand out--a strong idea for a public art program which would look at specific sites and curate events and installations over time," says Siefert. "One exciting idea is an annual treasure hunt across the whole district."

(PopCity Media)

The project has not only connected the community icons, but by strategic placing of the active functions and activities there has been increased surveillance, new places created, enhanced cohesion and businesses started along the paths connecting the charms.



**Figure 4.23: Charm Bracelet Project (2007**  
Urban Laboratory)

**Source: Hutzell and Rico-Gutierrez (2007)**

#### 4.8. Summary

This section will summarize the UL model at CMU by type of organization and the methodologies adapted with their roots to contexts. The work is based on the material provided from the websites, interviews with staff at the school, and commentary by partner organizations that have worked with them.

The table below (**Table 4.4**) is a summary of the activities, the technique used to carry the activity and the influence or cause of the choice of the method.

Phase	Methods	Influence/ cause
Systems Analysis	1. Awareness methods 2. Indirect methods	1. Rationalist approach: (Lynch, Rossi, Rowe, Team X) 2. Civil Rights Movement 3. Advocacy (Davidoff)
Urban Design Framework	1. Indirect methods 2. Group interaction methods 3. Brainstorming	1. Rationalist (Whyte, Rossi, Team X) 2. Advocacy 3. Civil Rights Movement
Place-Making	1. Group interaction methods 2. Brainstorming	1. Rationalist (Team X) 2. Civil Rights Movement
<b>Table 4.4: Summary of Phase, methods and influences</b>		<b>Source: Onyango (2011)</b>

It is claimed that the work of UL at CMU is characterized by its interdisciplinary approach, public participation, collaboration and partnership with professionals, political leaders and private stakeholders as well as community. The UL seems to fit within the community as a provider of services through their long-term public engagement processes in design issues as well as in building the capacity of the communities they work with to participate. It is however doubtful how effective

the participation by the community is and how representative the sample of participants is as discussed further below.

This is as opposed to many other labs such as the University of Cincinnati that provides cheap technical assistance in competition with professional practice. This is important in that the choice of methodology allows for the professionals not only to be co-designers with the students, but also to act on the opportunity to train them in community work. However this was only used in one occasion during the Charm Bracelet project of 2006. Most of the UL did not have co-design involvement of professional designers and as such the design methodology is no different to the traditional design studio process. It is expert-tutor led with the student learning to mimic the work of the expert.

The analysis also revealed that the UL process occurs in three key stages or phases as illustrated above (**table 4.4 above**). The theoretical leanings of the UL are the Social-Usage tradition even though from their documents and in interviews they continue to argue that no single theoretical tradition dominates. Four methods are used that could have arisen out of the circumstances in the political history of the place, the social and environmental histories and the academic traditions of the time. These are the awareness method, the indirect method, the group interaction method and brainstorming methods.

**Figure 4.24: Content Analysis: Comparisons between 1982 UL and 2006 UL**

Source: Onyango (2011) **INSERT UL CA Diagram Here**

Content Analysis was carried out on the reports of the 1982 and 2006 UL that was then checked against data from interviews with Anna Lubna, Jonathan Kline, Luis Rico-Gutierrez and Jared Friedman (CMU Alumni). It revealed the transformation on what was emphasised in comparison to the previous urban laboratories, as illustrated above (**figure 4.24**). There is a marked difference between the two ULs in 1982 when David Lewis had just returned to CMU and in 2006 after curriculum changes.

In 1982, the emphasis appears to have been on contextual issues with other categories barely being mentioned. Even within the contextual categories that are supposedly the cause for the founding of the laboratory, only the social right and justice is mentioned twice. One would have expected that this category would be mentioned continuously on the documents handed to students and papers written describing the process. In addition the collaborative efforts between the designers, students and community are hardly mentioned. The tactics used that would have underpinned the methodology selected are unclear as are the consequences of those actions, which is not surprising. This perhaps reflects the critiques identified by Jonathan Kline that the "...curriculum was open ended without clear objectives or community benefits..." (2009).

On the other hand by 2006, the curriculum had changed significantly, as reflected in the location of the emphasis. The context as driving force is still important, however the interrelationship between the various stakeholders seems to have become the most important element. The use of collaboration in forms of coalition arrangements, and reliance on existing networks has become critical. The tactics or strategies used are now clear with emphasis placed on community participation and reflection is embedded in the process. However the interviews reveal that the form of reflection and participation by the community is reactive with the designer listening, whether they respond to these or not is debatable.



In comparing the various periods of the UL; 1982, 1991 and 2006, content analyses reveals that the context is considered important. The main things that are highlighted as exerting the greatest spheres of influence are economics, political and social rights and justice (**figure 4.25**). The difference between the periods is the level of emphasis within the texts. Historically there are no significant events that would account for the difference in the increase in score between the 1982, 1991 and 2006 ULs except a choice by the lab to change the focus.

## Comparison Historical Context

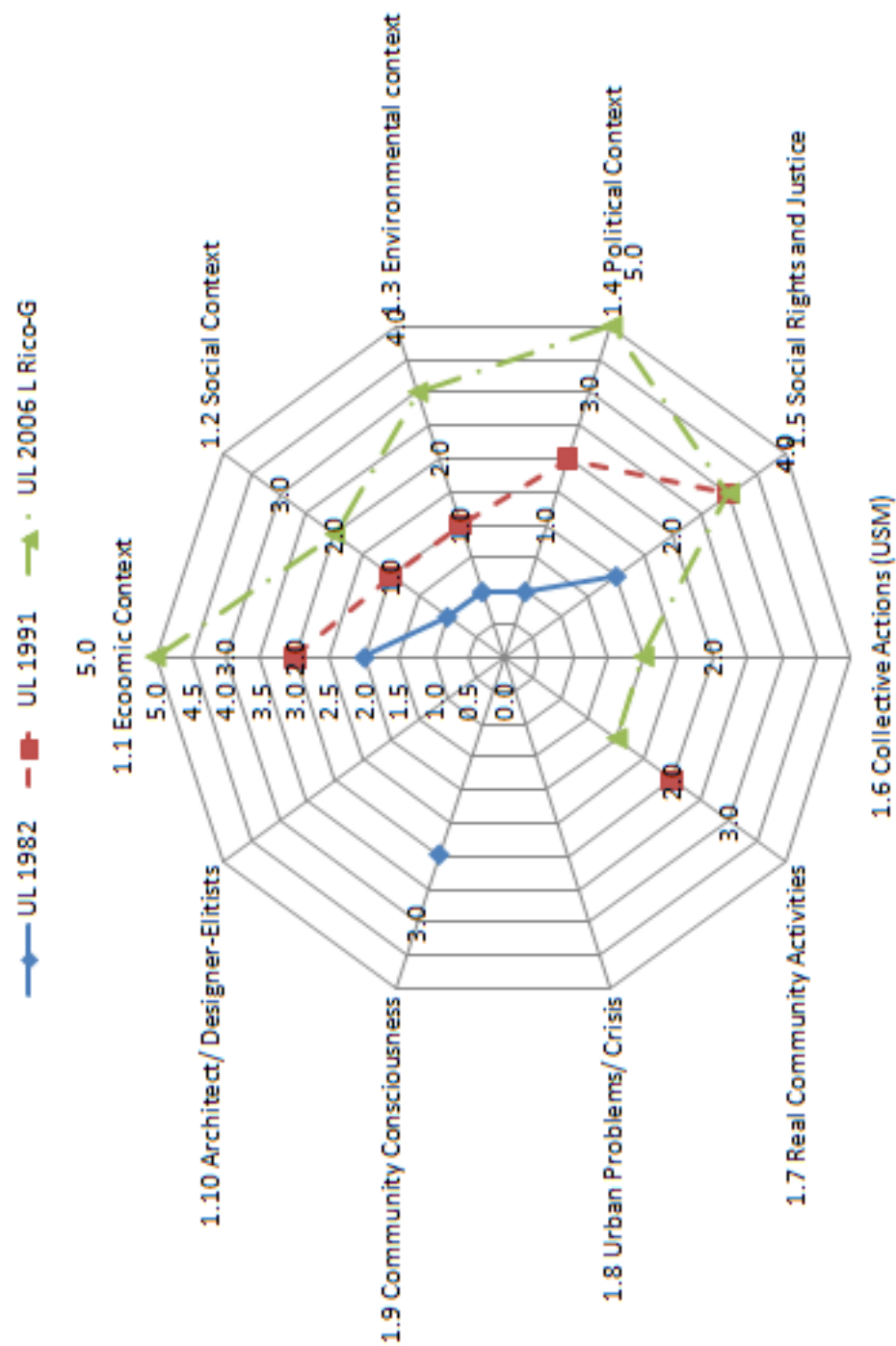


Table 4.25: Comparison: Historical Context

Source: Onyango

Comparison of Interrelationships between the 1982, 1991 & 2006 UL

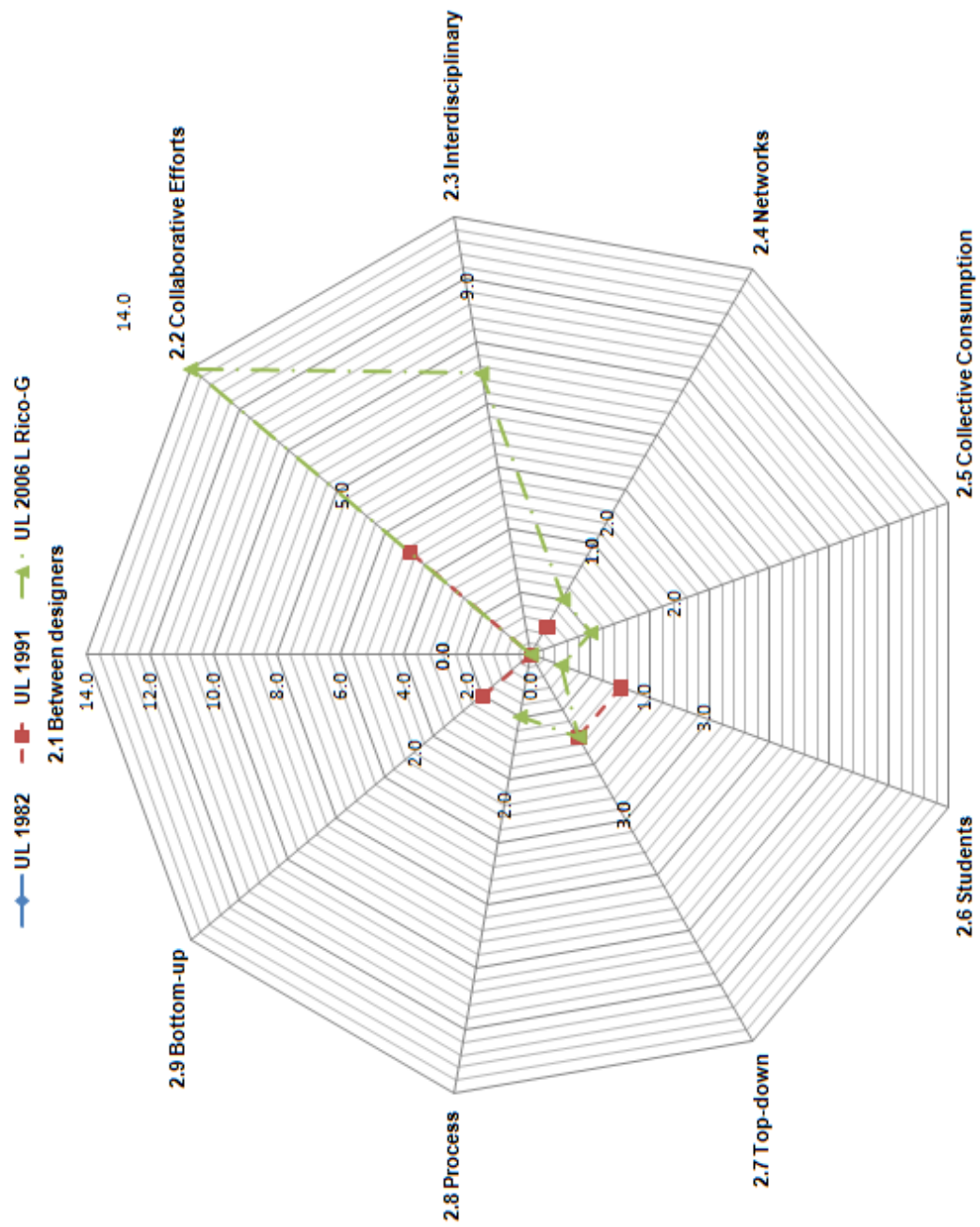


Table 4.26: Comparison: Interrelationships Context

Source: Onyango

The content analysis of the data on interrelationships reveal that even though the objectives of the UL have been to train student designers to have ethical values and engage the community, this was hardly mentioned in the reports and handouts (**figure 4.26**). However there is a marked change in the level of emphasis by 2006 when the UL operated under a different director, Luis Rico-Gutierrez, and also used the revised curriculum. The emphasis is now on collaboration, reliance on an interdisciplinary approach and the building on existing networks of the community. The community's role in the design process was increased from mere listening to co-design as previously illustrated (**figures 4.9A & 4.9B**). In addition, the partner organizations still have a much greater influence in the decision-making process than the local community.

The minutes of the Wilkinsburg UL reveal that the local community represented less than 41% of the participants. In addition interviews with students who participated reveal that they were disappointed by the low level of participation by the majority of the socially, economically deprived residents. Perhaps the location of the meetings, and the manner of invitation made it less inviting to the local marginalized residents.

The citizen's power for self-decision making has been the foundation of the participatory process. It has taken different forms over the years, as seen from the literature on participatory design processes from the 1960s to the present. Wulz (quoted in Toker and Toker 2006, p.157) conducted a study that revealed a shift from the advocacy approach of the 1960s to the continuum approach in the 1980s. In the latter, the power relations of the citizens in the decision-making ladder are reduced from one condition to another without abrupt changes being noticed.

Citizens' power is reduced from one of "maximum say to a minimum say" starting from self-decision, to co-decision between the participating stakeholders and the designers. In the latter the alternative solutions are offered either by the

designers or representatives of any of the stakeholder groups and not the community participants directly; it is a delegated authority or perhaps manipulated delegation. The next stage represents a shift to regionalism, where regional solutions are pushed for as the best alternative while in the final stage of the transformation the solutions are achieved through dialogue.

The urban laboratory marked the transformation from activist model to entrepreneurial model through a shift of emphasis; it being placed more on consensus building and less on advocacy. This transformation unfortunately shifts the focus away from citizen's participation.

There is a marked difference in the level of emphasis on participative collaboration, reflections and accountability between the UL prior to 2006 (**figure 4.26**). These terms were hardly mentioned in the 1982 or the 1991 UL, it was probably 'business as usual', picking from where they had left in 1968. The tactics or strategies barely changed between 1982 when David Lewis and Roy Gindroz came back to CMU and 1991 when the UL was re-launched. Little evidence is available to indicate that the methodologies adopted were driven by the local context as these were completely different between 1960s and 1980s. However the training of students to be facilitators is now (in 2006) much clearer in comparison to the previous UL.

Comparison of Tactics/ Strategies between the 1982, 1991 & 2006 UL

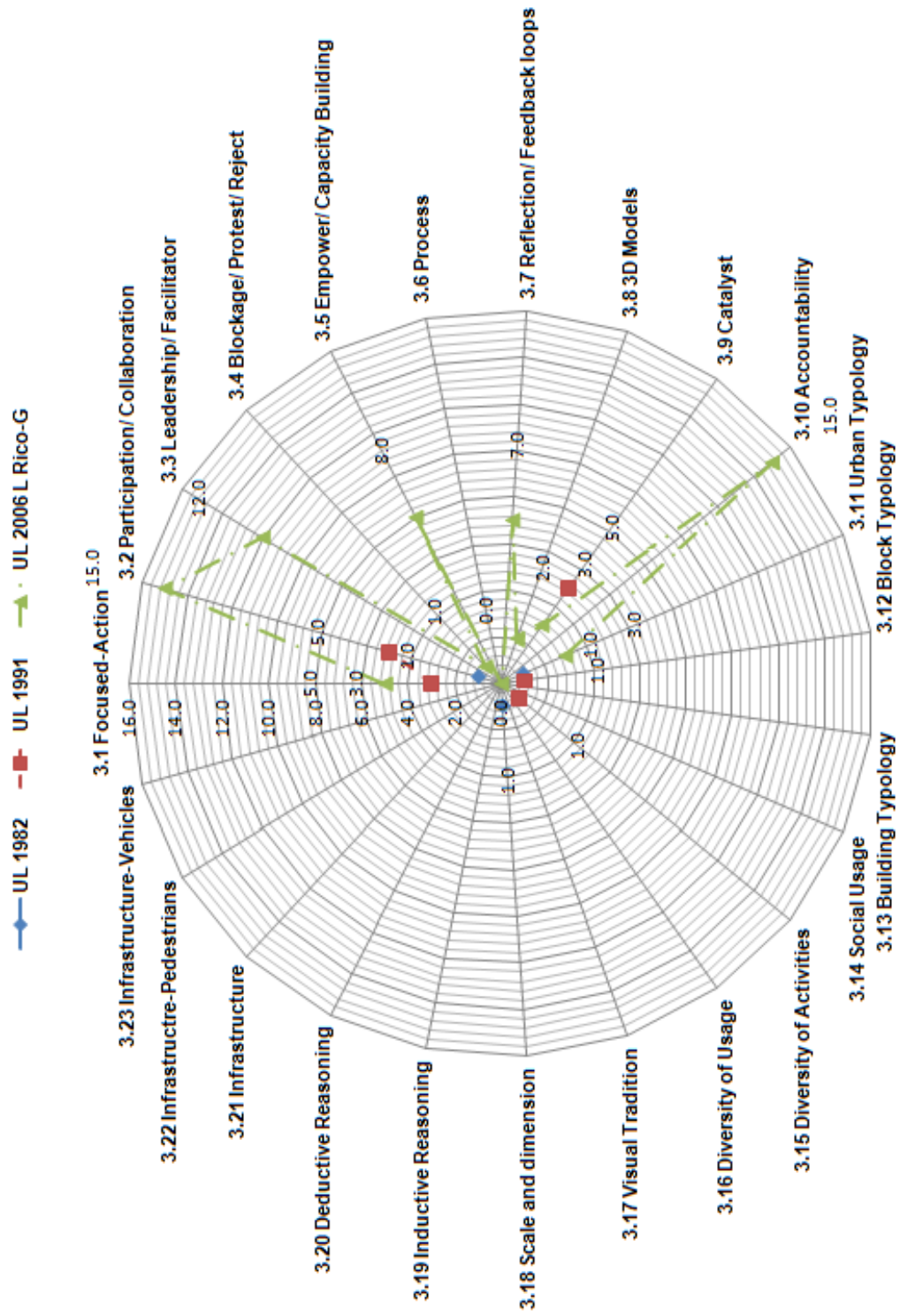
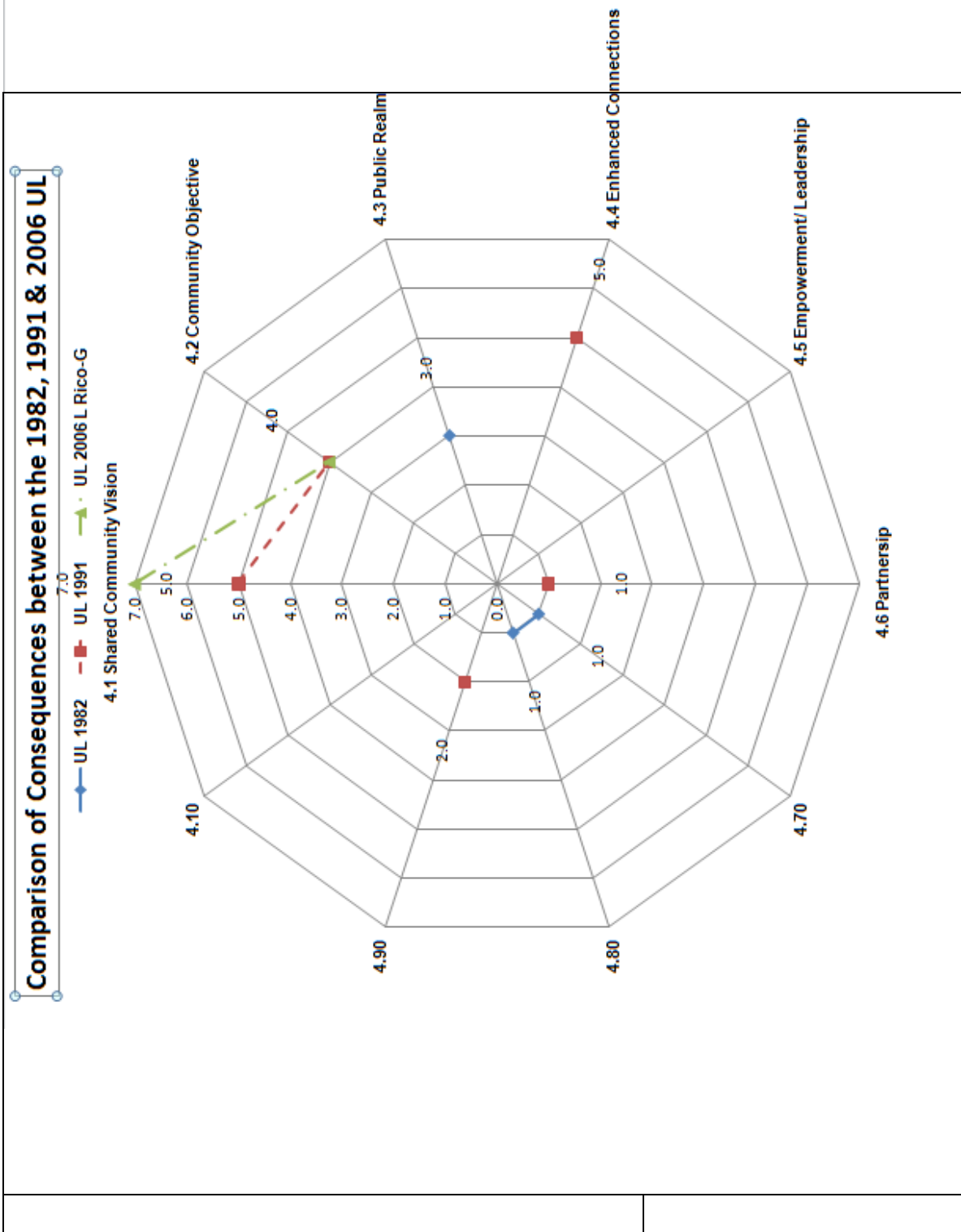


Table 4.26: Comparison: Tactics / Strategies

Source: Onyango



<b>Table 4.27: Comparison: Consequence</b>	<b>Source: Onyango</b>



Content analysis of the UL reveals that the expected consequences of the UL were vague in 1982, and by 1991 onwards it had been clarified to look at a shared community vision and objectives (**figure 4.27**). The other issues such as enhanced connections; empowered leaders, partnerships and creation of a public realm are hardly mentioned as a consequence. The community are not likely to be more empowered coming out of the process than they were before participating. Leadership skills have been geared towards the student designers, which I would say is no different to any traditional process. In the old system, the power resided with the elite (professionals, land owners, wealthy persons, the educated etc).

There have been transformations in how the UL has operated over the periods (**Table 4.25**). These are responses to the changes in the political climate and in the availability of funding as the federal government's funds dried out in the 1980's. The UL looked elsewhere and developed working relationships with the Heinz and Carnegie Foundations, which have contributed funds to keep the UL working on community projects. Also the partnership with URA and CDCP has ensured that they have a network of community organizations to dovetail into at the right moment when the community is ready and in need.

The curriculum has also been reorganized to make the programme more versatile and less dependent on a central figure, unlike before. A research institute (RCI) was established, which has become a platform for increasing its reach of influence beyond the local borders to national, and global. The Master of Urban Design programme also provides opportunity for more research to be developed and built into the process.

Type/ Period	UL 1963-1968	1982-1992	1992-
Focus	Studio and Community Advocacy Centre	Community Advocacy Centre	Research Centre
<b>Characteristics</b>	<p>Dependent on a key figure who founded the lab (David Lewis)</p> <p>Ideas of central figure drove the studio Justice in social equity, inclusion and built environment were important</p> <p>Used participatory techniques [pseudo-participation, see Till (2005)]</p> <p><i>Emphasis was on free or inexpensive practice</i></p> <p><i>Work on early stage of design-visioning.</i></p>	<p>Geared towards helping the disadvantaged</p> <p>Provided crucial catalyst to community changes</p> <p>Raised awareness of dealing with ethical issues of social, economic and environmental justice</p>	<p>Changes to key figure position or responsibilities affect the lab.</p> <p>David Lewis left in 1968 to go to Yale and the UL folded.</p> <p>Seen to gloss over the existing urban problems (being to deterministic)</p> <p>Could waste participants' time</p> <p>Curriculum objectives were not clear to the students. The project choice dependent of faculty interests</p>
<b>Strengths</b>	<p>Dependent on a key figure (David Lewis)</p> <p>Run as an elective but driven by projects from own office.</p> <p>Ideas of central figure drove the studio Justice in social equity, inclusion and built environment</p> <p>Used participatory techniques Work on early stage of design-visioning.</p>	<p>Have a clear focus on what they want to do and do normally achieve them.</p> <p>Good reviews from local press</p> <p>Inspires loyalty on staff-translates to catalytic effect on design</p>	<p>Has been criticized for being too dependent on the key figure. Any changes to key figure, disagreements bring fall out.</p> <p>Could stifle alternative viewpoints (see critiques by Kline)</p> <p>Lacked research focus hence work not seeding outside beyond Pittsburgh.</p> <p>Changes to curriculum in next phase.</p>
<b>Weakness</b>	<p>Remaking Cities Institute established in 2006 (UL placed under it)</p> <p>Network at to expand impact of the UL regionally and globally</p> <p>Position / policy papers</p> <p>Centre-identified research in urban design related issues</p> <p>Systematically investigates and answers questions (embedded in methodology)</p> <p>The Master of Urban Design programme will help in this direction</p>	<p>Connected to university hence contributes to knowledge.</p> <p>Attract active researchers to faculty.</p> <p>Interdisciplinary approach to problem solving enhanced through attachment to RCI.</p> <p>Curriculum change made it more attractive to students and also mandatory for 5<sup>th</sup> year of B.Arch.</p> <p>Partnership with other organizations and politicians attracted more funds and ability to bolt onto communities at right time.</p>	<p>At times seen to be cut off from the real world (critique by Jonathan Kline; 2009)</p> <p>Teaching is typically low in priority</p> <p>At the moment UL work is not peer reviewed.</p> <p>Use of 5<sup>th</sup> year reduces innovations, as they want to play it safe for their degree.</p>
<b>Table 4.25: Comparison of the different UL Periods</b>			
			<b>Source: Onyango</b>

The next chapter will look at Laboratorio Urbanisme de Barcelona at Universidad de Politecnica Cataluña. It will examine the extent to which the historical context contributed to the methodological practices of the UL. It starts by giving some background information on Barcelona and Cataluña in the Spanish context, followed by a brief history of the laboratory and the founder Manuel Sola Morales. The methodologies of UL are then described and how the strategies and tactics used correlate to the historical context looked at, by use of examples from case studies. These are taken from three different distinct exercises published in the monogram *Las Formas de Crecimiento urbano* (1997).

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## **5. CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDY 2: BARCELONA**

The previous chapter explored the historical contexts that framed the urban laboratory with reference to USA and Pittsburgh in particular. It made references to parallel circumstances that occurred in Barcelona and linked the deteriorations of the physical and environmental conditions to the demand for a new approach to urban developments. In addition, it examined the transformations in the social and economic conditions and the political realignments after the Second World War.

This chapter will look at Laboratori Urbanisme de Barcelona at Universidad de Politecnica Cataluña, (LUB). It will examine the extent to which the historical context contributed to the methodological practices of the LUB. It starts by giving some background information on Barcelona and Cataluña in the Spanish context, followed by a brief history of the laboratory and the founder Manuel Sola Morales. The methodologies of UL are then described, followed by an examination of how the strategies and tactics used correlate to the historical context, using examples from the case studies. These are taken from different exercises published in *“Las Formas de Crecimiento urbano”* (1997), *“El Proyecto Urba: Una experiencia docent”* (1999) and *“A Matter of Things”* (2008). Each phase of the UL is investigated and linked to the sphere of influence that drives it.

The chapter has the following structure:

### **5.1. Historical and political Context**

### **5.2. Socio-Economic Context**

### **5.3. Laboratori Urbanisme de Barcelona (LUB)**

### **5.4. Design Process: Strategies, tactics, methods and influences**

### **5.5. Examined Cases of the LUB Projects**

### **5.6. Summary**

### **Chapter 5 References**

## 5.1 Historical and political Context

The historical context within which democracy arose in Spain after Franco's death on 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1977, can only be understood through the lens of what transpired in the previous decades, as pointed out by Palomares (2004). She states that it was after the 1936-39 Civil War that the Franco regime set about building a "monolithic system in which the *Falange Espanola Tradicionalistas y de las JONS*, (FET y de las JONS) was the only dominant party" (2004, p.23). However, the appearance of a united movement was not a true reflection of what actually took place.

The National Movement (FET de las JONS) used drastic policies of autarky that involved Spain looking to itself in total exclusion of any other outside influence for socio-economic and political developments. In reality, the regime was actually excluded from participating in major international institutions because of the close links between Franco and the Fascist Axis of Mussolini and Hitler.

However, the fall of the latter two at the end of the Second World War brought important changes to the regime. Spain became "less a Fascist state and more a Christian-coloured state," that is a catholic state, as pointed out by Palomares (2004, p.11). In 1953 the US seeking to avoid communism and getting close to Western Europe at the onset of the cold war after 1945 made deals with Spain in return for military bases that provided Franco with a significant lifeline in that it signalled Spain's return to the international arena.

The use of Spain as a strategic location for military deterrence brought American military personnel. This benefited the Spanish economy and at the same time exposed them to a completely different way of life and thinking. A new consciousness was slowly being born. In addition, prior to this, in 1951 the newly appointed Minister of Education in Spain Joaquin Ruiz Gimenez had begun to reorganize the education system through opening up the universities.

It “increased the number of students from 64,000 in 1962 to 93,000 in 1966” as Palomares states (2004, p.20). The students demanded more say in the election of their leaders as opposed to the use of the official government approved channels. It has to be borne in mind that political parties had been banned in 1958 and participation in Spanish social and political activities could only be carried out through the National Movement or associations sanctioned by it.

Unfortunately for the students, participation was only allowed through the official unions [*Sindicato Espanola Universitario*, SEU]. The students went ahead and held their own elections in defiance of official policy however; the government rejected the leaders chosen by SEU. Palomares makes the point that, as expected, the results were annulled by SEU, which resulted in the students “occupying university buildings, attacking SEU branches and organized massive demonstration...” (2004, p.13).

Although the students’ activities were not the first opposition to the regime’s policies; they were the most organized. The Franco regime acted by shutting the universities and refusing to allow the students participation, which merely entrenched the universities at the centre of opposition to the regime.

Between 1939 and 1950 all forms of political gatherings and organizations such as neighborhood associations were prohibited. However in 1950, as Boer and de Vries (2009) point out that “the first business communities were allowed to assemble...” (2009, p.1324). They quickly gained popularity and were able to contest effectively major changes to their environment.

Even the church, which had been a bedfellow with the regime, joined in the criticism of the state. Palomares points to the “encyclical *Mater e Magistra* published from the Vatican that demanded the establishment of democratic regimes and the restoration of basic freedom...” (2004, p.17). It is thus not

surprising to note that the *Caputixada* (uprising) by the students and their professors in 1966 took place in a Franciscan Monastery.

## 5.2 Socio-Economic Context

The Historical context of Research on migrants in Barcelona between 1960 and 1970 by Logan (1978) revealed that rural-urban migration was the source of increasing class consciousness in Spain's industrial workforce. In addition he argued that centres with a high proportion of migrants were associated with militancy and politicization that created a new consciousness.

The period between 1957 and 1969 produced many economic and social transformations in Spain. This was partly due to the plan run by the technocratic team that collaborated with Opus Dei [elite Roman Catholic wing], academics and businessmen, to reform the administration of the industry in Spain. The economy was liberated and the previous autarkic policies abandoned and the prosperity over that period resulted in massive rural-urban migration in search of not only employment opportunities but also a better life style.

The view is supported by Logan positing that:

“Migration in Spain corresponded to a growth of industry which raised the industrial workforce from 25 percent of the active population in 1950 to almost 40 percent in 1970...” (1978, p.1163).

The increase in population in the urban areas has been linked to a rise in industrial related conflicts (**table 5.1**). It changed the social structure in urban areas and led to severe housing shortages. In addition, Spain lost more than one and a half million people due to immigration to the booming economies of Western Europe such as Germany, France and Switzerland.

	<i>1950-60 Migration (percent)</i>	<i>Conflicts per 1,000 Industrial Workers</i>
Madrid	+214	1.87
Barcelona	+201	2.00
Vizcaya	+170	7.91
Guipuzcoa	+130	13.14
Alava	+ 60	1.85
Alicante	+ 22	.98
Castellon	0	.23
Valencia	- 24	.67
Zaragoza	- 27	1.88
Santander	- 65	.42
Logrono	- 92	.00

<b>Table: 5.1: Correlation between population growth and rise in conflict in Spain</b>	<b>Source: Logan (1978, p.1165)</b>
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The economic development was viewed as a way to social cohesion and peace but instead brought about an increase in conflict between the workers and the employers, and workers and the state, ensued because of the state control of the labour market that kept the wages low despite the growth. The workers started using other forums outside the recognized syndicates to stake their claims for more rights, not just economically but also politically.

The historical context in Barcelona is unique, and different from the ones in Pittsburgh and Copenhagen because the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 played a very significant part in the development of the culture of discourse there. The political climate in Barcelona, in particular post Civil War, was very difficult which Sennott posits that the victorious Franco's regime (1939-75)



“...had associated the countries’ various avant-garde movements with the left wing political sensibilities and as a consequence architecture of the modern movement was discouraged...” (2004, p.112).

This partly contributed to the stifling of the development of theories or urban planning and the practice of architecture as a result the architects of *modernisme* were confined to a professional wilderness by this repression and Hernandez-Cros *et al* (1977) indicate were the principal promoters of the *Grup d’Arquitectes i Tècnics Catalans per a la Realització de l’Arquitectura Contemporània* (G.A.T.C.P.A.C: that is Group of Architects and Technicians for the Accomplishment of Contemporary Architecture). Lluís Sert went into exile in the US and while Josep Torres Clavé died at the front fighting as a Republican officer.

During Franco’s regime no major works were commissioned in Barcelona, the political crisis created a desire for strong national identity and as such the design of buildings and urban environment was informed by rational examinations of the locale, the context and the existing physical fabric. As such the international style of modernism did not take hold as posited by the late Manuel Sola-Morales; “...the use of Le Corbusier’s model and scale of modernism in urban design saw its demise in Barcelona...” (1998, p.84).

The country opted to close itself from the rest of the world, with very few published materials from the USA and rest of Europe readily available and by the middle to end of 1950s the isolationist tendencies of Spain began to dissipate and their contacts with other democratic nations resulted in an invigorated economy. The industrialization and growing economy led to the rise in population of Barcelona from immigrants causing severe housing shortage.

A unique collaborative approach to tackling the problem of housing was developed, led by Barcelona’s *Grupo R* founded in 1951 as a collaboration forum between *Colegio de Arquitectos de Catalunya* and the municipality. Hernandez-

Cros *et al* (1977) identified the founders to include “...architects Bohigas, Coderch, Martorell, Moragas, Pratmarsó, Sastres and Valls...” (1977, p.16). The group wanted to promote architecture that was linked to the G.A.T.C.P.A.C. and to the popular architectural traditions and the new organic tendencies that were growing in Europe and which overcame the confusion, isolation and futility of the country's architecture. Oriol Bohigas later became the director of the School of Architecture in Barcelona and head of urban design at the Barcelona Municipality between 1980 and 1984 (pre 1992 Olympic Games).

It was a multi-disciplinary group whose forums were attended not only by professional architects, sociologists, town planners, geographers, and engineers but also members of the public. They met to criticize each other's finished buildings and to discuss the future of architecture in the Catalonia region. The group rejected the neoclassical architecture promoted by the dictator's regime and instead looked at regionalism that was underpinned on modernism, local craftsmanship, materials and rooted in what Sennott identifies as a strong “...belief that architecture should have a social conscience to solve sociological problems...” (2004, p.113).

The formation of *Grupo R*, one would argue, is not a unique phenomenon as there already existed what looked like similar organizations in USA and other parts of Europe; e.g. American Institute of Architects, AIA) and Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). However these were institutionalised and not voluntary organizations, while the one in Barcelona came not only out of circumstance of political oppression, but were also voluntary.

The uniqueness comes from their culture of critique and analysis, which operated, as Mackay notes:

“...they held exhibitions, ran competitions and above all, they retired to restaurants (informal places of gathering) after the site visits to reflect and discuss thoughts...” (2009, p.100).

The discussions, it is further reported, were rather frank and passionate and were based on architectural issues. This fostered the development of a culture of critique and analysis that probably led to opportunities for cross-fertilization of ideas of design in architecture and urban environment

The group also held lectures dedicated to topics ranging from sociology to urbanism and interestingly, even though one would have expected the attendees to be professional experts only, the general public did attend as well in large numbers. The Catalans have a very close knit family unit and as such would often attend such meetings with the professional members of their family. This created opportunities for empowering the local citizens on issues related to sociology, economics and urbanism.

By the end of 1950s the group is reported to have grown and was reconstituted as the Barcelona School, who were to later reject the modernist utopian ideals and instead looked at the regional architecture where traditional building practices, methods and a pragmatic knowledge of local history were emphasized: in other words, architecture rooted in the local contexts, encompassing the historical, the political, the social, the physical and the cultural.

### **5.3 Laboratori Urbanisme de Barcelona (LUB)**

The LUB also known as the Barcelona Urban laboratory, was founded by Manuel de Sola-Morales in 1968. Others involved were the head of School, Oriol Bohigas, and Joan Busquets who later undertook his doctorate supervised by de Sola-Morales. The laboratory is based at the Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya in Barcelona, a research division that examined the growth of cities within the contextual:

“...influence of the social and economic forces in which the urban elements (streets, houses, pieces of land, services, centers, etc.) are the fundamental subject of the theory...”  
as pointed out by Domènech (2006, p.4).

The city became the object of intense study where all projects were important and were seen to contribute to the shared urban whole. This has also been known as the plan versus urban project approach; ideas are based on an understanding of the traditional morphology of the city in new ways.

The *Escola Superior Technica Architectura de Barcelona*, (ESTAB) at UPC, looked to France and Italy for theoretical direction where, according to Sennott, Aldo Rossi, Ludovico Quaroni, Carlo Aynomino and Vittorio Gregotti took the position that "...architecture should be a catalyst for significant social change and that the architectural practice should return to its traditional craft values..." (2004, p.113). Manuel Sola-Morales studied under Quaroni in Rome, undertook a master's degree in urban design under Josep Sert at Harvard Graduate School, and his doctorate under Oriel Bohigas at ESTAB. While in Italy, he must have been aware of the work of Aldo Rossi (*L'architettura della città*, 1966) and numerous critiques in the architectural journal *Casabella*. Rossi had also studied under Quaroni in Milan.

Barcelona's success in revitalization was the outcome of a shared vision between "...the local government and the diverse needs and sense of identity of ordinary citizens and the civic society..." as pointed out by Rowe (1997, p.58-59). The strong civic consciousness developed during the years of economic growth between 1961 and 1973 that created a large and robust middle class who started to fight for a voice against General Franco. The economic growth created an influx of capital and exposure to foreign influences, which had not existed during the early years of the regime.

In addition the expanded university access allowed for the development of a culture of hostility to Francoism among both the students and the academicians. Therefore a civic society slowly emerged as Franco lost grip on power, creating a culture of resistance. The civic society is understood to be "...an organizational

construct within the public sphere that depicts the banding together of people with common interest as opposed to depersonalized state authority...” as defined by Rowe (1997, p.63).

The professionals at the school in Barcelona were very much at the core of civil resistance and Mackay reports “on March 9<sup>th</sup> 1966, a *caputxinada* (an illegal meeting) of about 500 university students and professors assembled in a Franciscan Monastery in Saria...” (2009, p.104). The regime did find out and it was barricaded and eventually those involved were identified including Oriol Bohigas (who was head of ESTAB 1963-1966; 1977-80) and Josep Martorell, who were eventually expelled from the university along with 70 others. This act merely consolidated the participatory resistance against oppression.

The school became politicized and was engaged with local neighbourhood associations to support their cause. Barcelona also had one of those blessed opportunities in history where politics and theory met in real time through the urban social movements, (USMs) called the *Asociaciones de Vecinas* or neighbourhood associations and the professional activists/ advisors such as group R. By late 1960s towards the end of Franco’s life, organizations began to mobilize to demand public facilities and services that were lacking in the local neighbourhoods. They continually fought and achieved success in reclaiming more public services, facilities, and new public spaces in opposition to the proposed construction.

The USMs were socially and politically motivated and organized demonstrations to achieve their goals and a new democracy in Barcelona, and the politicians responded. The approach in Barcelona in transforming the physical, political and social landscapes was a bottom up approach as opposed to top down, but was led by visionary leaders both at the city hall and at the professional level through the academic institutions in the LUB.

The direct actions and protests started with the collections of signatures, the building of consensus; assemblies, exhibitions and gatherings around what ordinarily would have been perceived as normal every day events such as sports, music, etc, to the authorities. The political authorities did not respond, as is typical in almost all places around the world and this further inspired them. The actions also included the invasion and occupation of public spaces, the formation of picket lines. The momentum was sustained through the existence of the networks between those concerned with the neighbourhood, clandestine unions, university students and professional organizations. (Calavita & Ferrer ,1997).

The scope of things included in the action expanded to urban design and planning by the early 1970s, and strong opposition to what was seen as supplementary tools called 'Partial Plans' that were too general. The partial plans had been used to satisfy the interest of the speculators during the long leadership of mayor Josep Maria de Porcioles (1957-1973). His removal from office came at the hands of the USM who led a confrontation in the city hall when there was an attempt to pass a partial plan that would have destroyed over 4300 homes. The event was publicized and the scandal forced the government in Madrid to remove him. The proposed plan was stopped: a victory and a testament to the transformative power of Barcelona's USM.

With the passage of time the USMs acquired a greater voice and become part of a group of political opposition to Franco's regime. For example, the first version of the General Metropolitan Plan, (GMP) of Barcelona that was prepared and approved in 1974 was part of the work that involved the input of the local movements called *Associenos de vecinos*, (Neighbourhood Associations). It is important to note that the city's group maintained the general features of the plan due to the defence. Calavita & Ferrer point out that Barcelona has a history of intense class conflict with several episodes of revolts against church and clergy, which has contributed to fostering a suitable environment for the creation of an

empowered community that would participate in their demands for collective goods and services (1977).

The 1953 the GMP for Barcelona was produced under political, social and cultural isolation from the rest of Europe as the result of the Civil War that stifled any attempts to develop the theories of the modern movement, as previously pointed out. By late 1960's the new crop of professionals joined the rest of Europe and the international links as a result of Franco's weakness and this, made it possible for the importation of books and journals from abroad.

These brought the influences of Lynch (1960), Jacobs (1961), Eco (1962), Alexander (1963), Venturi (1965) and others leading to the rejection of the pitfalls that had befallen the modern movements worldwide. The publications from the US exposed the architects to the Social Usage traditions of Urban Design and planning with the critiques on Urban Renewal programmes that were being carried out there and also to Advocacy Planning Theories. This, coupled with the debates in other European Schools of Architecture, led to the analysis and criticism of the political and economic contexts of urban transformations.

In academia there were changes taking place because of the need to respond to urban problems after the Second World War and the reconstruction of the European city following rational functional CIAM's methodologies. Joan Vilagrasa Ibarz argues that three developments led to interests in the "...historic urban form, the *desamortizaciones*, demolition of medieval city walls, and processes of the inner-city reforms in some towns..." (1998, p.36).

The first development is related to the legal framework that led to changes in property ownership to public and private hands through the 1836 decree of Mendizabal. As a consequence of the change of use, many important buildings were demolished or destroyed and with them went the historic street systems that supported urban life.

The destruction of important historic buildings and traditional streets led to the emergence of conservation groups within academia and professional groups whose aims were to protest and demand the preservation of these assets. The response from the government was the formation of a Provincial Commission of Monuments charged with the keeping of an inventory and protection of these important assets. Unfortunately, it was not well funded and therefore ineffective, while elsewhere in Catalonia private organizations emerged. Ibarz identifies one such organization as the:

“...ramblers association that played a part in the growing popularity of natural and historic elements and took on the propagandist role of defender of architectural and historic heritage...”(1998, p.36).

This was a locally based and bottom-up approach by the local citizens to fight for the protection of the historic urban forum and street through recognition of the important role the buildings and the streets play in the urbanity of a place. It is interesting to note that the organization is listed to have been multi-disciplinary in membership: among them were architects, historians, art historians, etc.

Later in the 1960s the interest in the conservation of historic contexts led to the development of the academic tradition of examination of the history of urban planning. This was very much in contrast to the approach encouraged by the CIAM movements where history was no longer important and only technological advancement and industrializations were to be looked to for progress. Important works in this period according to Ibarz are: “...re-examination of Cerda’s *Plan de Ensanche* in Barcelona (Martorell, Florensa and Martorell, 1960; Bohigas, 1963; Ribas Piera, 1964) and the contribution to the general morphological characters of Spanish cities...” (1998, p.37).

In the field of architecture and urban design there were new awakenings occurring, new consciousnesses that were aligned to developments in the academic field of geography and urban sociology. They developed interests in



the roles of urban agents or stakeholders to the urban forum, published articles as a strategy to increase their influence: notable ones are: *Cap a una arquitectural realista*, (Bohigas, 1961), and *Los Ensanches* (Sola-Morales, 1978). Ibarz points to the work of LUB led by Manuel Sola-Morales on the "...urban landscapes of Barcelona and its metropolitan area that investigated the *Ensanche*, (Sola-Morales, 1978; self built suburbs (Busquets, 1976) and public housing estates, (Ferrer, 1996) ..." (1998, 40).

For a general discussion on this topic, see the classic work of Manuel de Sola-Morales. *Los ensanches (I): el ensanche de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Laboratorio de Urbanismo, 1978. A recent approach can be found in the Ph.D. of Laurent Coudroy de Lille, *L'ensanche de poblacion en Espagne: invention d'Une pratique d'amenagement urbain (1840-1890)*, Paris, Université de Paris X-Nanterre, 1994.]

The unique historical context in Catalunya and Barcelona in particular has contributed greatly to the formation of the culture of participation, discourse, and social and environmental justice. An example is that of the circumstances that surrounded the Ribera Plan which was eventually abandoned. The 1960s was a period in Barcelona when because of rural-urban migration on a large scale there were great housing shortages. This caused unprecedented real estate dynamics in the city because of the speculation on land values of industrial developments soon to be relocated to areas outside the city.

Busquets points out that "...the transformations led to an increase in building levels without corresponding public services..." (2005, p.332). The government proposed further renewal programs through what is known as the Ribera Plan (**figure 5.1**) that started in 1965, proposing to relocate the population along the sea front of Barcelona. The plan was met with stiff opposition from the citizens who were already living in conditions that were not really suitable; they were congested, without clean air, open space, or amenities. The neighbourhood

associations, and the professionals using the LUB forum worked together to create a counter plan that halted the project.

#### 8.d The Ribera Plan and its Counter Plan.

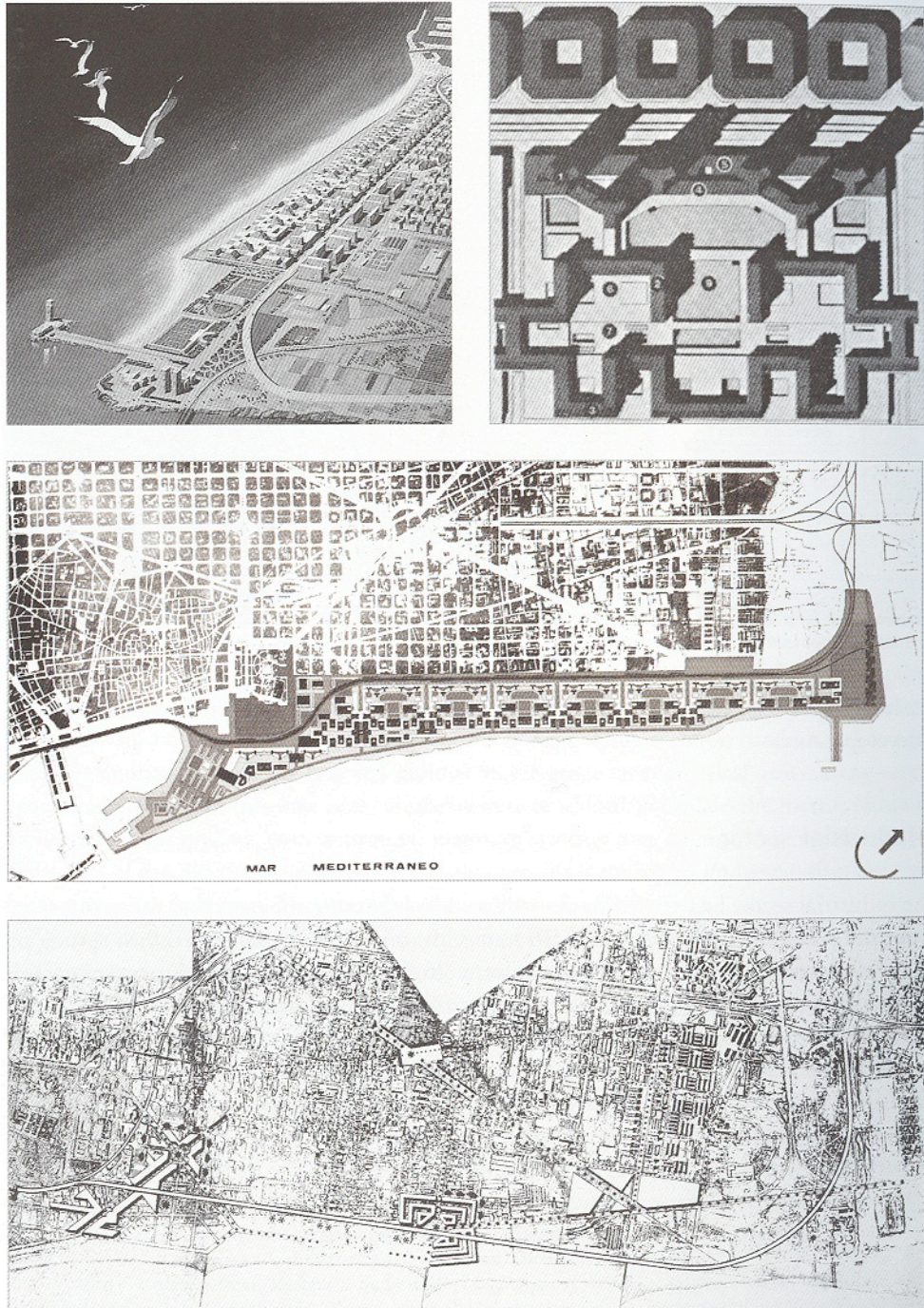

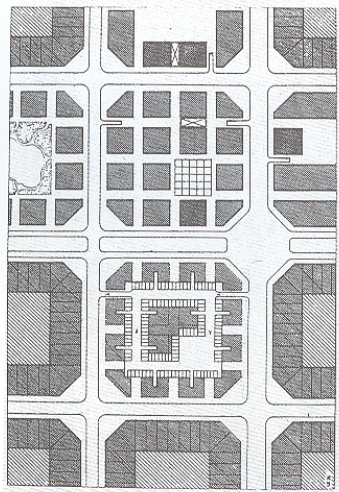


Figure 5.1: Ribera Plan

Source: Busquets (2005, p.333)

A closer look at the Ribera Plan (**figure 5.1**) reveals that the proposal relied on the *tabula rasa* concept, proposing to completely eliminate the existing context and recreate a new community using large blocks without reference to the existing Cerda grid. Ildefons Cerda was an engineer from Catalunya appointed in 1855 to look at the future growth of medieval Barcelona according to Aibar and Bijker (1997). He proposed an open-ended extension plan that would grow beyond the then existing municipality boundaries. It contained straight streets abounded by regular blocks of 113 x 113 m within a geometric grid. The street widths were about 20m while the avenues were 50m. The blocks have 45-degree chamfers in the corner (**figures 5.2 & 5.3**).



	<p><b>Figure 5.2:</b>  <b>Cerda Plan</b>  <b>Source: De Sola-Morales (1997, p.107)</b></p>
	<p><b>Figure 5.3:</b>  <b>Cerda Block (Manzana)</b>  <b>Source: De Sola-Morales (1997, p.119)</b></p>

The transport infrastructure is clearly a divider between the new and the old and the vistas to the sea would have been completely blocked by the proposed tall tower buildings. The proposal would have resulted in a different morphological organization from the existing context by using tall blocks that would have blocked the view to the sea, which is of critical importance to Barcelona as a port city. In addition, it would have used a different typology of tall buildings surrounded by a large empty ground area reminiscent of the vertical city concept proposed by Le Corbusier and CIAM. Perhaps there was a link to his earlier

Marcia plan proposal of 1932. The blocks would have created a barrier between the city and the port.

The block in the plan departs significantly from the “*Manzana*” or block of the Cerda Plan visible in the middle of the image (**figure 5.1**). The proposed block lacked the definition of edge of the Cerda plan, hence the street and public realm deemed important as drivers of urban growth. This may be a reflection of the fall of the public real as posited by Richard Sennett (1977).

The counter proposal on the other hand accepts and embraces the sea transforming the transportation infrastructure to a cornice. It also creates three centres of activities at Montjuïc, La Barceloneta and at Glories where the *Avenida Diagonal* meets the upper ring road. The plan respects the existing Cerda grid, in fact it enhances and reinforces it. And most importantly it is the result of an empowered community effort to define their own representation of their view of how they would like to live.

It recognizes and embraces the importance of clearly marked centres with the former industrial area on the LHS forming part of the great avenues of the diagonals. It is however interesting to note the compromise in the counter proposal in that Barceloneta is not destroyed but redeveloped using very large/ blocks. This is perhaps a remnant of the modern movement legacy. The plan gives the general view and leaves the particular to be developed at the intermediate scale, unlike the Ribera plan, which is complete.

The strategy used in preparing the counter plan relied on the help of professional input. It is a very powerful tool for urban transformation, education and community empowerment. Its publication in the local media allowed for healthy discourse on the future of the city and its relationship to the citizens.

## 5.4 Design Process: Strategies and Tactics

The analysis of the work of the LUB reveals that the design process occurs in three key stages; the morphological study phase, the urban design framework and finally the place-making urban project phase. The three stages are organized in such a way that the school's curriculum objectives were met. These include enhancing skills in team-work and collaboration; analysis and communications. The process is summarized in **table 5.2** and followed by detailed description.

Urban design at LUB is taught from the perspective of radical modernism that is tied to the existing context where the interrelationship between the old and the new as established are important characteristics. The founder of the LUB, Sola-Morales, learned the trade from his modernist teacher Luis Sert at Harvard and the rationalist Italian Architect Ludovico Quaroni.

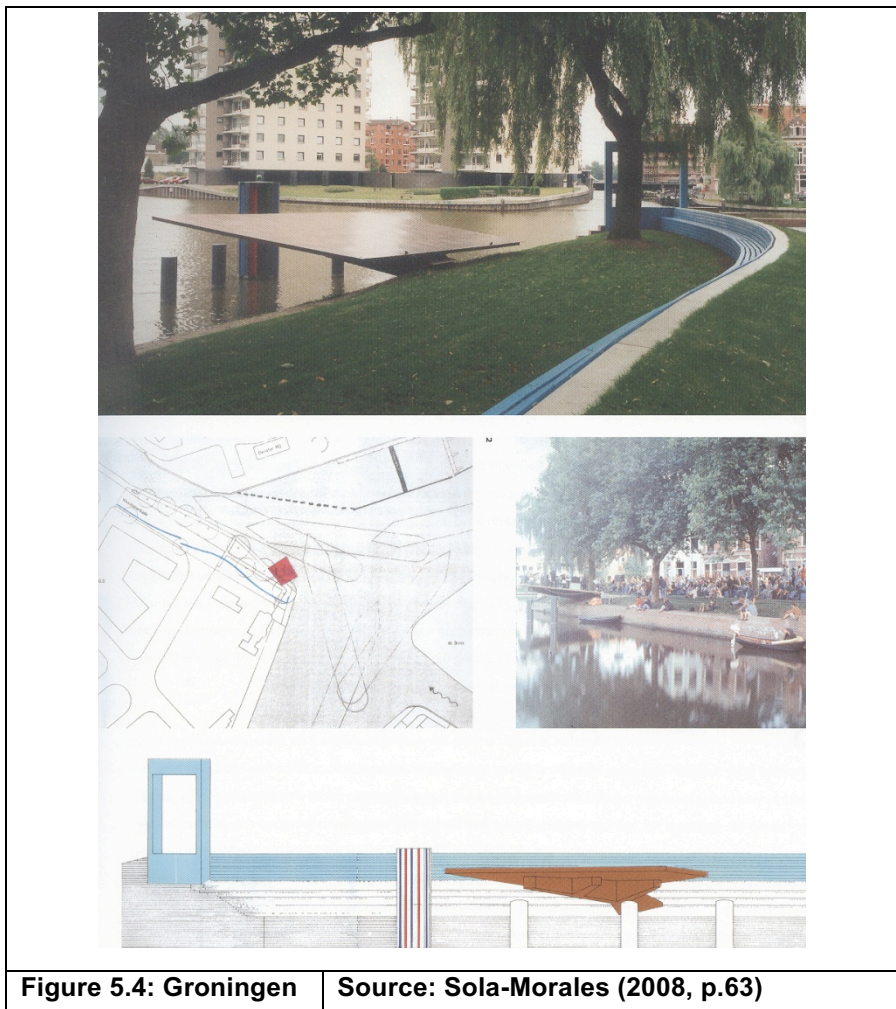
The Italian masters Quaroni and Rossi were critical of the modernist approach that ignored the importance of the local place and human social values in urban planning as argued earlier in chapter 2. It led to the collapse of the distance between the urban planning and architecture as argued by Sola-Morales (2008).

The teaching at the LUB places emphasis on the need to "...learn from cities, to like cities as well as love creating them..." (Sola-Morales, 1998, p.86). He argues that learning a city is done through studying, living in, observing and loving the city by looking at the source material for the basic knowledge. This is an essential skill that designers need to be able to work at an urban scale.

In addition Sola-Morales teaches the students to distinguish between scale and size; in other words, he points out that 'urban' does not always imply big objects, big schemes. In his view the "...question of urban scale even though is certainly large, does not mean it has to be expressed in large elements or large buildings..." (1998, p.87).

PHASE	MORPHOLOGICAL STUDIES This phase mines and analyses 1. Economic data 2. Social Data 3. Physical morphology	URBAN DESIGN FRAMEWORK PHASE 1. Identifies crucial issues 2. Sets objectives 3. Looks at bench marks [use of typologies] 4. Finds relationships [building framework] 5. strengthens existing relationships between various area/ corridors	PLACE-MAKING & URBAN PROJECT 1. Details single area of focus 2. Explores typologies [how they can be applied appropriately] 3. 3D contents and representation 4. The area of focus must be at CRITICAL location of community 5. INSPIRES continued investments 6. Is the larger urban design goals for community investments
Skills acquired	<div>Participatory Activity</div> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gain communication skills [students]</li> <li>Leadership skills [students]</li> <li>Analytical Skills [students]</li> <li>Learn importance of INTERDISCIPLINARY nature of design process [students, and professionals]</li> </ol> <div>Observer</div>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Learn team-work / collaboration analytical skills</li> <li>Leadership skills</li> <li>Relationship between buildings and surrounding</li> <li>Learn about typologies as urban building block to be varied and repeated</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Learn about team-work/ collaboration</li> <li>Acquire creation skills for outdoor urban areas</li> <li>Role of landscape architecture in urban design</li> <li>Learn about landscape typologies to creation of public space</li> </ol>
Products	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Physical models [3 D large scale]</li> <li>Maps [2 D]</li> <li>Demographic data, diagrams</li> <li>Photographic records</li> <li>Publications/ Exhibitions</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strategic Vision</li> <li>Creation of brief or programme for interventions</li> <li>Typologies [building and urban]</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Typologies [building and landscape]</li> <li>Detailed design [architecture, infrastructure and landscaping]</li> <li>Reports</li> <li>Publications [journal papers, conference outputs, exhibitions]</li> </ol>
Theoretical Framework	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social-Usage Tradition [Chicago School?]</li> <li>Italian and French morphological studies</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Visual-Artistic</li> <li>Social-Usage Tradition</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Visual-Artistic Tradition</li> <li>Place-Making Tradition</li> </ol>
Beneficiaries	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students</li> <li>Community</li> <li>Practitioners</li> </ol>

He illustrates the argument using the design proposal for a corner in the city of Groningen in the Netherlands where he was asked to change a corner of the central city surrounded by a ring canal that appeared misplaced in space. He approached the problem by looking at the corner as the key that would connect the old and the new external elements of the city as the point where the urban scale begins to change. It consisted of "...a basic elementary line of observation of the place, the bench and the platform for music and the window as a point to look to the new from the old port..." (1998, p.88) (**figure 5.4**).



The image illustrates how the methodology that is underpinned on observation of the existing context at larger scale and intermediate scale is used to find



resolution. The bench and the window are objects designed for immediate use at the intermediate scale yet have impact on the urban scale through the possible performance and observation of the city through the framed window. Sola-Morales argued that it is fundamental that the:

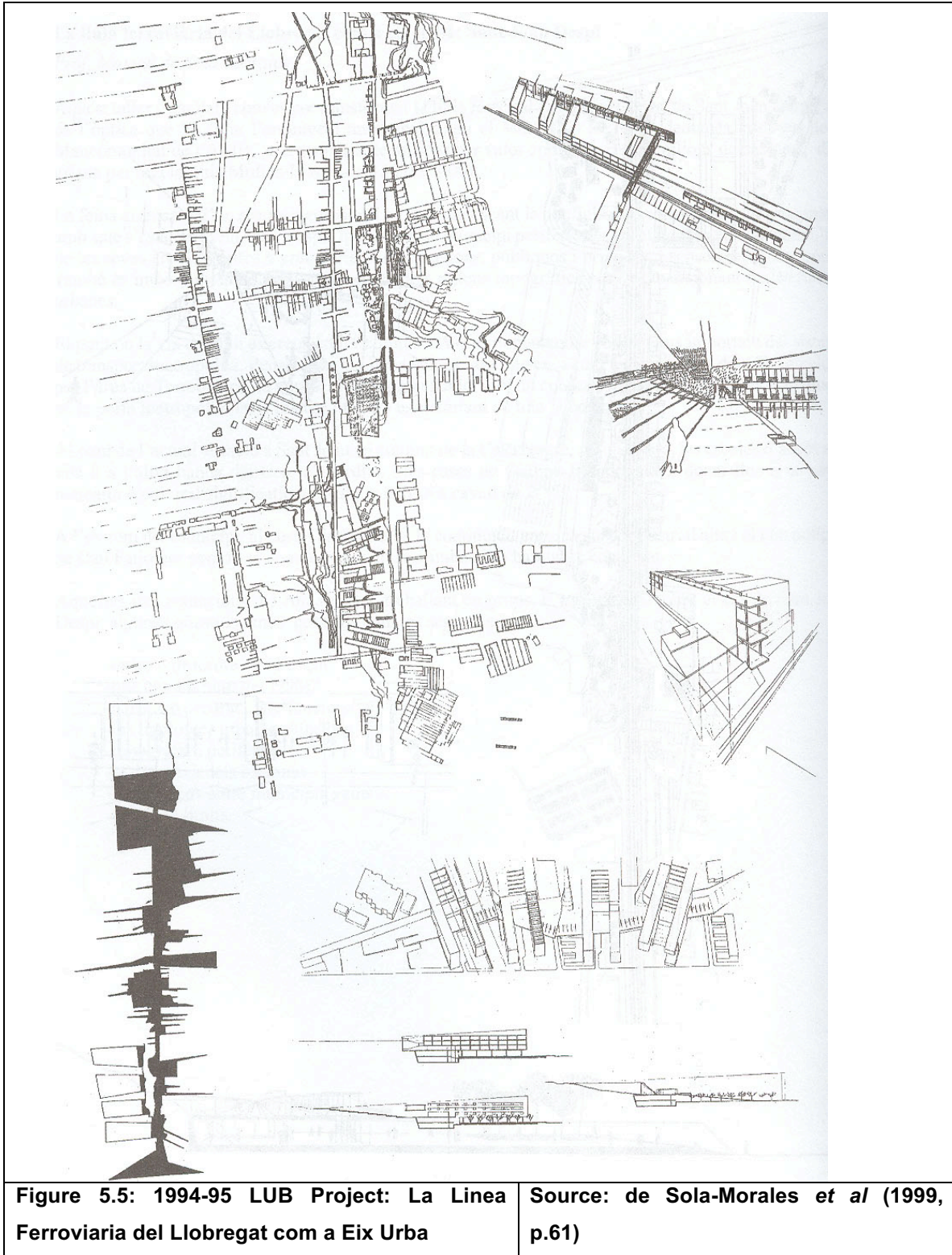
“...architect’s ideal role in the city is not necessarily the invention of forms or solutions of problems, but in the creation of meanings, the addition of relationships, and the clarification of the obscure and the enrichment of the muddled...” (2008, p.64).

The work therefore has meaning in as much as it is people who use it that experience it. It becomes the mediator for the perception and the tangible.

The interrelationship between the various parts of the urban elements is important to the design because the connection counts more than the individual objects themselves. For example, Sola-Morales illustrates that:

“...whereas size is an absolute measure (40x100x 30m), scale is a relative condition which does not necessarily imply that bigger size has more relations than smaller things...” (1998, p.88).

This is notable at the level of attention paid to the elements that form the public realm in the students’ work. In addition, the connections between the various elements at different locations of the city were examined and articulated at the intermediate scale (**figure 5.5**).



**Figure 5.5: 1994-95 LUB Project: La Línea Ferroviaria del Llobregat com a Eix Urbà**

**Source: de Sola-Morales et al (1999, p.61)**

At the LUB, the students are taught to avoid the division between the fields of architecture, urban design, and urban planning. Throughout the course they collaborate with other professionals because of the recognition that the architect has limited capacity by himself(1998).

The students are encouraged to take a strategic approach, not too dissimilar to that at UL in CMU. Sola-Morales argue that it is important to take the approach because:

“...by acting in one point of the city one is constantly conscious of the physiological relationships that rely upon the whole body of the city thereby being able to somehow transform a wider field beyond the specific site itself in which one acts...”(1998, p.89-90).

The process of making cities is a complex process of solving urban problems that are very specific in construction, are architectural yet have to be delivered on very tight budgets and timescales. The solutions have to be broad yet very detailed at the same time a challenge that requires the urban designer to be skilled to coordinate many competing forces.

I will now look in the following paragraphs at specific examples of how these were carried out at the LUB over the years.

## **5.5 Examined Cases of the Projects at LUB**

Three cases have been selected for detailed analysis of the methodology, strategies and influences of the projects carried out at the LUB. They have been identified after discussion with the rector of the laboratory Professor Carlos Crosas during the visit in April 2008 and the subsequent follow-up in October 2008. Unlike the UL at CMU, which had three distinct periods (1963-68); 1982-92; and 1992 to date, the LUB has continuously carried out research on urban design in Catalonia since its inception in 1968.

The LUB has had a very well established research centre as can be seen by the number of publications that include 244 journal articles, 133 conference paper presentations, 11 reports and 30 books, 108 book chapters and 32 doctoral dissertations among others. Therefore, the periods selected are a fair reflection of the workings of the laboratory in addition; the cases studied were those directly under the direction of the founder Professor Manuel de Sola-Morales. Also examined in detail are publications by de Sola-Morales that give indications of the methods and their sources of influence.

### **5.5.1. Ejercicio 1: Analisis de la construccion de una calle (Analysis of the construction of a street).**

The exercise on analysis of the construction of the street used as the vehicle for understanding how the public realm is created is the result of a network of forces and the work of many disciplines and community stakeholders. It required the student to select a street in any city they knew well that allowed direct interpretation with respect to or in relation to the whole city. The emphasis on the exercise is the deductive method that relies on theoretical inputs from the other courses in urban history and theory during the semester by the tutors.

The intention of the exercise was to relate the themes and works developed throughout the whole course or year as the street, physical elements is common

to every/all forms of growth. The theoretical orientations of the ultimate or final part of the course served as reference over the way they understood each of their relationship.

#### **5.5.1.1 Physical Context**

The analysis of the exercise reveals that three major themes were emphasised: the physical, the economic and the strategic. The studio brief was very prescriptive on what the student would be looking for in the street as pointed out by Sola-Morales:

“...relevant physical aspects that the theories and ecological models contained in your explanation of the configuration of the city, of its elements and its transformation...” (1997, p.81).

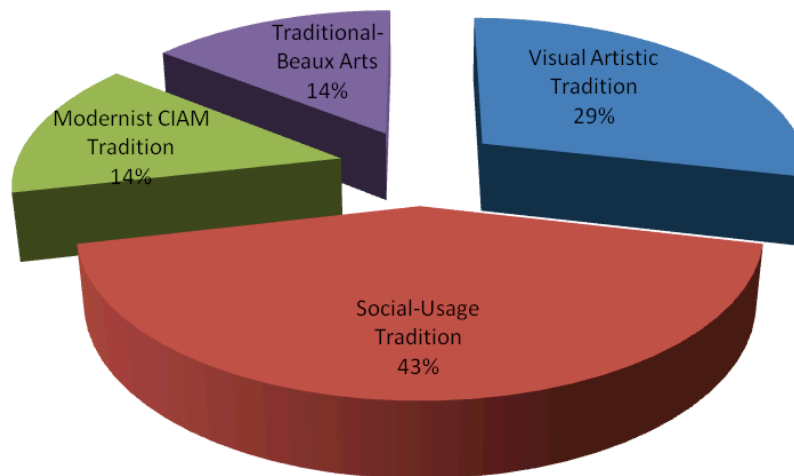
The reading list (**table 5.3**) reveals that the analysis was underpinned on theoretical models based on the social-usage tradition (**figure 5.6**). The definition of the city was examined by the means of accessibility i.e. roads, train lines and highways and how these affected the location of industrial developments, and in turn the location of housing. The topographic conditions and their impact on the growth of the city, how this affect the various layouts of streets and growth, were also examined.

The emphasis on the study of the physical context is related to the methodology that is underpinned on the culture of description discussed earlier in the dissertation. The morphological studies enable the reading of the forces that create the relief in the city as snap shots of the life within.

Required reading (main author)	Urban Design Tradition
1. Bacon, E. (1967). <i>Design of Cities</i> .	1. Traditional Beaux Arts
2. Bertrand, M., S. (1984). <i>Casa, barrio y ciudad. Arquitectura del habitat humano</i>	2. Social Usage tradition
3. Giedion, S. (1978). <i>Espacio, tiempo y arquitectura (el future de una nueva tradicion)</i>	3. Modernists CIAM
4. Gomez Ordonez, J., L. (1982) <i>El Urbanismo de las obras publicos</i>	4. Social- usage tradition
5. Lynch, k (1974) <i>La Imagen de la ciudad</i>	5. Visual Artistic tradition
6. Moneo, R (1978) <i>On Typology</i>	6. Social-usage tradition
7. Rossi, A. (1968) <i>Consideraciones sobre la morfologia urbana y la tipologia de la edificacion</i> .	7. Visual artistic tradition

**Table 5.3: 1986 LUB Reading list**

**Source: de Sola-Morale, (1997, p.85)**



**Figure 5.6: 1986 LUB Reading list**

**Source: Onyango**

### 5.5.1.2 Social-Economic Context

The analysis of the exercise also revealed that the urban project was considered in a holistic way in that the economy is a driver of land value where acquisition was considered and how this affected the urban growth. It seems to follow the

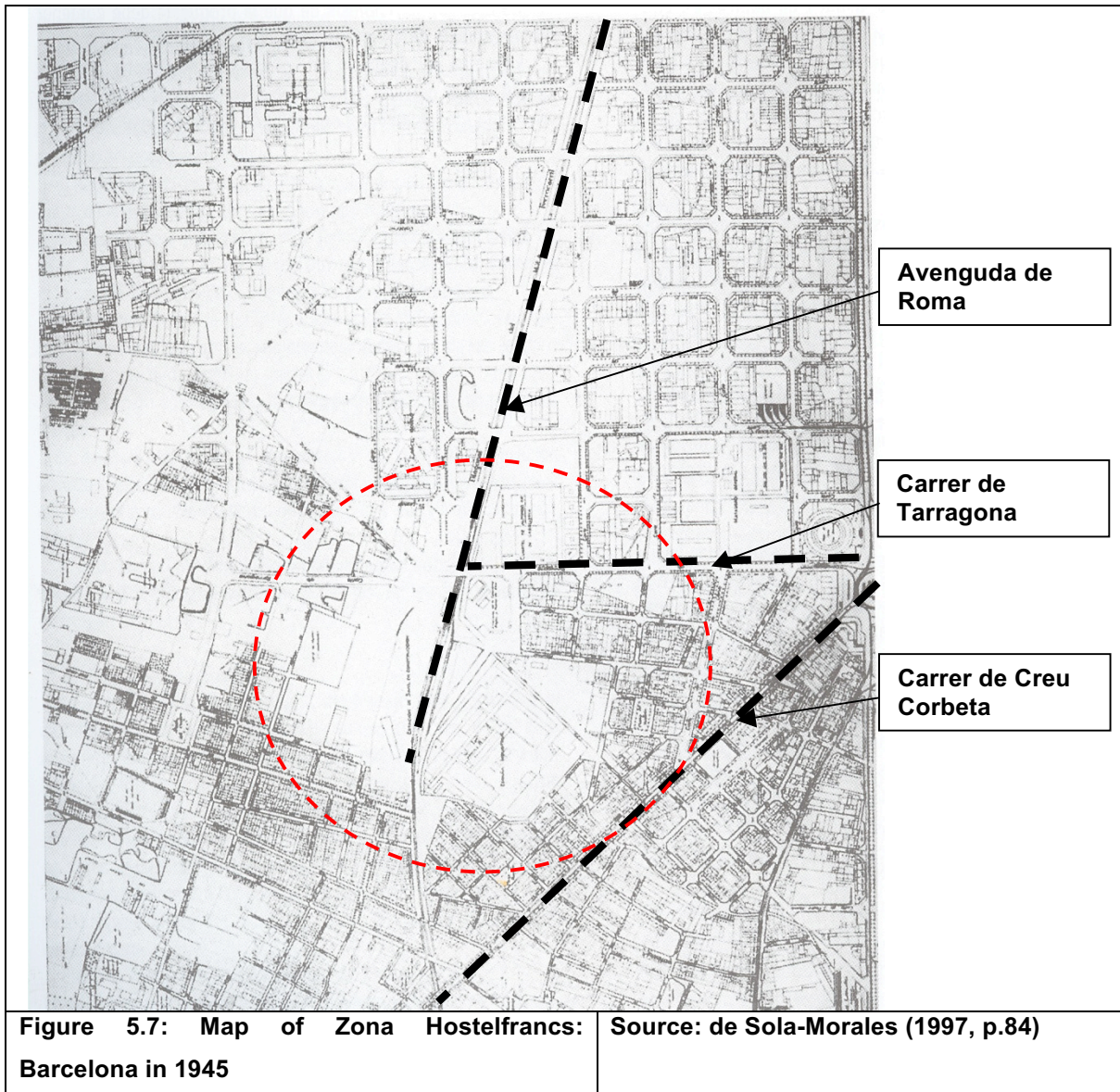
same path as the work at the Centre for Spatial Analysis led by Michael Batty and the use of Space Syntax methodologies that rely on computer applications to link the spatial analysis, geographic information systems, design technologies to represent and examine space-time relationships. For example Jake Desyllas (1997) used space syntax to study the relationships between land use, land values and the morphology of the urban grids in commercial markets that revealed that tenants responded selectively to developments in places that were well connected morphologically.

. There was also the examination using the social-usage tradition where Sola-Morales required that

“....uses or functions, local, distribution, penetration/entry or exit to the city, and the functional role of the street in the city regarding the activities it hosts (supports); residential, commercial, administration...” (1987, p.xx)

The relationships between the existing activities and the land use, the street layouts, the urban space so formed were examined and used as typologies or data that would inform future designs.





The image above (**figure 5.7**) is an example of the examination problem the students expected to solve. It is an area close to the University zone in Barcelona. It represents an area that had conflicting organization such as lack of a clear grid and morphological order. It was a result of what had been left over from the post-1945 industrial history and had social consequences to the group of residences in the area.

In consequence, as an exercise the students were to make proposals for the subdivision for urban growth of a residential area from their state in 1945. The



plan (scale of 1:2000 as the base) had to contain roads and pedestrian pathways established (over a period of time), the alignments of properties for building and subdivision of these plots, according to proposals in the form of growth that were considered appropriate in each area.

These were large developments such as Canary Warf in London; Olympic Village in Barcelona; Huerta del Rey in Valladolid in Spain, Cergy-Pontoise in Paris and Milano-Due in Italy, which are examined in detail in the next section (**figures 5.10 and 5.11**). Through the layout and dimensions of the parcel, division is as real growth would be set that would have combined the mall with the conditions proposed of highway building and pre-existing subdivisions. The accepted hypothesis was a proposal containing only residential development.

The content analysis of the course reveals emphasis on the importance and nature of the context, interrelationships and strategy, using the “urban project.” (**Figure 5.8**). The emphasis is placed on issues related to typological study (urban and building typology, 3D models) and on the importance of the support for a diversity of activities in the place created.

The urban project approach is based on the culture of description that developed over the years at the LUB. De Sola-Morales posits it is:

“...an alternative method of analysis, descriptive calligraphy that provides a way to avoid the project's arbitrary and eclectic nature... it is both analytical and projective, it narrates as well as describes the way of life of the people...” (1989, p.19).

This view is supported by Parcerisa who argues that it is based on the historical analysis of the place that examines the relief of the city that are associated with the traits of the settlement. The relief consists of:

“...the great figures or gestures formed by folds, panoramas or rivers that create the context in which the master strokes of the city - avenues, neighbourhoods and gardens- are enhanced (or in some cases are undermined)...” (1989, p.28).

The urban project is thus the vehicle through which the connection between the various isolated architectural objects as artefacts is established. The objects include parks, squares, residences, sports facilities, cultural amenities; infrastructures that are the building blocks of a city. It was carried out through what Cohen describes as “...policies associated with public intervention and spatial intervention that are related to particular moments of life in the Catalan metropolis...” (1998, p.5).

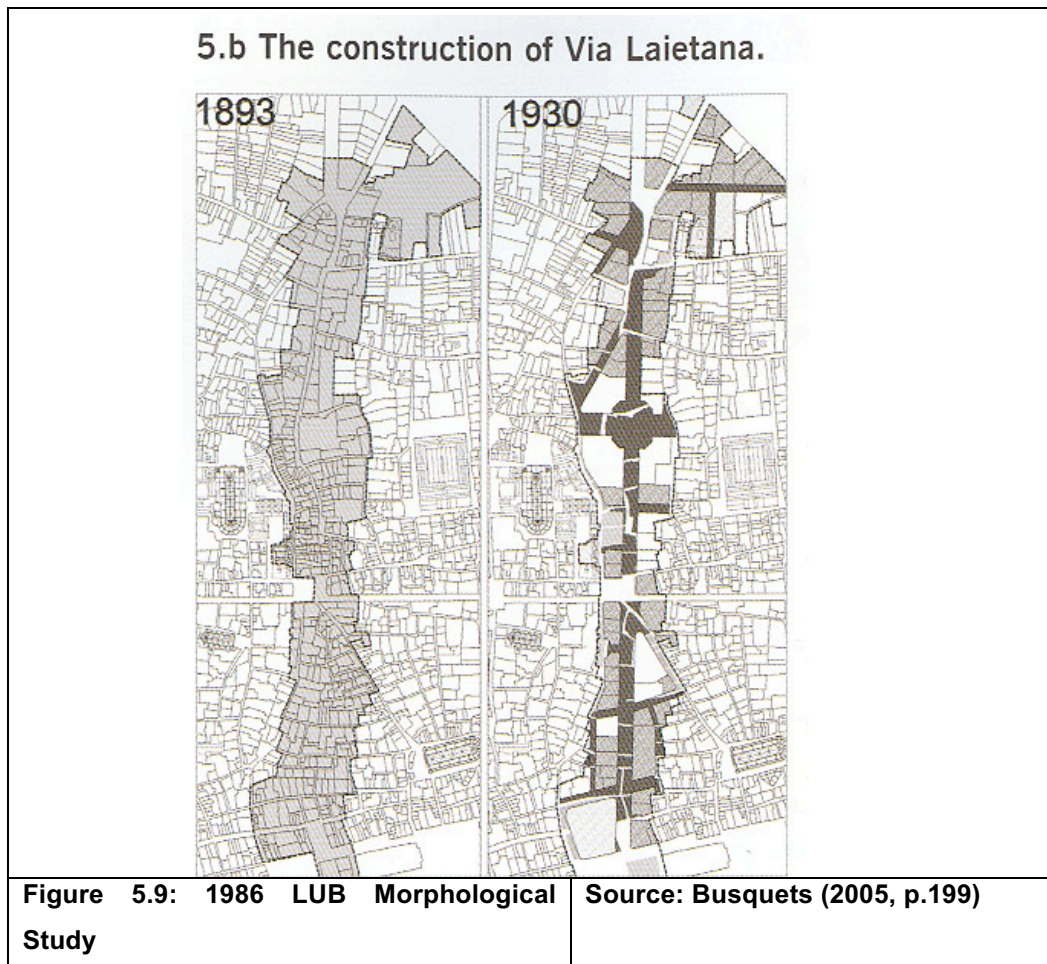
**INSERT LUB CA**

**Figure 5.8: Content Analysis: LUB**

**Source: Onyango**

The urban project is underpinned on the French and Italian models of urbanism rather than the Anglo-Saxon one of town planning (Piccinato, 1978). It uses a technique which Herbert describes as “...physical urbanisms where morphological studies are used to repair, create the public realm, revise, create the block, the street etc...” (2008, p.93). [also see Marzot, 2002].

Therefore it is essentially a strategy of reformulation and improvement rather than the renovation of existing buildings through the negotiated participation of public groups and private players. The focus was on making squares, streets or avenues and neighbourhoods as opposed to public spaces, thoroughfares and residential zones. It broke away from functionalist modernism.



The image above (**figure 5.9**) is an example of a how the urban projects typology was used in the early Twentieth Century during the construction of the Via Laietana in Barcelona. The descriptive morphological study of the area was carried out and new squares and streets created within the historical context. The streets were regularized and formalized and the neighbourhood realigned.

### **5.5.2. Urban Growth of Seville Expo: Urban Design VI 1992-93**

The second case study was the Urban Design Course VI during 1992-93 academic year. It was under the direction of Prof Manuel de Sola-Morales in conjunction with professors Jaume Llobet, Jaume Carne, Oriol Clos and Miquel Roa. It looked at the area left after the Seville Expo and how it could be regenerated to be part of the city.

The expo in Seville occupies an area of about 259 hectares along the western margin of the River Guadalquivir. It resulted from the diversion of the track, which left an isolated strip of land (Isla de la Cartuja). The layout of the pavilions, the conservation of the monuments of the Cartuja, and the preservation of the river by the Park occupy space with uneven character. The Cartuja is a walled city, a restoration school of historic-artistic value, however, the future of the urbanization of the development in terms of the construction of streets and avenues and plantations, and drainage of the land, diversion of the river, etc. is uncertain, and becomes an important question of whether just planning for new is sustainable (**figures 5.10 and 5.11**).

The exercise was to test proposals for the use of the development of the Expo through conventional growth of urban occupation. It departed from the hypotheses of voluntary specialized activities (technology area, University City, theme parks, centre directional, etc.) as a basis for development. The argument was that it seemed reasonable that the most common path would be to let it grow normally with housing, industries, multi-media city, decayed green spaces, etc,

as a range of urban space, near the old town. The new ring roads were seen to pose a substantial change in the scheme of operation of the city, and a possible introduction of new formulas (and forms) of urban growth.

#### **5.5.2.1. Strategies**

The students had taken theoretical courses on the processes of urban growth and were required to approach the proposal from three positions: as a dual city (new and old); an extension to the existing fabric; and peripheral or suburban growth.

In the first alternative, the development was to consider the new area as an autonomous city related to the historic core of Seville. They were reminded that the existing medieval Seville occupies an area of 300 hectares almost the same size as the current Expo. The approach would require well developed designs and precise forms that are tied to the existing typology of the city. Indeed, what forms can this growth take? Homogeneous or broken? Different but constant? As a city or a periphery? As an autonomous district or a city? Or any city, but with open territory, half occupied and half free?

A first alternative approach is to understand the future of the Expo with the hypothesis of dual city, but autonomously related historical centre of the city (the old Seville has an area of 300 hectares, slightly larger than the Expo). It is a safe, alternative design that requires precise and definite forms.

A second alternative is understood as an extension outside the city of today; as an extension of a residential (or industrial), or mixed area. It is the most likely hypothesis.

A third hypothesis understands growth as an open periphery, ie, as a free territory half full and half empty without conclusion or boundaries.

The students were free to select any alternative, which takes the importance of access from the ring roads straight to roundabouts, is fast, and should consider what changes in the network of contact with the old. They were to draw and present the work at a scale of 1:5000. The plan was accompanied by a couple of vignettes representing a perspective on the type of fabric, construction and images that characterize the proposal.



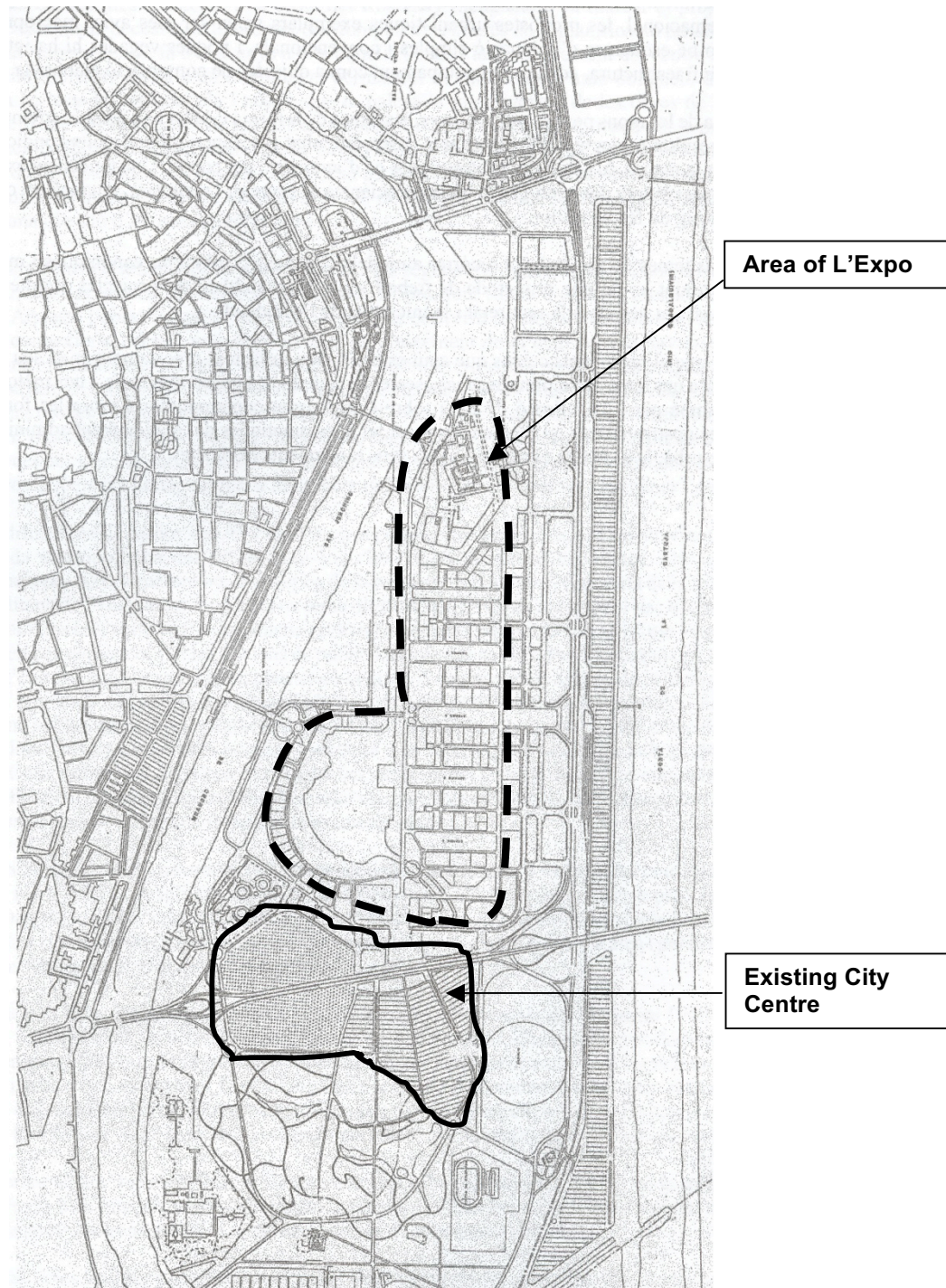
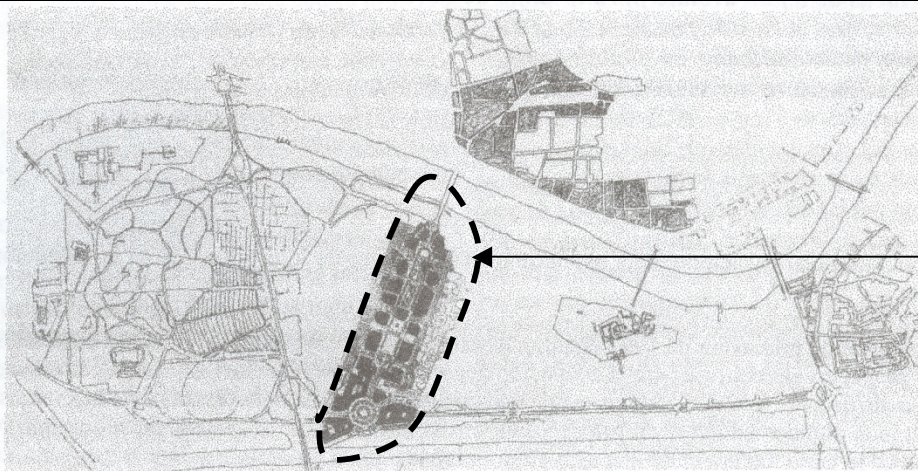


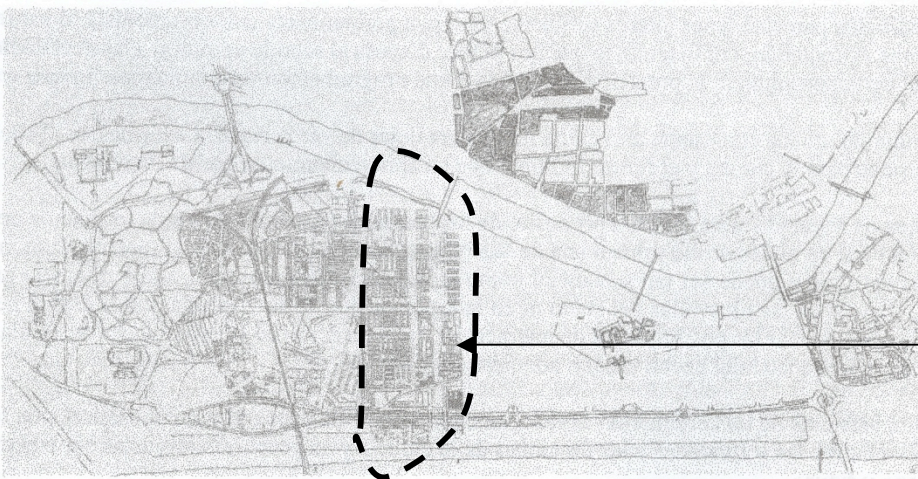
Figure 5.10: L'Expo de Seville in 1992

Source: de Sola-Morales (1999, p.18)

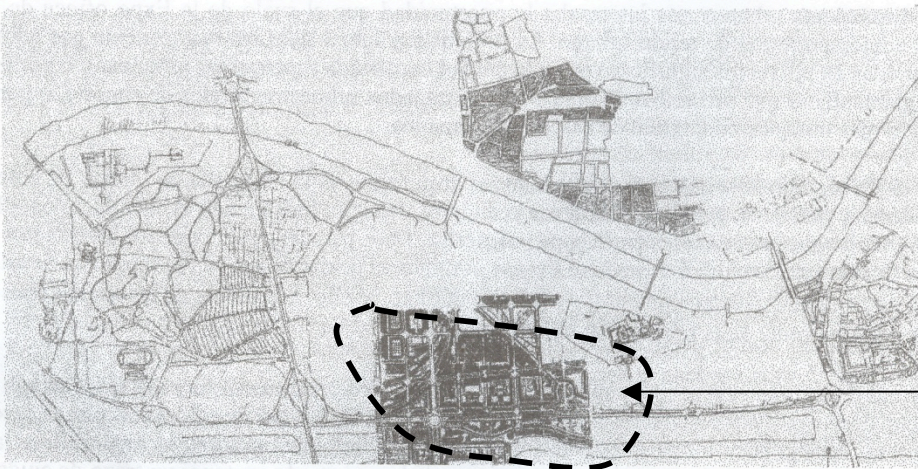




**Canary Warf Model**



**Besos Model  
(extension to existing)**



**Barcelona  
Olympic Village  
Model (theme park)**

**Figure 5.11: Proposals L'Expo de Seville in 1992**

**Source: de Sola-Morales (1999, p.22)**

The proposal shown above (**figure 5.11**) comprises examples of growth using three models indicated. The Canary Warf model that has the semblance of a coherent whole yet with functions woven together to form a *civitas*. However, it teaches the students the fallacies of such development of an insular community which Bird suggests is “a city within a city” (1993, p.127).

The Besos model is an example of the second alternative; an extension to the existing city. The drawing reveals proposed growth of similar size to the existing city, distinct in character yet linked to it. It has linear blocks and yet is separated from the existing core by the ring road/ motorway. However, it is difficult to establish what the buildings look like or their heights due to the scale, the assumption is that they would reflect the heights prevalent in the existing community if the historical analysis is the underpinning theory.

The third alternative shows a proposal that is developed as a specialized theme area, separate and distinct from the existing city. It is similar to the previous proposal for the expo other than in scale. It occupies about the same areas as the old city. It is not clear from the drawings what would become of the buffer zone between the two, as one of the critiques is the decay caused by run down parks.

### **5.5.3. Redevelopment of the Area around Valencia Train Station: Urban Design VI 1995-96**

The station (north) of Valencia is still centrally located in an extraordinary position. The Spanish Railway Company, (RENFE) has 40 hectares of land for roads, factories and warehouses, virtually unused. There are several initiatives for the use of this space that may change in the location and function of the station (**figure 5.12**). The students were asked to propose redevelopments that would consider the following:

The General Municipal Plan provided for a large urban park and considered the possibility of relocating the RENFE station 600m back. This could create the opportunity for a possible business centre (about 100,000m<sup>2</sup> of offices, and retail constructed under one roof). Another possibility is that the station could donate more land to the city if relocated to where the lines of trains arriving from the north, the west and south, meet. There are 40 hectares located within continuity of the central extension. The current station is a modernist building of great architectural interest, recently restored.

The orthogonal angle blocks of the surrounding area of land precisely reveal traces of the expansion of Valencia (1844). The access to the motorways of Alicante and Madrid, the continuation of the Great Street and other avenues, coincide in the location of the station. The two neighbourhoods on the sides of the current station (Russafa, and San Augustine in the West) are especially popular and full of life.

#### **5.5.3.1. Strategies**

The proposals were for the future management of this central area according to the five following aspects: firstly, to indicate the position of the station, the city park and the new buildings. In addition, the size and shape of each of these

elements in relation to the town were to be clearly indicated and also the current description of the topography of the proposed changes.

Secondly, the development of the scheme without consideration of planned commercial spaces, offices (100,000 m<sup>2</sup>) typologically organized. They were to be presented through axonometric drawing that indicated the architecture. Thirdly, the proposal should also include road networks supporting the above and connections to the rest of the urban and regional roads. Fourthly the area should be zoned for residential housing with 3.000 units.

And the final aspect is the synthesis of the phased planning and defining the anchoring elements necessary during the first phase (5 years) usually containing the infrastructure and buildings (public and private).



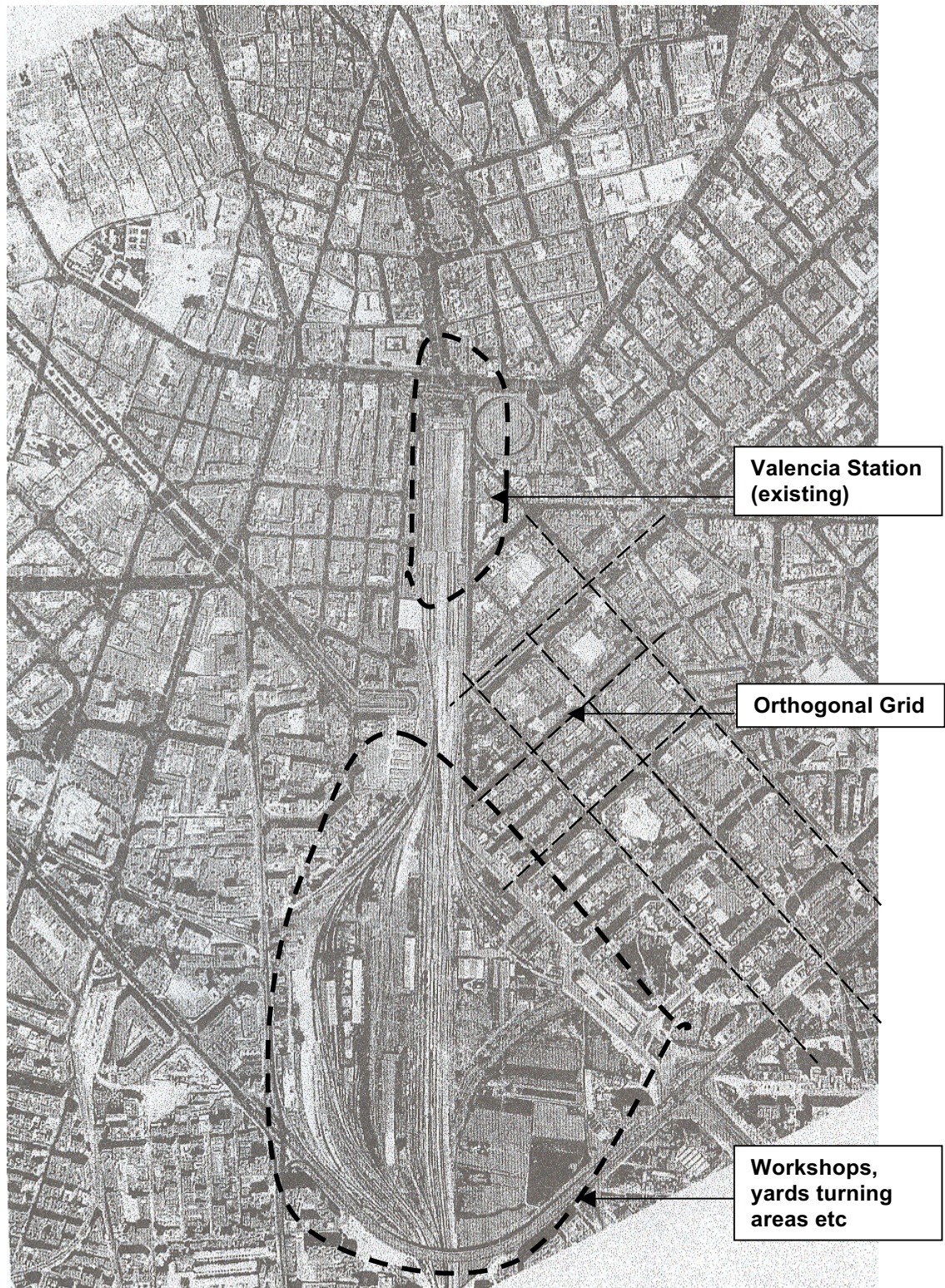


Figure 5.12: Proposals Ordenacio de L'area de l'estacio de Valencia 1995-1996

Source: de Sola-Morales (1999, p.142)





**Figure 5.13: Ordenacio de L'area de l'estacio de Valencia: Morphological Connection**

**Source: de Sola-Morales (1999, p.145)**

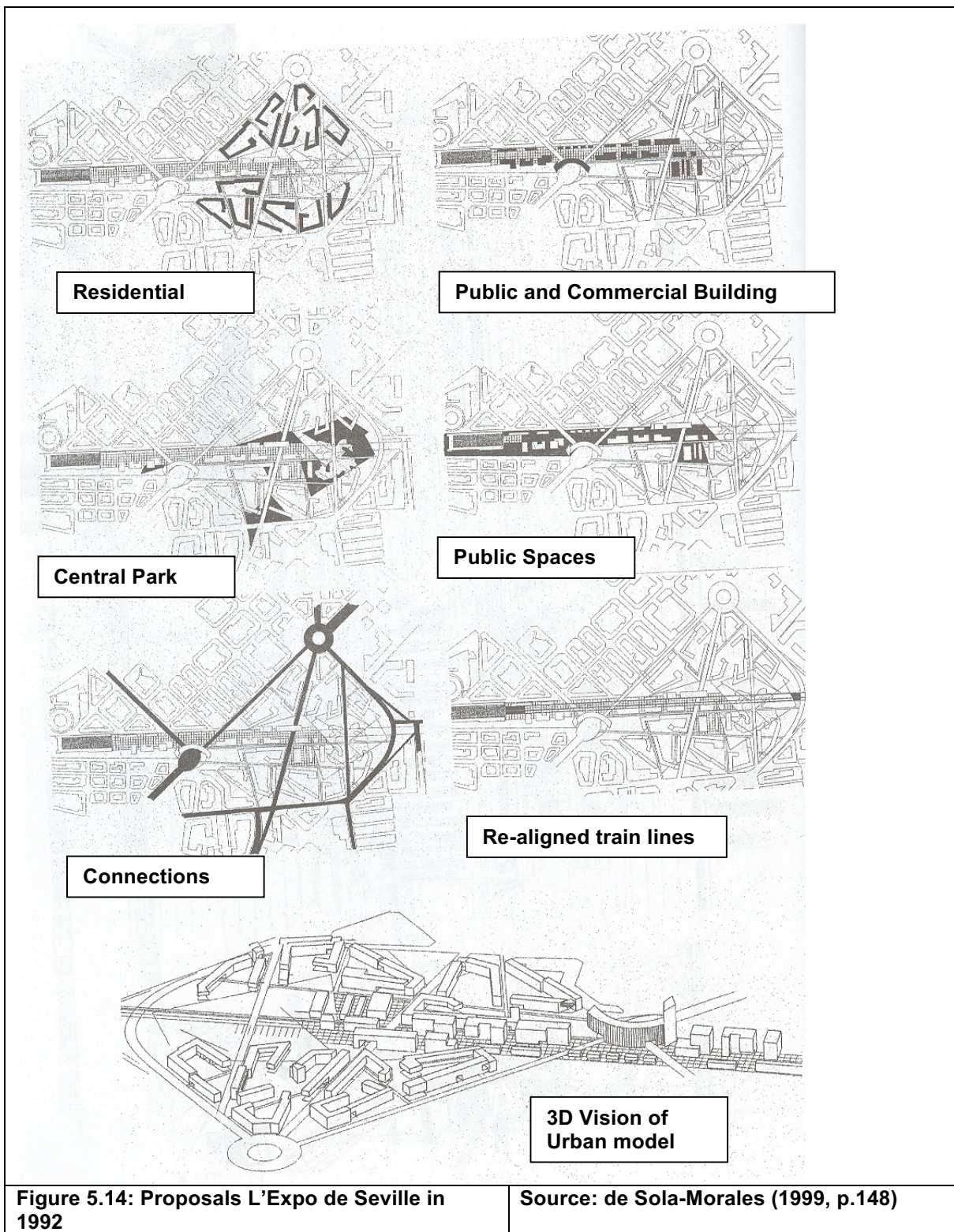
#### 5.5.3.2. Consequences

The strategy adopted was reflected in the results of the work produced by the students. The LUB places emphasis on historical analysis underpinned on morphological studies. Even though the proposal was to look at the immediate station area, the “Urban Project” approach ensured that the wider context was looked at, as evidenced by the image below (**figure 5.13**). The figure ground drawing reveals that the void left if the station were removed is as large as a quarter of the medieval Valencia. It was therefore fundamental that they considered the larger picture as opposed to the narrow approach that is prevalent in conventional urban design.

It is interesting to note that even though de Sola-Morales is critical of functional modernism, the brief provided to the students suggests its use. In addition, the proposal suggests the separation of functions by zones (**see figure 5.14**). The commercial buildings and the public spaces are located on the spine leading to the park and the 3D axonometric at the intermediate scale of the urban vision suggests an emphasis on connection between the various parts of the city, an infrastructure with less emphasis placed on the design of the buildings themselves.

Even though urban typology relies on the peripheral block, the detailed drawings that would indicate the size of the units is lacking, perhaps a weakness in the strategy selected. However, a look at detailed drawings from other proposals reveal very large blocks similar to those proposed by Sert almost a century earlier (**figures 5.14 & 5.15**). They are equally similar to the work of the CIAM rebels (Team X), and of Alison and Peter Smithson around the same period underpinned on the idea of the grid.







Note: similarities between the long residential blocks proposed here and ones by Sert for Rio project in 1946.



Figure 5.15: Proposals L'Expo de Seville in 1992 Source: de Sola-Morales (1999, p.164)

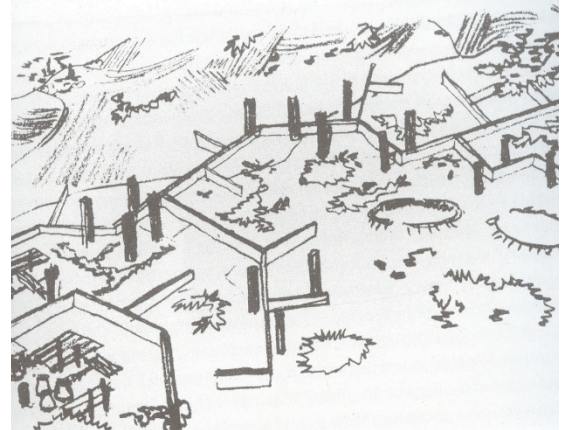
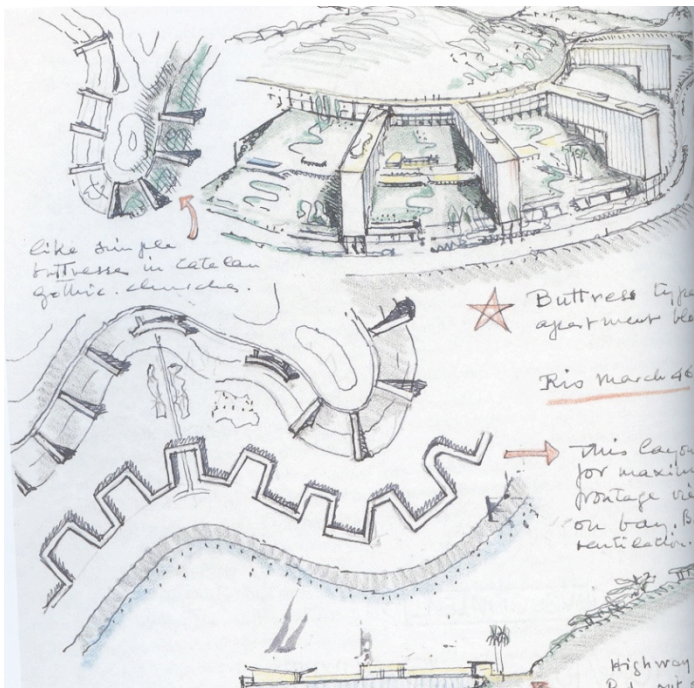


Figure 5.17: Urban Reidentification Source: Mumford (2000, p.235)

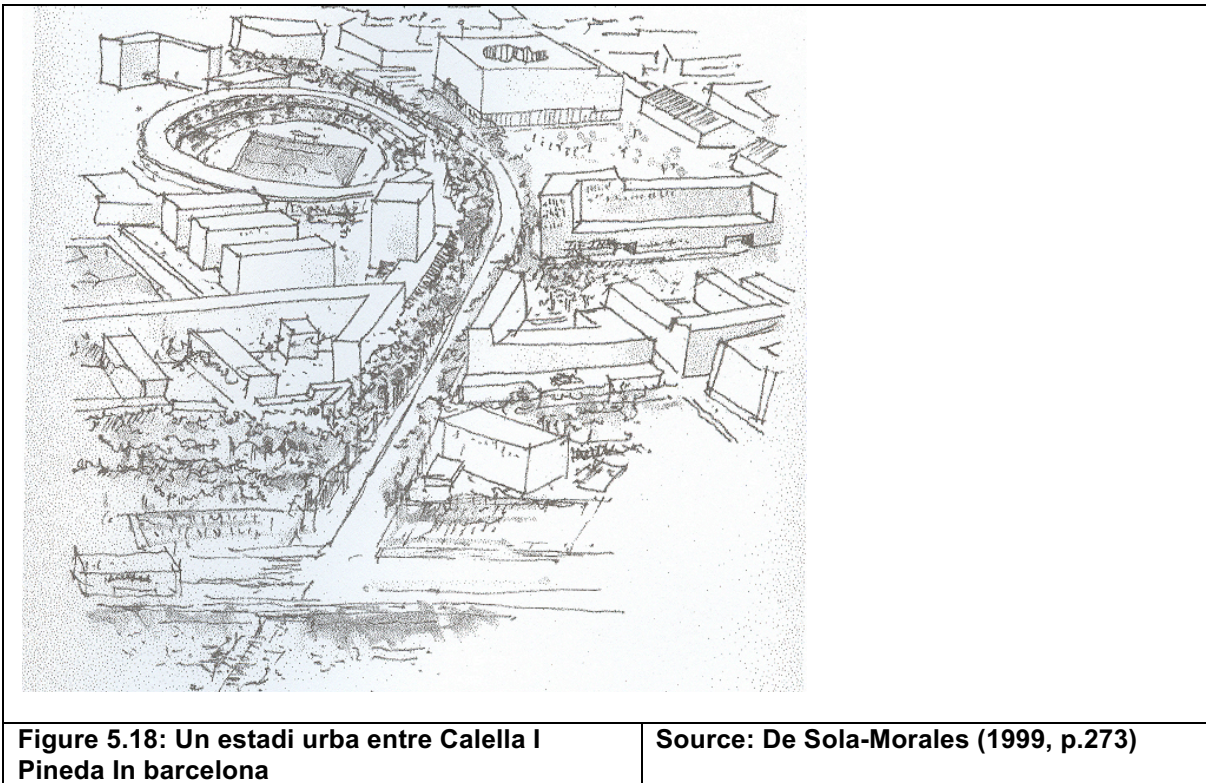


Note: similarities between the long residential blocks proposed here and ones by Sert for Rio project in 1946.

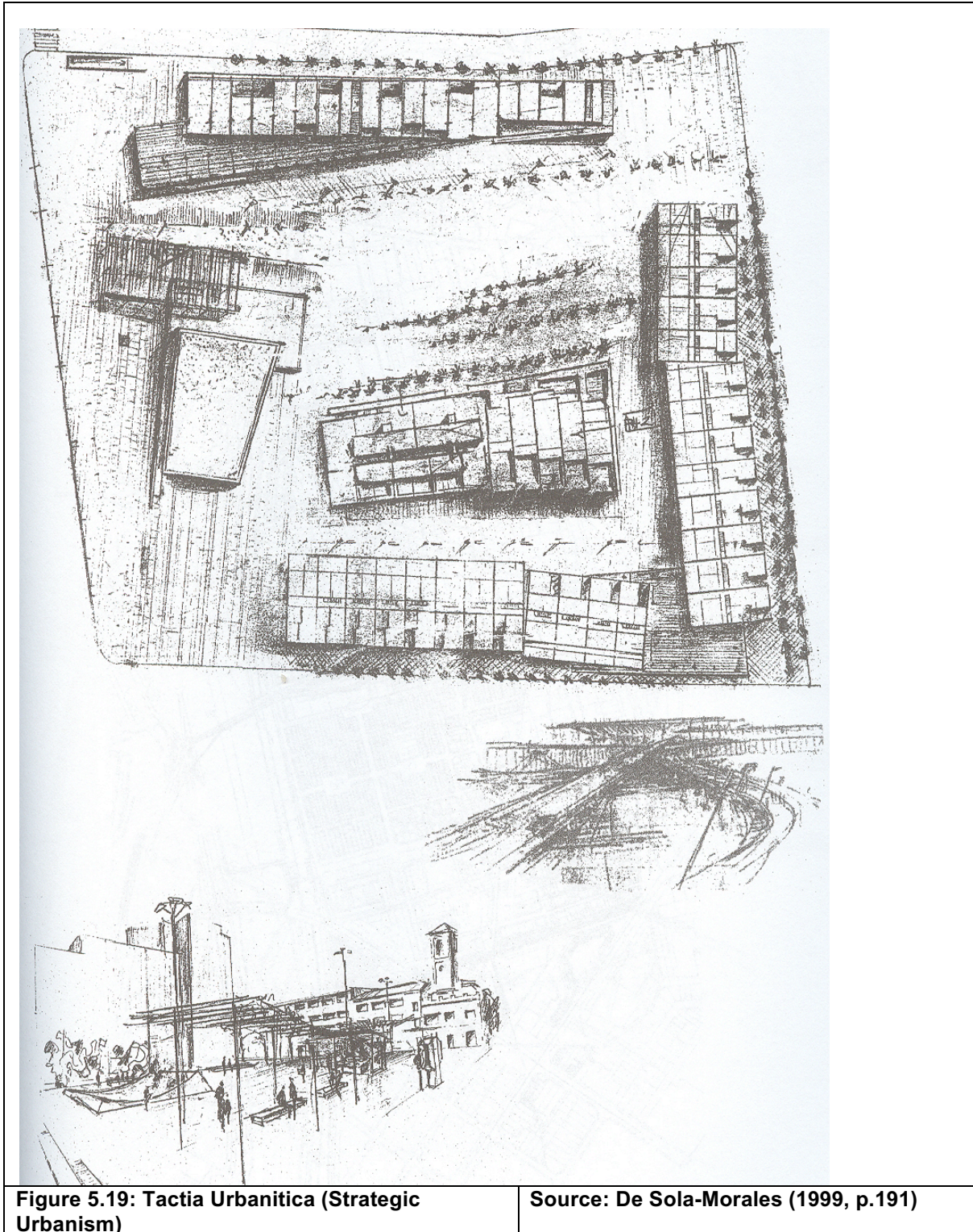
Figure 5.16: Sert and Wiener sketch project for Rio de Janeiro 1946

Source: Mumford (2009, p.82)

Analysis of proposals in other projects reveal that two traditions of urban design are important; the visual artistic and social-usage (see **figure 5.18 and 5.19**). The large scales (1:2,000, 1:5,000 and 1:10,000) were used to give the urban vision with the 3D drawing meaning the proposals were not very detailed, yet clear enough to suggest the characteristics of the place. They reveal an emphasis on a strengthening of the urban edge that forms the streets, which was deemed important. The strategic use of the “Urban Project” ensured that the intermediate level of design would reveal what appear as very large buildings. The images also suggest a focus on social-usage tradition with the public spaces indicating places for socializing, meeting or networking.







**Figure 5.19: Tactia Urbanitica (Strategic Urbanism)**

**Source: De Sola-Morales (1999, p.191)**

## 5.6 Summary

This section summarizes the LUB model at UPC by type of organization and the methodologies adapted with their roots to contexts. It is based on the material provided from the websites, interviews with the director of the LUB in 2008 and course materials and publications that have come out of the laboratory.

The table below (**table 5.4**) is a summary of the activities, the technique used to carry the activity and the influence or cause of the choice of the method.

Phase	Methods	Influence/ cause
Critical Analysis	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Awareness methods</li> <li>2. Indirect methods</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Rationalist approach: (Quaroni, Lynch, Gregotti, Jacobs, Venturi, Alexander, Rossi)</li> <li>2. Traditional-Beaux Arts (Bacon, Bertrand)</li> <li>3. Urban Social Movements</li> </ol>
Urban Project	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Indirect methods</li> <li>2. Group interactions methods</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Rationalist (Rossi, Moneo, Gomez-Ordinez )</li> <li>2. Urban Social Movements</li> </ol>
<b>Table 5.4: Summary of Phase, methods and influences</b>		<b>Source: Onyango (2011)</b>

The analysis also revealed that the LUB process occurs in two key stages or phases as illustrated above. The theoretical leanings of the LUB are the social-usage and visual–artistic traditions. Three methods are used that could have arisen out of the circumstances in the political history of the place, the social and environmental histories and the academic traditions of the time. These are the awareness method, the indirect method, and the group interaction method.

Figure 5.20: Content Analysis of LUB

Source: Onyango (2011)

**INSERT CA LUB 5.10**

The Content Analysis was carried out on de Sola-Morales' articles "*Another Tradition*" (1987); "*Sant Andreu*" (2005); "*Anxious Gaze*" (2008) and the assignment "Exercise 1" (1993). It reveals consistency between the LUB's work in the different periods as illustrated above (**figure 5.20**). The analysis reveals an emphasis on two areas; historical contexts and strategies/ tactics and within the historical context, the environmental issues and community activities have been highlighted most.

In addition, the analysis points to the importance of collaborative efforts and networks to their methodology. The success of the "Urban Project" is underpinned on the collaboration between the various professionals as well as with the community through *Asociaciones de Vecinos* (neighbourhood association). The community network is therefore vital to its success. The awareness of the need to participate in the projects seems to be mainly through this network.

The strategies highlighted as most important are the use of the urban and building typologies; designs that would foster diversity of activities; use of 3D models and inductive reasoning. These have been driven by the historical methods of analysis discussed earlier in the chapter that came from the French and Italian traditions.

The content analysis also reveals that as a consequence, the projects by both the professionals involved with the LUB and the students work results in shared community vision. In addition there are enhanced connections between the various sectors of the larger urban area because of the tactics or strategies that place emphasis on the morphological analysis (**figures 5.13 & 5.14**).

A detailed analysis of the historical context is illustrated by the radar diagram below (**figure 5.21**) reveals that the work of the LUB was and is still driven by the

forces of economic, social, political, environmental contexts and the need for spaces for community activities. However the most important aspects appear to be the degradation of the environmental context for the communities and the impact on the community activities due to the conditions of the urban spaces.

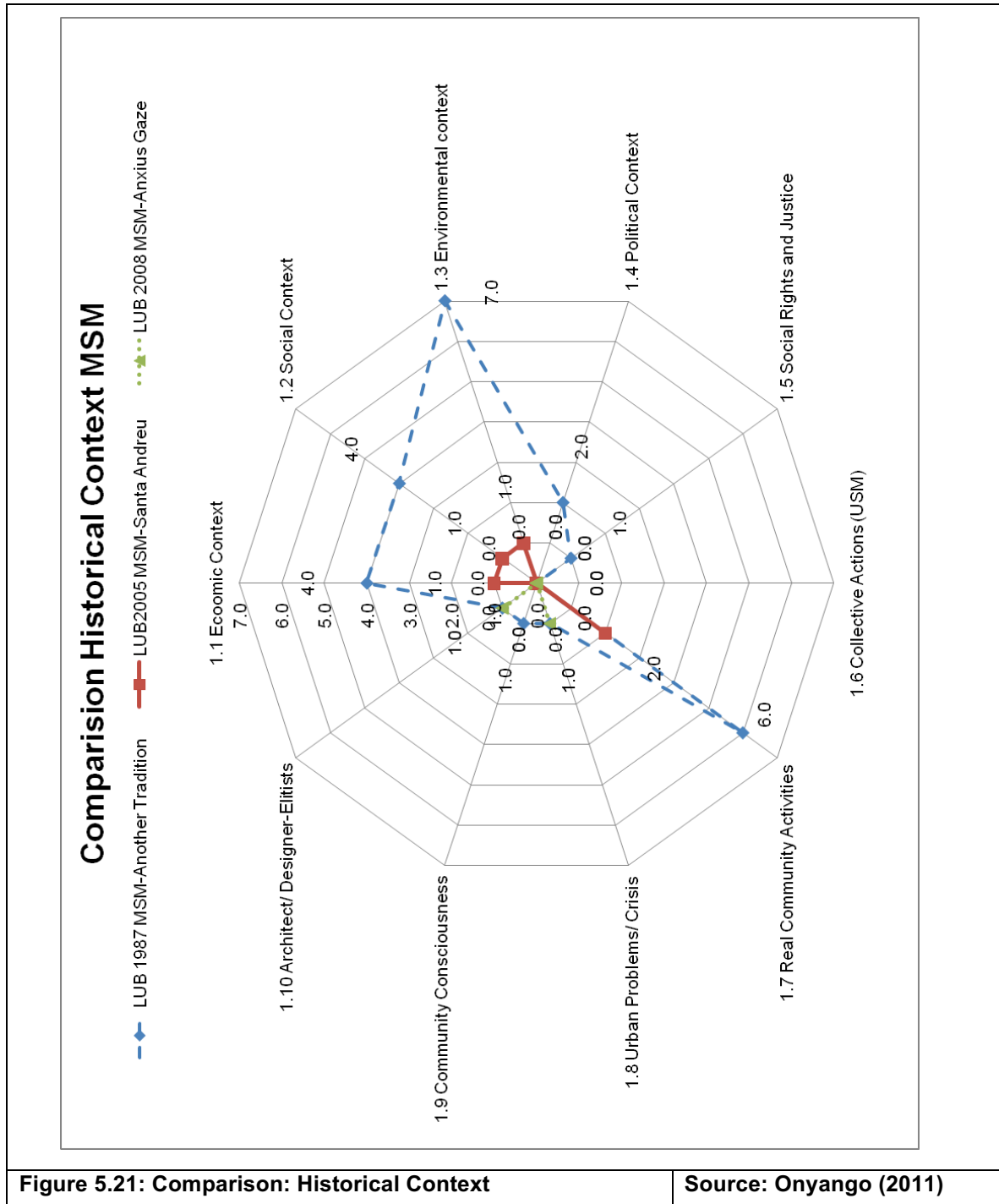


Figure 5.21: Comparison: Historical Context

Source: Onyango (2011)

A content analysis of the data on interrelationships reveals that LUB methodology is dependent on the existence of a strong network within the community as illustrated (**figures 5.22**). This is not surprising, considering the history of repression that existed in Catalonia during General Franco's dictatorial regime that outlawed any form of gathering other than for cultural reasons, and there were no political parties. The community network was thus important in keeping abreast of developments across the area and in finding ways to get a new consciousness that allowed expression of views.

It also reveals that collaborative efforts were important as well as the existence of bottom-up approaches to the process. Even though it was difficult to establish how this was carried out specifically from the LUB reports, in an interview with Carles Crosas (the editor of the journal *La Revista Quaderns d'Arquitectura i Urbanisme* and a professor at the school), it was pointed out that the community had developed a great awareness and interest in projects that would affect their built environment and were very active in discussing proposals.



# Comparison of Interrelationships between the de Sola-Morales(MSM) writings on LUB

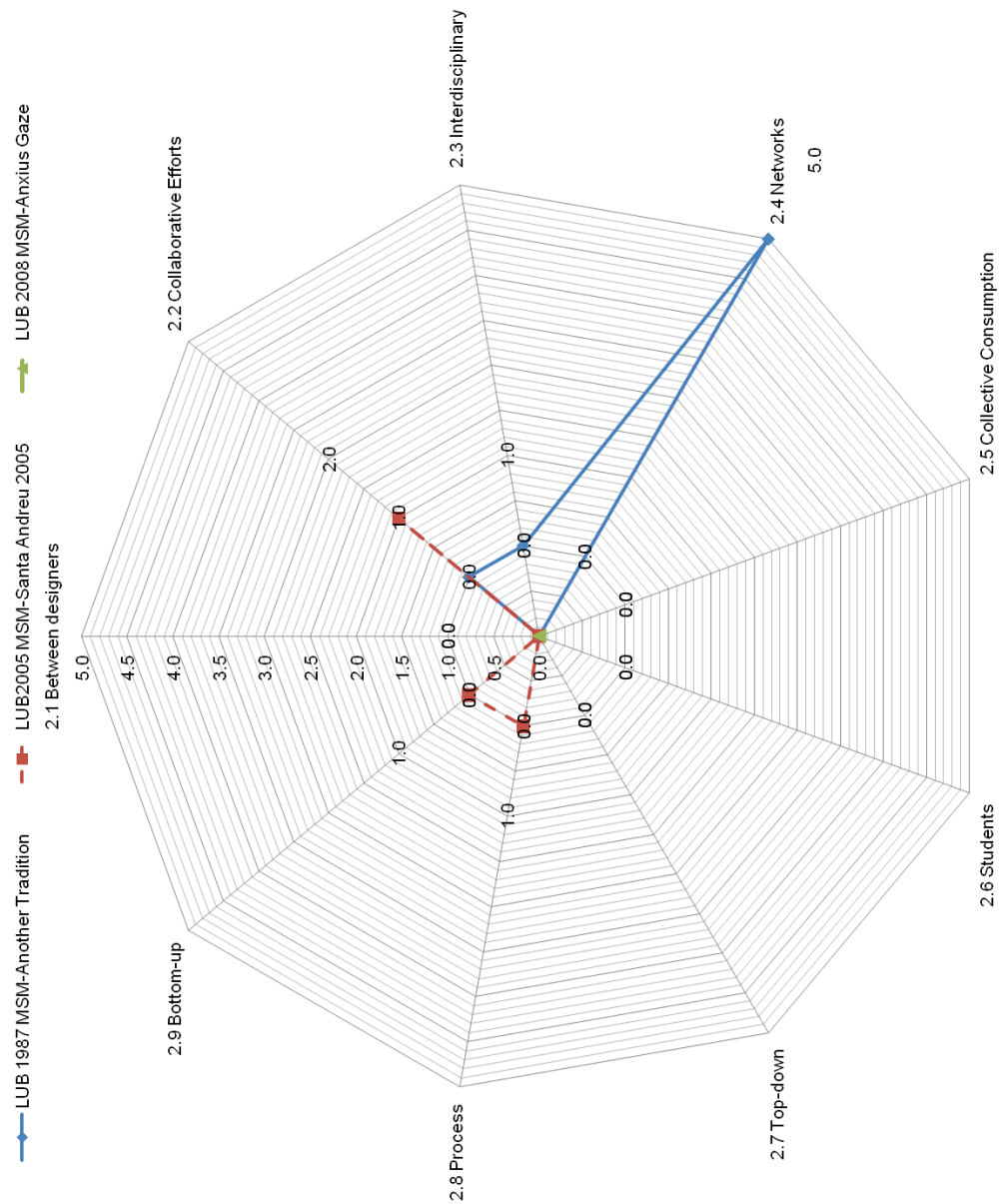
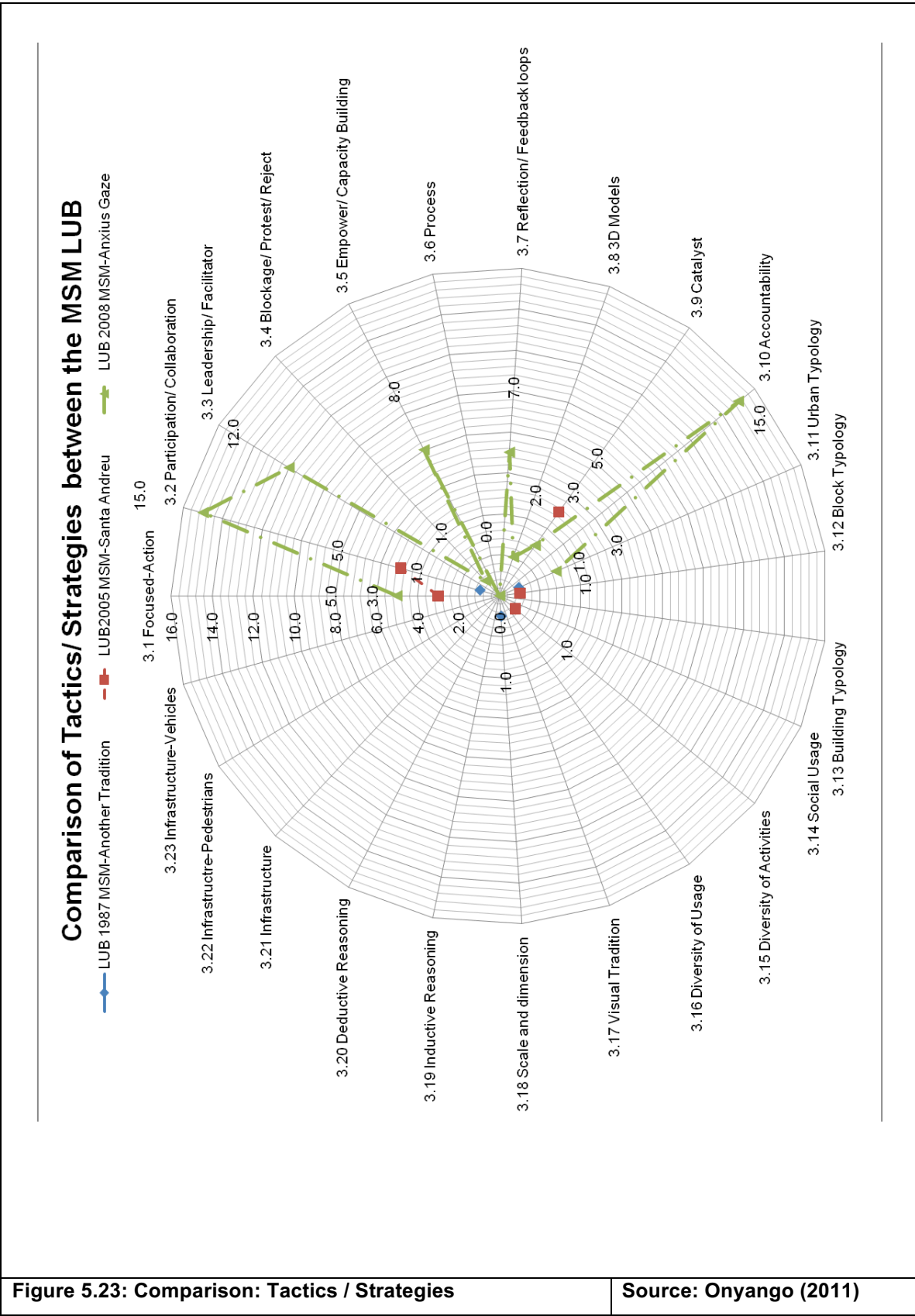


Figure 5.22: Comparison: Interrelationships Context

Source: Onyango (2011)

The LUB process is underpinned on morphological and typological studies and as such the interdependence between the housing, road/ street and public realm is seen as the provider of richness and variety as pointed out by de Sola-Morales (1997). The process and bottom-up approaches are important to the LUB methodology as it provided the reflection by both the students and the community. It was however difficult to verify how the reflection took place beyond in the context of conventional studio presentation setting.

The figure above is a radar representation of the detailed content analysis of the strategies used at the LUB (**figure 5.23**). The emphases are on accountability, participation/ collaboration, leadership, capacity building and reflection. The issue of accountability is crucial to ensure the acceptability of a project proposal to any community. The participation by the community in the process is equally important and its success is dependent on empowerment providing the opportunity for reflection process. It is however interesting to note that tactics like protests that were characteristics of the 1960s are no longer important as the community have been empowered over the years during the fight for democracy. They have the power and do not need to protest but to negotiate the hurdles.



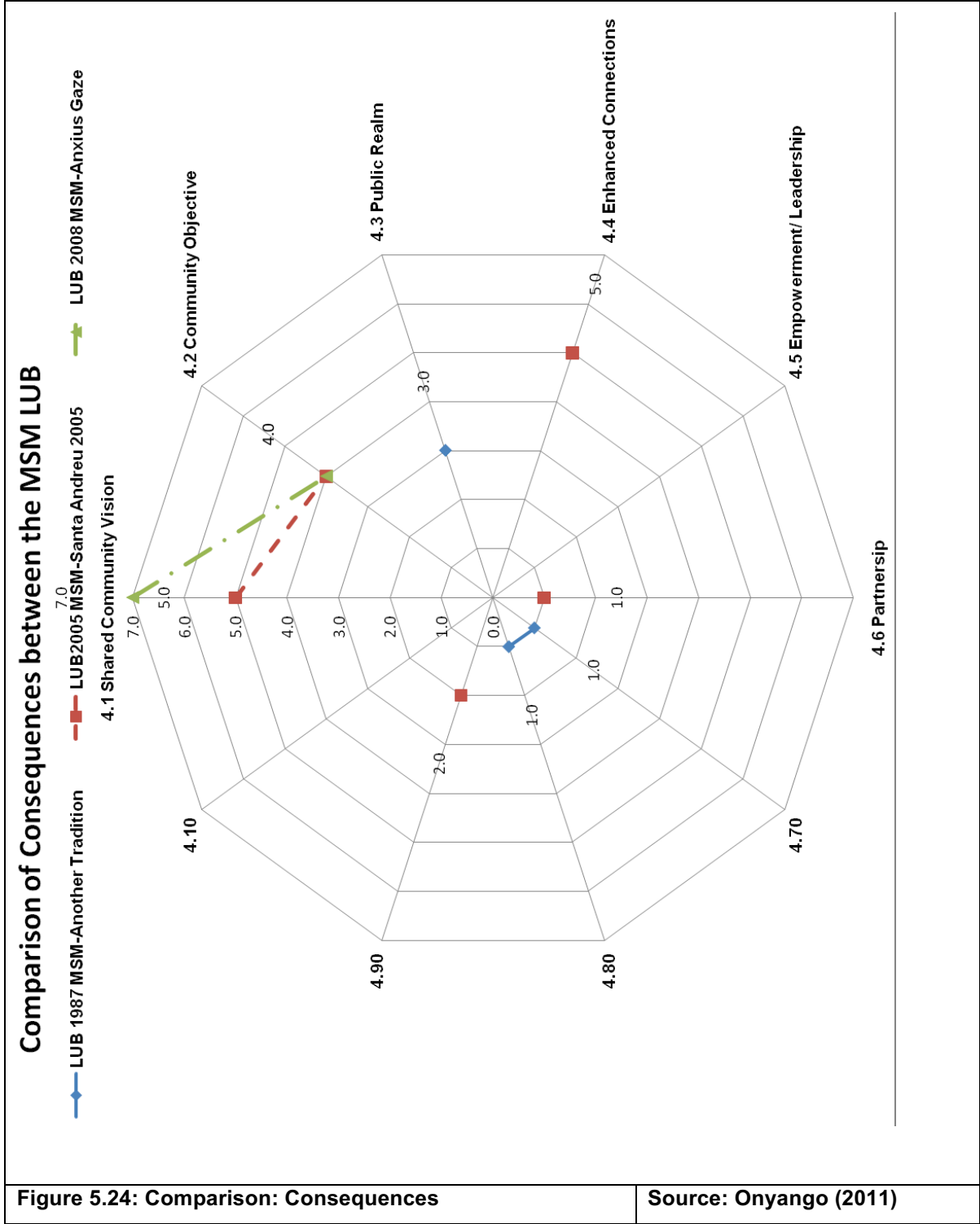


Figure 5.24: Comparison: Consequences

Source: Onyango (2011)

The content analysis reveals that the expected consequences of the LUB were the development of a shared community vision, a community objective and enhanced connections (**figure 5.24**). The strategy of using the “Urban Project” places focus on the public realm through the detailed study and the understanding of the street and the interrelationships, to the diversity of uses, and connections to other forces that drive it such as economic, social, political, cultural and environmental.

The next chapter will look at Centre for Public Space Research at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts and School of Architecture RDAFA, Copenhagen. It will examine the extent to which the historical context contributed to the methodological practices of the centre. It starts by giving some background information on Copenhagen and the Danish context, followed by a brief history of the centre and the founder Jan Gehl. The methodologies of the centre are then described and how the strategies and tactics used correlate to the historical context examined by the use of examples from case studies. These are taken from professional work by the practice Jan Gehl Architects.

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## **6. CHAPTER 6: CASE STUDY 3: COPENHAGEN**

The previous chapter looked at Laboratori Urbanisme de Barcelona at Universidad de Politecnica Cataluña, (LUB) and examined the extent to which the historical context contributed to the methodological practices of the LUB. It revealed that the LUB work was underpinned mainly on the social-usage and visual artistic theoretical traditions. In addition, it was greatly influenced by the French and Italian traditions of morphological study that examined the historical growth of cities.

This chapter will look at the Centre for Public Space Research (CPSR) at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts and School of Architecture, RDAFA, Copenhagen looking at the extent to which the historical context contributed to the methodological practices of the centre. It starts by giving some background information on Copenhagen and the Danish context, followed by a brief history of the centre. The methodologies of the centre are then described and how the strategies and tactics used correlate to the historical context was considered, using examples from case studies.

The examples are from professional work by the practice Jan Gehl Architects that involved students at the centre and those at the University of Melbourne including, an interview with the current director Jonna Majgaard Krarup was very insightful in revealing some of the tensions that may have caused the need for transformation of the workings of the centre. Note that it has been difficult to obtain material on this case study in comparison to the others, since Jan Gehl retired from the School. In addition, his office has not been willing to share information, neither have the Institute, beyond letting me know they have restructured.

However before going any further into the work of Gehl and others at the centre, it is important to take a look at the historical framework that surrounded Denmark and Copenhagen around this period that could have contributed to the formation, interest in the methodology, and the new consciousness about the quality of the environment.

The chapter explores the methodologies and techniques developed by Jan Gehl and others and used at the Centre for Public Space Research, looking at the specific methods used and examines the historical circumstances that may have driven their adoption and the chapter follows the structure below:

**6.1. Historical and Socio-economic and Political Context**

**6.2. Centre for Public Space Research at Royal Academy of Architecture and Fine Arts**

**6.3. Strategies, tactics, methods and influences**

**6.4. Examined Cases of the CPSR Projects**

**6.5. Summary**

**Chapter 6 References**

**6.1 Historical Context**

The Danish political system during the Twentieth Century is based on what is known as a consensus model. This has its roots in the population make-up of Denmark, which has historically been composed of workers and farmers. Jespersen argues that the political system was characterised by:

“...a popular negotiated democracy between the farmers and the workers who respected each other and conducted a running political dialogue that stretched across all the boundaries of class and economics” (2004, p.31).

Several authors (see Sanoff, 2000; Toker, 2006; Francis, 2000, etc) have underlined the importance of consensus to the participatory process; however, the crucial question in Denmark is how did it come about historically? The following next section traces its roots and in the next section relates it to the developments of the methodology used at the CPSR in Copenhagen.

The idea of the Danish model observed by Jespersen comes from the description by an experienced Danish politician, Jens Otto Krag (1914-1978) who was the Prime Minister from 1962 to 1968 and 1971 to 1972. Krag pointed to the existence of a political symmetry between the farmers and the workers in Denmark who were not necessarily

always opposed to each other. According to Jespersen, the model of political consensus is a collaborative democracy where the goals are achieved through:

“...the understanding of issues and while respecting each other, being able to reconcile interests (competing at most times) to achieve an acceptable solution without creating destructive social conflicts...” (2004, p.31).

The collaboration is between the representatives in the interests of the whole society thus fundamentally pinned on the upholding of moral ethical values, therefore any developments are carried out along the lines of consensus rather than conflict as observed in other participatory political systems (I make reference to Alinsky's model seen in the initial periods of UL at CMU and of the LUB's model where the reactionary counterproposals were the order of the day against Franco's regime). The Danish model has roots linked to the political events that took place after the *coup de' etat* of 1536.

After the death of King Frederik I (r1523-33) in 1533 there was a 3-year violent civil war. This was caused by the decision of the Council of the State, *Rigsrad*, to postpone the selection of a new king as was the practice, and to take control of the government. During this period in Denmark, the *Rigsrad* normally appointed an elected Monarchy from among the nobles and traditionally the eldest son of the deceased king ascended the throne.

In this particular case the problem arose because the oldest son, “...Duke Christian was a passionate adherent to the teachings of Luther...” a protestant reformation leader, (Jespersen, 2004, p.33). However, most Danes and the *Rigsrad* feared that his ascension to the throne would jeopardize the existing social order. Jespersen further points out that the decision to postpone the selection of the new king until a suitable Catholic candidate was found was the spark needed to ignite the already “...existing social, religious and political tensions that had long been bubbling under the surface...” (2004, p.33).

Interestingly, Duke Christian became the stabilizing factor after using the military of German mercenaries and other loyal duchies to take control of the country. After his successful conquest, he set about systematically restructuring both the ecclesiastical and political structures of the country. The first key reform was the removal of the religious elements in the leadership of the state, to make it a purely secular matter for the king and non-ecclesiastical remnant of the *Rigsrad*.

It redefined the meaning of Sovereign in Denmark as “The Crown of Denmark” that was characterized by the collaboration between the king and council of noblemen. It elevated the Sovereign to a level of abstraction above both the king and the noblemen who could die yet it remained as the stabilizing element of Denmark. The new structure removed the previous political symmetry and created a body that consisted of complementary components.

The structure of “The Crown of Denmark” over the years has been transformed by two forces; firstly, changes in warfare techniques with less reliance on the use of the infantry that was previously provided by the noblemen. As a result, the noblemen were no longer able to provide protection to the citizens. Therefore, the general populace and clergy demanded more changes to the nobility’s privileges. The King was too happy to decrease them, and instead collaborated with the commoners through elected representatives resulting in the second key reform, the removal of the inherited power of the nobility and replaces it with universal suffrage of able-bodied men.

The third reform arose because the Thirty Years’ War bankrupted the state especially because in the previous structure, the nobles, who were less than 2000 out of a population of 800,000, controlled more than 90% of the land yet had paid no taxes. The change allowed for further “...negotiation over the royal charter of the new King Frederik III (r1648-70) to become totally dependent on the state council...” (Jespersen, 2004, p.39) thus shifting the centre of power.

According to Gutmann (1988) the Thirty Years' War was partly a civil war and partly an international war that began in central Europe and spread to other parts, including the Baltic States. It began as a conflict between the Catholic Habsburg emperor and his subjects but quickly extended to involve the Dutch, the Germans, the Spanish and the Swedes and Danish, mainly due to a fear of Protestant strength and the economic impact on the colonies.

The Thirty Years' War was:

“...three wars, with six or more principle parties; the imperial civil war, conflict about religion and imperial authority; one between Spain against the French and the Dutch; between the emperor and his allies against the Danes and the Swedes...”  
(1988, p.753)

It was manifested through the new constitution endorsed by the King so that the decisions were now taken through the collaborative work between “...the selected representatives of politically active sections of the population of the national assembly...” (Jespersen, 2004, p.61). In the new constitution, the King lost the absolute power to rule and had to share that responsibility with the parliament elected by universal male suffrage. In the new arrangement, the king no longer had the power to take action without the countersignature from the ministers responsible. The ministers were subject to parliamentary power for their conduct; previously they had reported directly to the King.

The transition from absolutism to democracy did not suddenly happen but took time, even though several events were decisive breaking points, as highlighted above. However, though the King had yielded absolute power, in both cases the ruling framework was supportive of the will of the people and therefore ethics was central to the actions of both the king and the parliament.

The year 1830 was important in the democratic timeline of Denmark. The 1800s saw a rise in nationalist and liberal movements throughout most of Europe after the French

Revolution and the Napoleon Wars. The liberals in Denmark began demanding a voice around 1830 and success came in 1834 when an advisory assembly was set up as a meeting point for the middle-class public.

#### **6.1.2.1. Socio-economic and Political Context**

Denmark was not at the centre of the Second World War; however, Germany occupied it for a period of 5 years between April 1940 and 1945. The occupation left the country with a severe lack of both economic and financial resources (in foreign currency) that reduced its productive capacity. At the end of the War, the impact of the occupation and the cold war between the Western and the Eastern blocks that ensued, created a context where Denmark was not keen to integrate with the Western nations through the newly formed Northern Atlantic Nations Organization, NATO. The organization had objectives of protecting the smaller nations in Western Europe from possible attack by the Soviet Union-led Eastern block.

Denmark however, was willing to enter into the international capitalist system through the Marshal plan and the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, OEEC (Jamison *et al*, 1990). This arrangement benefited Denmark's production capacity as well as boosting its foreign exchange reserves through the exports in response to the demands of reconstruction of Europe from the devastation of the war.

In the period before the Second World War Denmark had a predominantly agrarian economy with a very limited industrial base that catered for the domestic market so when it joined OEEC, economic growth ensued. However, Jamison *et al* (1990) also point to an increase in both unemployment and foreign exchange problems.

Denmark had the advantage over other European nations because most of its industries were small and family owned. It gave them the flexibility and a differentiated production suitable for consumer items and semi-manufactured goods. The decision not to integrate fully into the OEEC enabled it to continue this system of industrial production as opposed to the large corporations that had dominated the rest of the world

production system. By the 1960s Denmark's industrial production comprised of almost 60% of the source of foreign exchange income overtaking agriculture, according to Arentoft *et al* (cited in Jamison *et al*, 1990).

The reconstruction of Europe created demands for goods and therefore, for Denmark, the 1960s was a golden decade, however as previously pointed out, employment in the private sector did not increase, as almost 75% of half a million new jobs created between 1960 and 1972 were in the public sector (Hansen and Henrikson, 1984). This increased the welfare costs in addition to the breakdown of traditional social life like elsewhere in Europe, as pointed out by Schildt and Siegfried (2006) and discussed in detail in the Chapter on literature review.

In the political arena, reformations took place that resulted in the lack of a dominant party during this period. It meant that coalition politics were ensured and the initial socialist agenda by the Social Democratic party was abandoned. The economic growth however, continued to support the welfare system. The lack of a dominant party created an opportunity for smaller revolutionary parties, which, in partnership with the Social Democrats, impacted the Danish political culture significantly.

The tradition of co-operation between the political parties in the Danish parliament in the Twentieth Century goes back to the 1930s when the revolutionary parties rose to try to provide checks and balance to the existing established parties. Jamison *et al* point out that:

“...the reformist policies of the Social Democrats provided space for more revolutionary socialist parties to emerge before the war...” created a dipole political relationship with the main parties. This played an important role in the growth of what he terms “...an authentic alternative political culture that had very significant influence on the environmental movement in Denmark” (1990, p.67).

The revolutionary parties attracted radical intellectuals from professionals like architects, artists, teachers, writers and debaters who defended the community against the great

welfare state power and reasserted the rights of individualism. This was further fostered by the economic growth of the 1960s that allowed for the breakdown of the socialist collectivism and the transformation of the individualism.

The academics contributed a great deal to the culture of radicalism because the Danish social, cultural and political arena was very accepting of new ideas such as those of the psychoanalyst, Wilhelm Reich (1897-1957). He was expelled from Austria for his radical ideas on sexuality and lived in Denmark between 1933 and 1939. His ideas are linked to the sexual revolution of the 1960s as posited by Allyn:

“...was an eccentric psychoanalyst who hoped to liberate Europeans from centuries of social, political, and psychological enslavement through the clinics he set up that distributed information about birth control and abortion...” (2001, p.4).

He combined political activism and sexual theory linking liberation from totalitarianism with sexual liberation. The acceptance of radicalism led to the transformation of the Danish educational system from an authoritarian one to one that had more experimental free schools.

Others such as the radical Villy Sorensen (b1929-2001) argued for freedom in society and saw the important role the artists and intellectuals played in a democracy and that the responsibility belonged to the individual rather than the collective as pointed out by Jamison *et al* (1990). The sphere in Denmark was similar to the contexts in Pittsburgh and Barcelona in that all joined the fight for individual rights but within the collective society, for the greater good of the society.

Sorensen lived in an era influenced by the Marxist philosophy and theories of Freud (whose major works had been translated into Danish in 1920). These became the dominant influence within cultural debates and literature, so that “...the idea that the arts, and not least, literature, should work to transform or reform society was not new to Danish literature...” according to Stecher-Hansen (1999, p.xvii). The Social Democratic



Party won an election during the same period and embarked on a social reform agenda through the welfare state scheme.

Sorensen translated the works of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer into Danish in the 1960s that contributed to the social and political debates of the period. He played a role in the introduction of European Modernism to Denmark through his writings and a laboratory in Danish Cultural life after becoming a member of the Academy in 1965. Rossell (1990) points out that Sorensen had advocated for the rejection of the older value systems and supported the welfare state as an alternative humane political system that would help modern man overcome the personal and social conditions that caused alienation because of the breakdown of the traditional value system. By the end of the 1960s, Sorensen was a regular contributor to the weekly *Politisk Revy* (Political Review) where he argued for the Utopian model of Danish Society. This further increased the heated debate on grass-roots democracy and the reduction of totalitarianism.

The radical subculture inspired by Sorensen and others through the Socialist People's Party (*Socialistisk Folkeparti*) played a "crucial role behind the relative strengths of the alternative political culture in Denmark" as pointed out by Jamison *et al* (1990, p.68). The party had a wide support base in the industrial and the new public sector working class even though the leadership of the party was still composed of older generations.

Tensions therefore, arose between those who supported economic material growth as part of modernity and those who were concerned with human developments and social welfare. The problem was mainly due to the generation gap between those who had lived in the poverty of the inter-war periods and those who were growing up during the golden age. The youth therefore revolted, challenging the existing political framework.

There are two strands to the alternative political culture in Denmark that had an impact on environmentalism as a new consciousness and the development to the methodologies at the Centre for Public Space Research. The first comprised the approaches to participatory strategies seen in the context of Danish Social Housing

Governance and the other considered environmentalism as a form of social and political critiques of the existing conditions.

Jensen (1995) sees a very close relationship between the concepts of citizenship, citizens and their participation in decision-making processes and he acknowledges Hill's (1994) position on the correlation pointing out that:

“...democracy articulated as process and structures is crucial, however the key questions are: what structure and procedures exist to facilitate people's involvement in decisions provides them with the adequate information and ensures quality and equity of the decisions...” (quoted in Jensen 1995, p.177).

Jensen argues that the way participants perceive themselves in relation to political decision-making is influenced by the context. He therefore interprets the participation as an exercise of citizenship with the product of competition between the different roles played by the participants seeking attention and legitimizing the process. His studies on the Danish political system of Social Housing identified two levels of representation: at the local level with direct election of the representatives and secondly at the housing association regional and national level, run by a combination of elected representatives and government appointees.

The participatory system within the Danish political landscape is historically well developed as pointed out by Torpe and Gundelach (1997). However, the levels of participation changed over time, and after the 1980s, when a conservative government was in power, there are noticeable restrictions in democratic participation. An accepted level of participation has become a problem that requires conscious strategic solutions even though promotional efforts are laudable; unfortunately they actually result in the shift of power away from the citizens.

Between the late 1980s and mid 1990s there were various attempts at “promoting political citizenship among the housing tenants by placing *promotional teams* within the administrative bodies of large associations” as pointed out by Jensen (1995, p.179).

This he argues is a top-down management strategy as opposed to a participatory strategy and as a result, stifled democratic participation.

Because of the move, the level of political participation within social housing has been declining. The obstacle to participation is blamed on social stratification, largely due to a lack of political resources. Jensen (1999) indicated that this limitation was in the educational, social and economic resources. Jensen on the other hand argues that the issue is beyond a social problem but is more widespread because of the problems inherent in the local democracy within the whole of the Danish political system.

Participation as a political process has two facets, the input and output according to Lundquist, (1976). The input side of politics has the recruitment and participation as a necessary first step that is influenced by the level of how the residents view themselves as “citizens (i.e. citizenships) who are part of a community as opposed to being merely fragmented individuals” (1995, p.180). However, the definition the term citizenship is fraught with problems as can be seen from Hill (1993), Arendt (1958), Andersen *et al* (1993).

Jensen however defines citizenship at the cognitive level where the public realm is a political system in which they regard the decisions made to affect their lives and therefore the process of decision-making must be adequate and legitimate: adequate in the sense of opportunities offered to make the decisions, and legitimate because the power to make decisions and to change them is vested in the citizens and not in the other party merely with interests such as developers.

Jensen breaks the history of participatory governance within social housing into three periods; the formation period from 1900 to 1945; the building or rationalization period from 1945 to 1970 and finally the management from 1970 to 1990 (I add to date). In the first period, community interests to fight for rights, to thrive on conflicts, underpin the role of the citizens. The participants take on the role of organizer, are extremely empowered and seeing a relevance to the political system, attempt to influence it and

define the rules of the game while the state on the other hand responded by supporting the role through the provision of subsidies. This period historically coincided with a period when there was a balance of power between the Social democrats and the Conservatives in the government. The organizational actions of the citizens keep the political attention on the housing problem.

The second period on the other hand witnesses the political manipulation by the state through the setting up of the Welfare state to provide the subsidies and eventually demand an administrative role in its use. The housing provision is now set from 1946 onwards as a political matter and the citizen organization now mandated with the role of rationalizing and construction of the housing. The citizens begin to lose power through the rationalization process and are seen as receivers of welfare outputs as products. They become supporter citizen clients and their voices are centralized.

The final period arises out of the changes to the roles played by the residents from consumers or receivers to clients reflecting the competitions in the market over the years for the provision of services. The key terminologies in use are services and individual solutions with the role of the citizen now legally tied to the assignment of lease. They no longer need to fight for influence because once they receive the keys to the tenancy; they receive the freedom to modify their unit leading to the breakdown of the community spirit has occurred and individualization set in. In the process, the state has succeeded in by-passing the association or movements that organized the residents to work directly with the individual and thereby weakening both the associations and the citizen. The only output available to the citizens during the second and third period is exit rather than voice.

### **6.1.2.1. Growth of Environmentalism in Denmark**

There are specific contextual factors that influenced the growth of the environmentalism in Denmark especially if looked at from the point of view of Jurgen Hebermas. The German sociologist took the perspective that social movements are organizations concerned with tactical successes and failures. Jamison *et al* on the other hand take a much broader view of social movements when looking at the formation of environmentalism. They state that social movement exists when:

“...a distinct set of knowledge interests is present in the consciousness of the activists and is reflected on the organization, when these knowledge interests form the basis not only for collective identity, but also coordination and co-operation between the organizations which identify themselves on that basis...”  
(1990, p.3).

In their view the USM movements are also organizations or groups engaged in strategic actions in a political arena competing and bargaining with their counterparts from the established political culture as well as others. They point out that the formation of environmentalism, driven social movements, and conservation comprise the initial drive, however, this was transformed in the 1960s when science and technology provided the critique that the consequences would be to destroy the environment.

They define the environment to mean “the meaningful arena for cognitive as well as political praxis” (1990, p.5) making it a new way of seeing, conceptualizing the relations between the society and nature. This involves locating pollution and defining harmony, balance and alternative technology within.

In Denmark environmentalism emerged from the alternative political culture of the 1960s and is therefore greatly influenced by the ideas of participatory democracy and the non-hierarchical organizational structure. The knowledge structure was initially tied to the student movements and the counter culture of the 1960s and had three dimensions; cosmological, technological and organizational.

The cosmological dimension relates to the ordering of reality and the understanding of how and why it is structured that way, hence, our actions and activities in this dimension are understood through a system of meanings and interpretations according to activity theory. These meanings and activities are influenced by the cultural, political, social and economic praxis and hence are a critique of the existing worldview and offer an alternative view.

In the second dimension, the problem is not only identified but the scope and alternative means of intervention of the problem are suggested as was manifested in the 1960s as the negative consequences of technology over the development of natural processes, e.g. nuclear arms.

The third dimension, the organizational, examines how knowledge is produced and distributed. It deals with social and societal relations and is rooted in the ethical values of how things should be carried out. At its focus are people, participation, and the decentralization and dissolution of barriers between the experts and the lay persons in the knowledge production.

Jamison *et al* argue, "...the construction of environmental knowledge interests is both a historical and an intellectual process..." (1990. P.6). It emerged from the social processes, however it is tied to the particular through the unique cultural and political practices. Even though the movements may have global scopes and outlooks, the agenda is, however, framed by the local settings. The formation and growth of environmentalism in Denmark occurred in four distinct phases as identified by Jamison *et al* (1990). These are 1962-1968; 1969-1973, 1974-1980 and 1980-1990. The next few sections look at the four distinct periods and later in the chapter are correlated to the framing context of the work of Jan Gehl and others at the Centre for Public Space Research.

#### **6.1.2.1. Phase 1: 1962-1968**

The first phase coincided with the formation of a new environmental consciousness that started within the scientific community then the public through debates. During this phase, public education was taking place on the negative consequences of science on nature in which the media played an important role through creating the awareness of the issues in relation to ethical values, and the state of the environmental degradation. This allowed for debates on these subjects. The issues were framed as problems and these turned into topics of social concern and conflicts.

#### **6.1.2.2. Phase 2: 1969-1973**

The second phase heralded the formation of environmentalism as a new kind of organization often by younger professionals from the fields of biology, environmental studies, and architects. They distanced themselves from the established conservative society and focused on dissemination of new knowledge interests as a group rather than as individuals. These occurred through media campaigns and demonstrations such as one against Vietnam War. The emphasis was on participation as a strategy to establish a following and the main contribution for the period was the clarification of the existence of alternative knowledge interests of the group to the established traditional society.

#### **6.1.2.3 Phase 3: 1974-1980**

The third phase represented the height of the environmental movement and is characterized by an increase in specialization where the work of the group had now been recognized socially and politically by the society and government. A strategic shift to a practical action-based group became a problem that split the loosely formed organization. The use of coercion and influence through the established channels of the political structures required accommodation and compromise and this led to division. It therefore reduced its strength of participation as a strategy that was dominant in the first two phases.

#### **6.1.2.4 Phase 4: 1980 to date**

This is characterized by the breakdown of the movement into a cluster of specialized organizations that are no longer well related to each other. They showed signs of the demise of the ideals with each sub organization developing their own tactics and group of activists.

#### **6.1.2.5. New Consciousness in Denmark**

This section looks at one event seen as a turning point for new consciousness within the Danish context. In March 1969, the natural history society in Denmark, NOA, was hosting a meeting at the University of Copenhagen and in attendance were several hundred people including prominent academics. A group of about 20 students entered the meeting, locked the doors and “cut of the ventilation system, took the stage, talked about air pollution, poured water from the nearby factory on the fish tank and on the sidewalls showed films about cancer and pollution...” as pointed out by Jameson *et al* (1990, p.66).

The ordeal lasted about an hour, after which they unlocked the doors and announced the intent to start an environmental movement, NOAH. The start was rather dramatic but it succeeded in transforming the Danish society from one that had neglected the effect of environmental pollution to one that is critical of all actions that affect the environment. The awakening happened through student activists.

The activities of the student revolt of 1969 at University of Copenhagen made two fundamental contributions to the Danish political culture as pointed out by Jameson *et al*: firstly it “...opened a public sphere where institutional political aspiration was selected...and secondly, the adoption of an alternative political culture...” (1990, p.71). Unlike many student movements elsewhere in the world during this period, the Danish one was anarchistic in organizational principles yet rooted in the local contextual issues such as family politics and local democracy. This makes the movement locally grown and contextual in response but with a global outlook.



Their manifestation coincided with an increase in a number of cultural activities through the creation of places for music, dance drama, magazines that supported alternative sub-culture that continues to this day as witnessed in Christiania. The alternative culture used the organizational knowledge interest as a political strategy in the form of public information and communication via articles, meetings, debates and exhibitions and its success very much depended on support from friendly media.

The next section introduces the Centre for Public Space Research in Copenhagen, its founder and the methodologies.

## **6.2 Centre for Public Space Research at Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen**

The School was founded in 1754 as “The Royal Danish Painting, Sculpture and Building Academy” with the aims of providing interdisciplinary education to artists and craftsmen. In 1960s, it took the present form as The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts and now has nine departments for education and research in the fields of architectural design, restoration, landscape planning, industrial, graphic and furniture designs. The interdisciplinary nature has been kept intact and is perhaps one of the strengths of the academy.

The work of examining pedestrian schemes in Copenhagen was introduced in 1962 according to Gehl (2002). Jan Gehl (b1936-) however began studying the uses of public spaces in 1966 after receiving a five year grant from Royal Danish Academy of Fine Art. This culminated in his seminal work “*Life Between Buildings*”, first published in Danish in 1971, and then translated into other languages including the English edition in 1987. It summarizes the methodology developed by Gehl and his colleagues where urban design is an iterative process.

The methodology involves measuring, then reflection on the effects and gradually the making of incremental improvements to transform the quality of the urban environment

and physical form. It is very much rooted in the scientific methodology of observation and measurements of different activities in public spaces, and making causal inferences to the quality of the spaces. However, it is not a manual on how to design a public space, but rather made arguments for observed factors that influenced the uses of public spaces, forms of public life and the spatial qualities or definitions of those spaces as starting point for reflections, according to the commentary by Di Giovanni (2007)

The work is a parallel development of the new consciousness that questioned the conventional planning and functional urbanisms underpinned on the Athens Charter that was developing, as previously mentioned in the chapter on Pittsburgh. It follows the development of interest in the morphological study and analysis of the city and architectural typology and is similar to the work of Kevin Lynch in Boston in USA.

Lynch (1962) had observed that the users structured their perception of city spaces around five elements that recurred and therefore he reasoned that if designers understood how users perceived them, then they would be able to create a more imaginable and psychologically good city.

Jan Gehl joined the Academy as a lecturer in 1971 after the publication of the book and continued research work culminating in the establishment of the Centre for Public Space Research in 1998, which he directed. The current director of the centre is Jonna Majgaard Krarup. In 2001, Jan Gehl opened a consultancy firm Jan Gehl Architects to practise what he had been advocating.

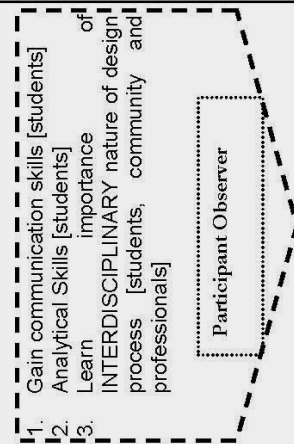
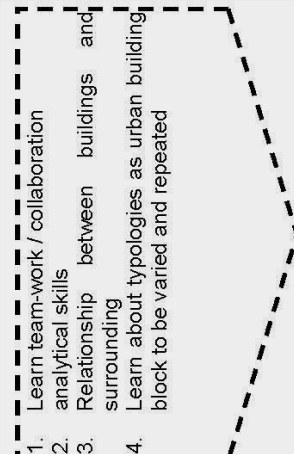
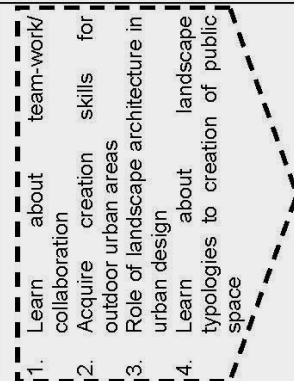
The CPSR is co-funded by Realdania Foundation established in 2000 with the objectives of supporting projects that improve the built environment. The goal is the improvement of the quality of life through better-built environment. This continues in the positivist themes that Denmark as a whole is underpinned on, the welfare state, as previously pointed out by Stecher-Hansen (1999).

### 6.2.1. Design Process

The analysis reveals that the design process occurred in three key phases; formulating vision and programme of activities [LIFE]; understanding of the public space networks [SPACE] and finally the place-making- building project [BUILDING] (Gehl, 2004). They focused on the human dimension through the activities that relate to life. In terms of pedagogy, the process provided opportunities for the students to enhance skills in teamwork, analysis and communications. These are summarized in **table 6.1** and **figure 6.1** and followed by a detailed description.

The first diagram (**Table 6.1**) is built from the descriptions given in several publications by Gehl (1987, 2004), Gehl and Gemzoe (2003) and De Giovanni (2007). This section is used to identify the skills needed by the urban designer, as suggested by Kumar, (2009) and identifies different phases and what occurs within them. In addition, it indicates the products expected and who the beneficiaries are. The literature review reveals that the predominant theoretical underpinnings are the social-usage and visual artistic traditions.

The diagram, (**figure 6.1**) is the author's model of a reflective urban design model and has been developed from the materials provided and the literature review on learning methods. The key text used to draw the diagram is Schön (1983) "*reflective practitioner*". The diagram reveals emphasis on an open-ended design process that has feedback loops embedded within it at every stage. The process is a linear iterative loop, however, the process at the CPSR does not have reflection embedded within it.

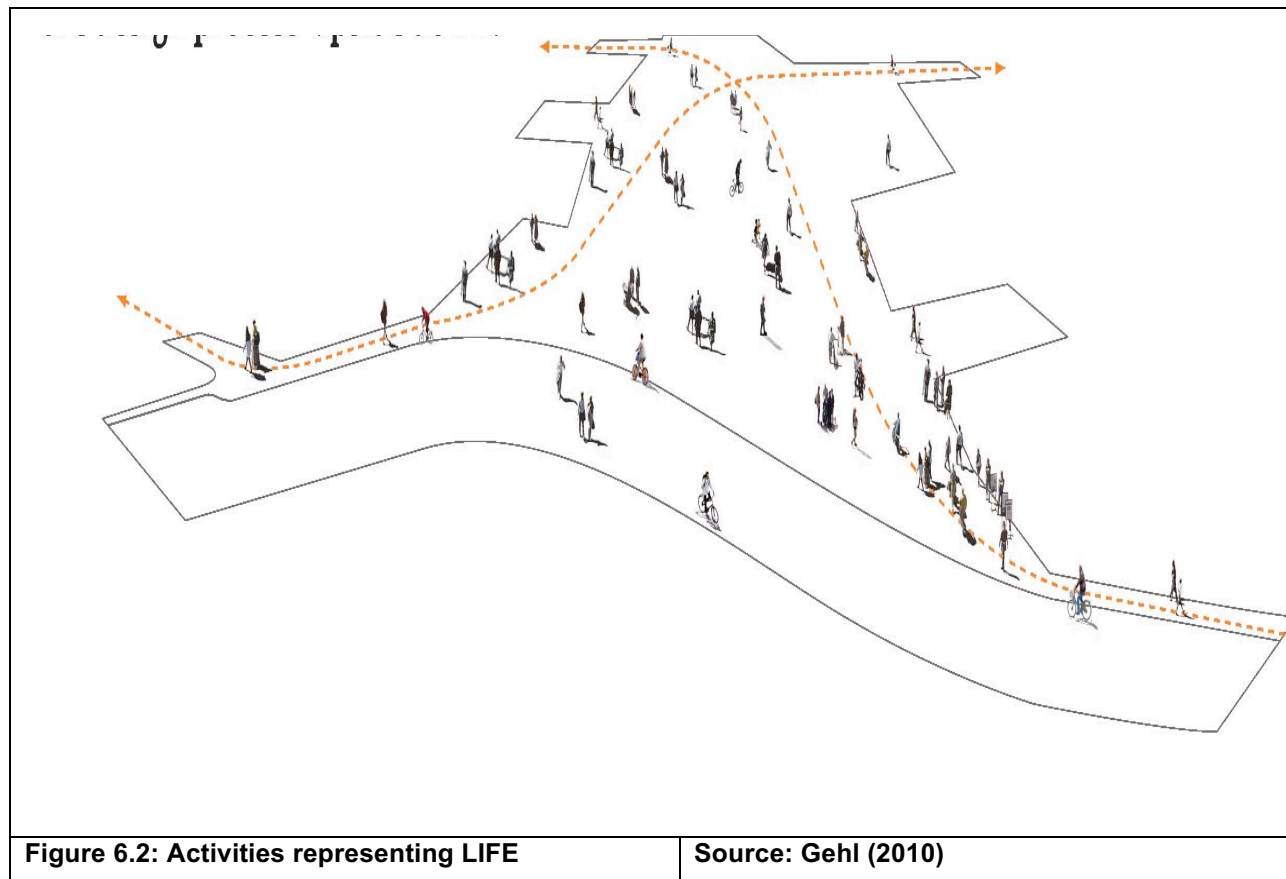
PHASE	FORMULATING VISION PHASE	PUBLIC SPACE NETWORK PHASE	PLACE-MAKING & BUILDING PROJECT PHASE
	<p>This phase mines and analyses issue related to LIFE in the city through the:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Activities (necessary, optional and social)</li> <li>2. Attractions (magnets)</li> <li>3. Economic data</li> <li>4. Social Data</li> <li>5. Physical morphology</li> </ol>	<p>Is focused on the SPACE where LIFE occurs</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sets objectives (support for vision)</li> <li>2. Looks at bench marks [use of typologies]</li> <li>3. Finds relationships [building framework, scale, form and climatic factors]</li> <li>4. Makes connections [supporting network]</li> </ol>	<p>Is focused on the BUILDING(S)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Explores typologies [how they can be applied appropriately]</li> <li>2. 3D contents and representation</li> <li>3. The area of focus looks at the possible building uses and their interaction with public realm.</li> </ol>
<b>Skills acquired</b>			
<b>Products</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Behavioural Maps [2 D]</li> <li>2. Demographic data, diagrams</li> <li>3. Photographic records</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Strategic Vision</li> <li>2. Creation of brief or programme for interventions</li> <li>3. Typologies [building and urban]</li> <li>4. Policy tools/ mapping tools</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Typologies [building and landscape]</li> <li>2. Detailed design [architecture, infrastructure and landscaping]</li> <li>3. Reports</li> <li>4. Publications [journal papers, conference outputs, exhibitions]</li> </ol>
<b>Theoretical Framework</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Social-Usage Tradition</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Visual-Artistic</li> <li>2. Social-Usage Tradition</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Visual-Artistic Tradition</li> <li>2. Place-Making Tradition</li> </ol>
<b>Beneficiaries</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Students</li> <li>2.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Students</li> <li>2. Community leaders</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Students</li> <li>2. Community</li> <li>3. Practitioners</li> </ol>
<b>Table 6.1: Summary of CPSR at Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts and School of Architecture</b> <b>Source: Author (2011)</b>			

### 6.2.1.1. Formulating Vision Phase

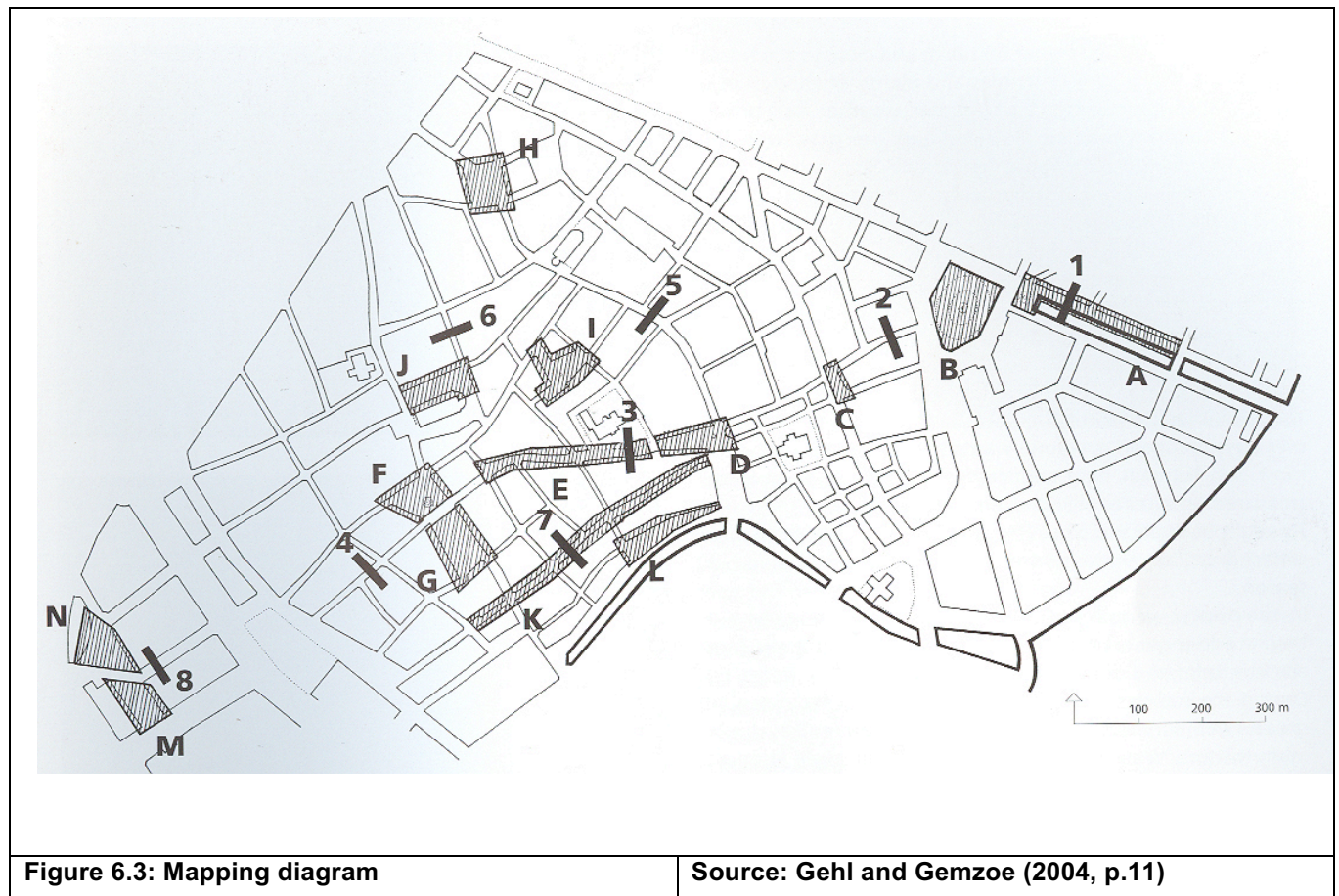
The first phase used as the stage for the students to gain an understanding of the area under study. The focus is on life lived within the space and seen through the three activities; the necessary, optional and social. The activities expected are based on the type of lifestyle for the area, in addition, the things that act as magnets for the people are identified. They include local shops, cafés, parks, sitting areas etc. The argument that Gehl and his team posit is that:

“...the quality of a city is enhanced when planning and design solutions are based on the close relationship between people’s use of public space and the physical characteristics of the space...” (Gehl, 2010, p.4).

The image below (**figure 6.2**) is a representation of the analysis during the stage.



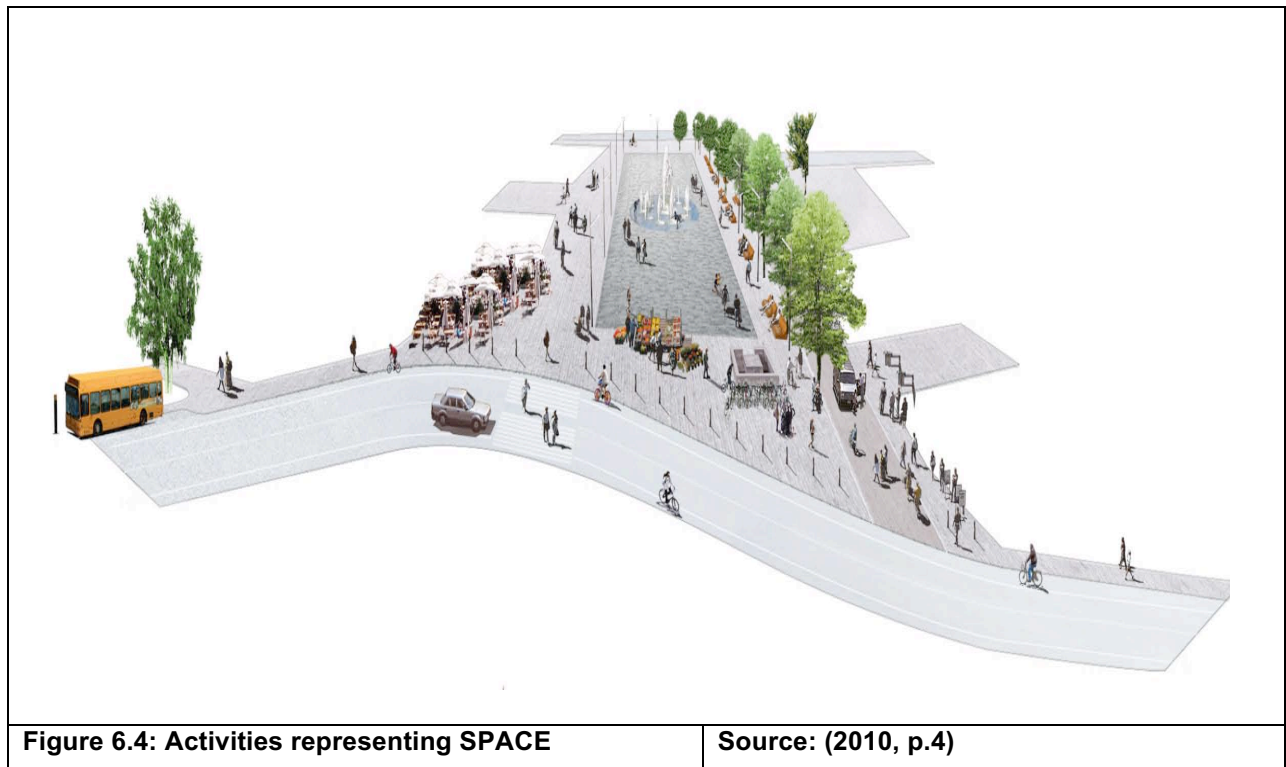
They use high tech digital animation to convey the idea, with the characters moving through the space and include what seems like all sectors of society, the old, the children, those in bicycles, others sitting etc. It is interesting that there is no representation of vehicular mode of transport, which was seen as negatively affecting the environment.



The image above (**figure 6.3**) illustrates the map of Copenhagen and the locations where the studies were carried out. The numbers 1-8 are pedestrian count gates, while the letters represent spaces where the activities were observed. The selection of gates match the key entry points to the city centre while the gates are located along the busiest shopping areas.

#### 6.2.1.2. Public Space Networks Phase

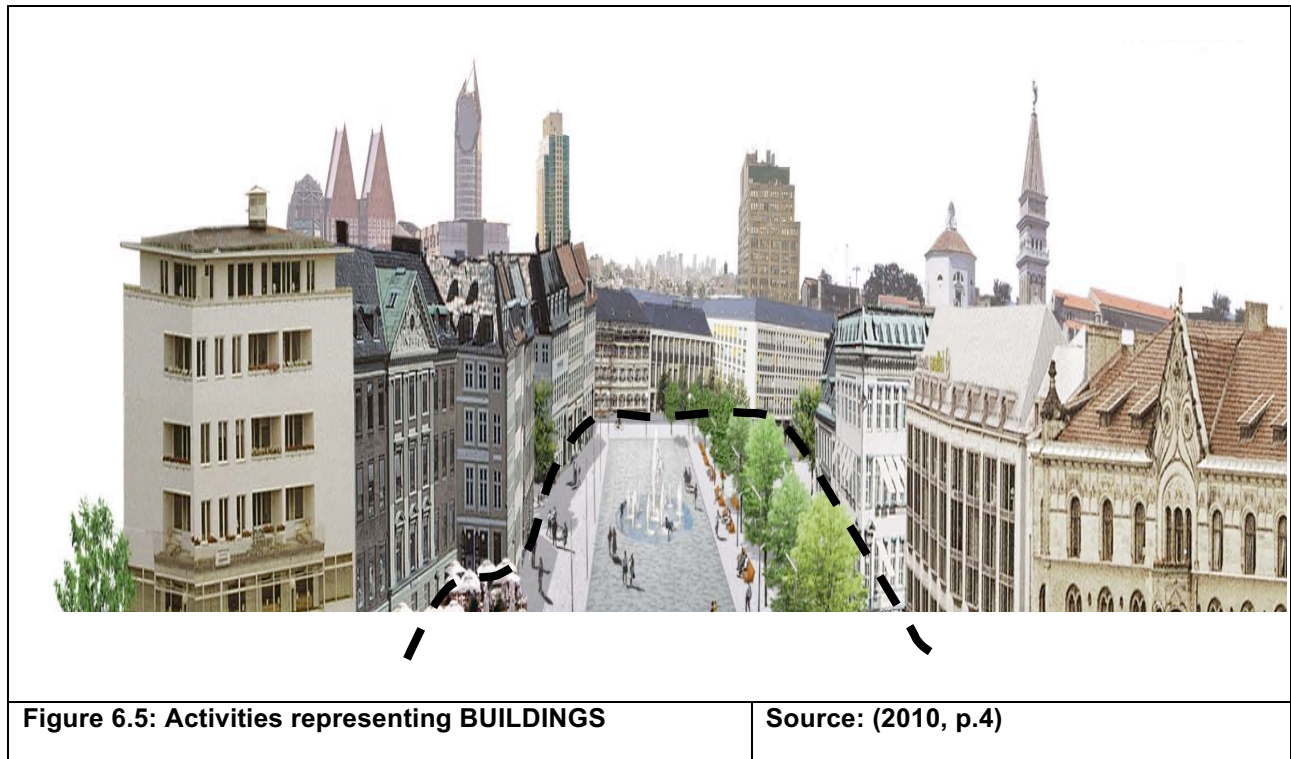
The phase is the where design itself begins through the development of the network of spaces within the area that would support the life expected or desired there carried out through investigating the appropriate scale of the spaces, the form of buildings that frame them, and most importantly, bearing in mind the climatic factors. The illustration below (**figure 6.4**) is a representation of those attributes that includes the addition of magnetic elements such as pool, sitting areas, avenues of trees. The vehicular movement is kept to the edge, as they are equally essential to life in the city however, the space depicted is intended to support different sizes and modes of transportation. Urban typologies taken from other spaces worldwide deemed successful are used as precedents to aid the visualization. They are based on a study previously carried out by Gehl and Gemzoe “*New City Spaces*” (2003). The representation would include unifying elements like types of paving, wall treatments, lighting themes etc.





### 6.2.1.3. Space Making and Building Project Phase

This is the final phase where the buildings are placed within the space in a way that supports the vision of life within it and the investigations take into account the height of buildings, massing and scale. In addition, the building uses that would support the activities especially on the ground and first floors are interrogated. The threshold between the building and the public realm is thus important (**figures 6.5 & 6.6**).



**Figure 6.5: Activities representing BUILDINGS**

**Source: (2010, p.4)**

The stylistic issues are not critical, however the need to have people present for longer periods is suggested in several cases. These include schedules that would allow late opening of shops, the presence of students within the city centre area and balconies on at least first floor areas. These correspond to research that indicated that levels of contacts are enhanced by the perimeter conditions as well as those of the immediate floor above.





### 6.3. Strategies, tactic, methods and Influences

The work of the centre during Jan Gehl's tenure was underpinned on the basis that design undertaken with the human dimension in mind would produce durable high quality solutions since they are framed by the street that provides the space for various activities enhanced by the quality of the spaces (Gehl, 1971). The street typically has pedestrians on the sidewalks, children playing near the front doors and in yards, people sitting in benches on the street, groups engaged in conversation, others just sitting and watching the comedians on the street.

From a positivist viewpoint, the activities are influenced by several mitigating conditions that either enhance or suppress them. Gehl points to the existence of:

“...three kinds of outdoor activities that have different demands on the physical environment; the necessary activities, the optional activities and the social activities...” (1987, p.11).

The necessary activities are those that are essential for the livelihood and sustenance of the residents of a place, such as going to work, to school, shopping, thus there is little choice on opting out of them. They take place all year round regardless of the exterior conditions such as weather, or crime on the street.

Optional activities on the other hand are those that would only take place when the exterior conditions are favourable such as the weather, and depend on the time available to the user of the space. These include activities such as opting to linger around on the streets on the way home, going out for a leisurely walk (roaming), sitting in the park and reading a book.

The last categories, the social activities, are those that develop from others already in the place. They include the greetings and conversations that go beyond the *hello there* and are very much a resultant from the first two kinds of activities. They are spontaneous, however, their character varies with context and most activities and

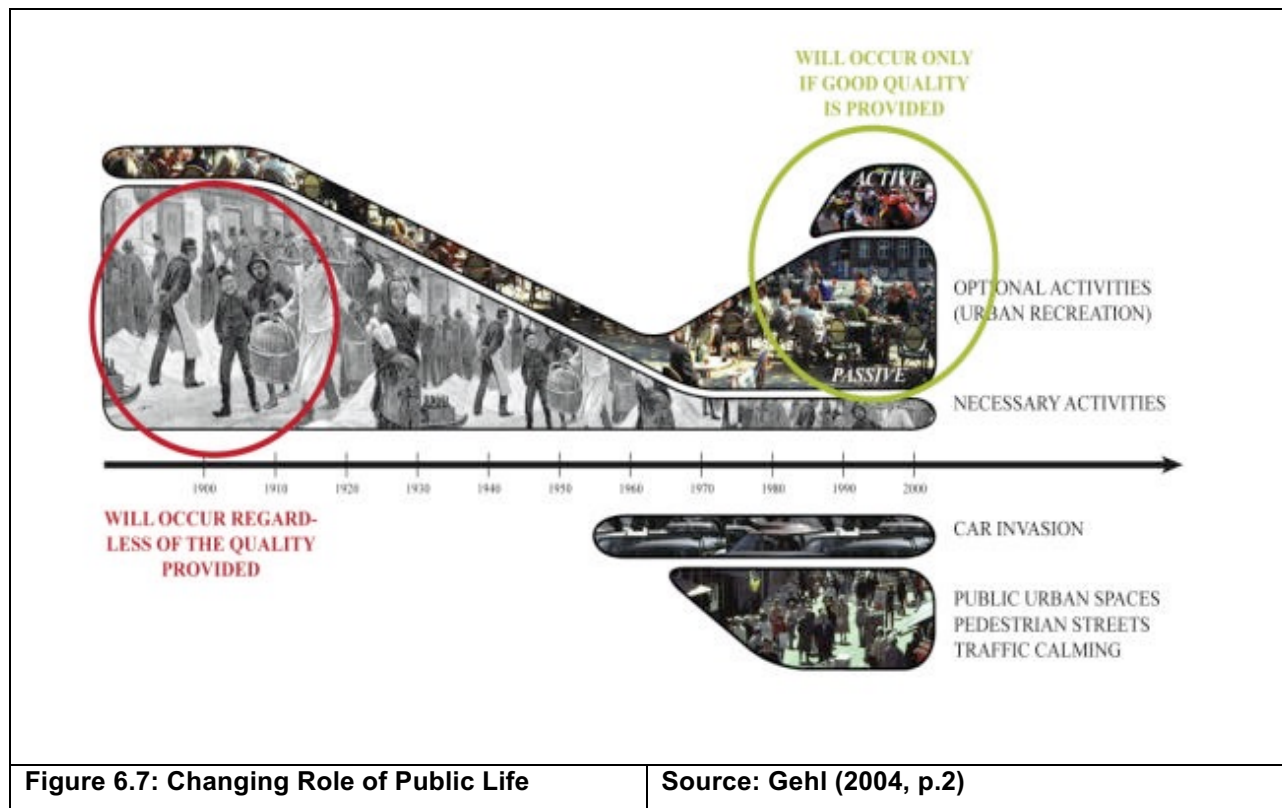
discussions occur in areas of common interests such as residential streets, places of work or school. According to Gehl "...people will talk to each other for no other reason other than they know each other..." (1987, p.15).

The public realm of the cities on the other hand is full of strangers thus making contacts very passive. Therefore, the very act of seeing and meeting is important in architecture, as the design of the built environment will influence by either enhancing creative ways of making contact or discouraging. Gehl argues that the:

"...lives between buildings encompass beyond the pedestrian traffic but includes the intertwined spectrum of activities and rituals that make the public realm important..." (1987, p.16).

The spectrum includes social, economic, cultural, political, and educational activities among others and both local residents and visitors are stakeholders who contribute greatly to its successes.

The level of intensity of social activities varies from low to high with the former corresponding to "see and hear" passive contacts typical of life in the public realm while the latter corresponds to very close friends and family. The image below (**figure 6.7**) illustrates Gehl's view of the changes that have occurred in the public realm over the years in Copenhagen. It reveals a decrease in the public realm and uses of those spaces that need addressing. Emphasis has been placed on the importance of supporting the optional activities that he deems to be crucial in urban life (see Wirth, 1938).



The approach by Gehl has a history in the works of the revolutionary-surrealist movements identified with the Situationist International (SI) and the Lettrist of 1950s and 1960s that was published in the journal COBRA (Copenhagen-Brussels-Amsterdam). The SI, was formed in "...July 1957 by eight delegates in a drunken state..." as pointed out by Sadler (1998, p.4). McDonough posits that the group:

"...included writers, painters, and architects from England, France, Algeria, Denmark, Holland, Italy and Germany who developed a revolutionary idea of the *dérive* or playful walk about to discover the lost intimations of real life lost in the modernist society..." (1999, p.7).

Debord defined the *dérive* as "...a form of spatial and conceptual investigation of the city through roaming..." according to Costa and Andreotti (1996, p.20). It was a method used to examine the effect of the urban environment on the individual's state of mind, hence linked to happiness. Other names are psychogeography, which Coverley (2006)

suggests is the interaction between psychology and geography and the emotional and behavioural response of the urban environment.

Fontana-Giusti argues that in the process of urban strolling, the *dérive*, the quality of the spaces unravel gradually through the experiences read within the larger urban landscape (2007). These experiences are rhythmic in that the regular movement or patterns of movements or change and everyday life in the city centres is composed of the unhindered *to-ings* and *fro-ings* of the people feeling their way through the day as they undertake various activities or gratifications that impact the quality of their lives. Some of the activities are repetitive, while others are onetime events, but all inform part of the daily life in the city centre, giving meaning to life. The everyday life is bounded by the space and time with the latter viewed in two strands, as “clock time and as lived time” as pointed out by Lefebvre, (2004; p.x).

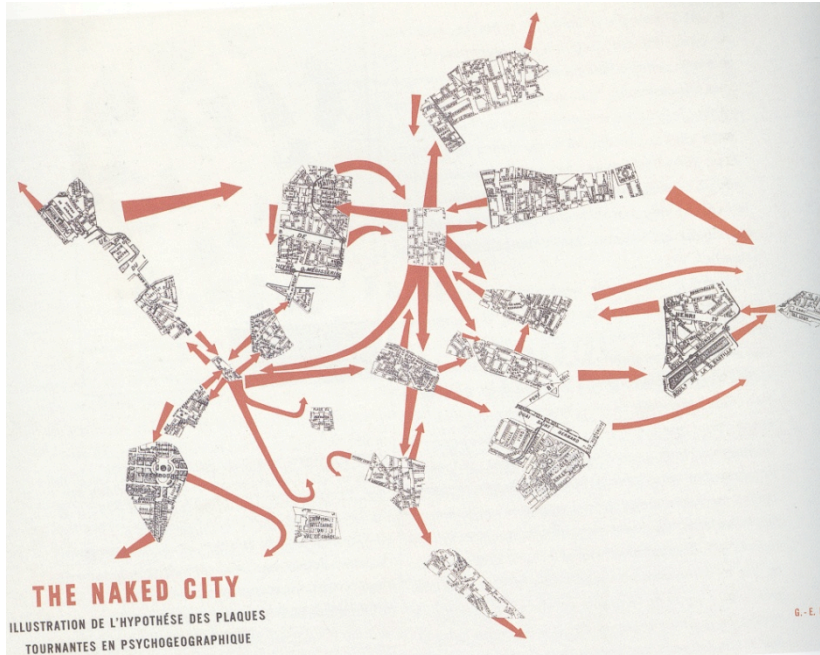
The quality of the experience comes from the notions of change and repetition, identity and difference, duality, contrasts and continuity; the opposites that form the dialectics of division, which Bachelard saw as a “duality of yes and no whose geometry is binding in the metaphorical domain” (1964; p211).

In Copenhagen the Danish painter Asger Jorn was among the founders of SI had collaborated and produced a folding map of Paris in 1956 and 1957 (Newman and Bird, 1999, p.31). The image (**figure 6.8**) below of the “Naked City” of Paris is interesting in that it represented the totality of the city of Paris in fragments related to the situationist experience of the everyday life.

In the map, there are areas that seem fixed and linked by the red arrows representing the paths for the *dérive*. Jan Gehl was a university student in the 1950s graduating in 1960. He must have been aware of the work of Jorn, though makes little reference to them. However an interview with Makovsky of Metropolitan Mag reveals that he was:

“...married to a psychologist Ingrid Mundt, and they had many discussions about why the human side of architecture was not more carefully looked after by the architects, landscape architects, and planners...” (2002).

The meetings would have discussed the methodologies of *dérive* which can be seen from illustrations of his work (**figure 6.9**).



**Figure 6.8: Dérive Map of Paris by Jorn and Dubord**

**Source: Costa and Andreotti (1996, p.56).**

Looking at  
the city



Public Space  
Typology



**Figure 6.9: Design Process:**

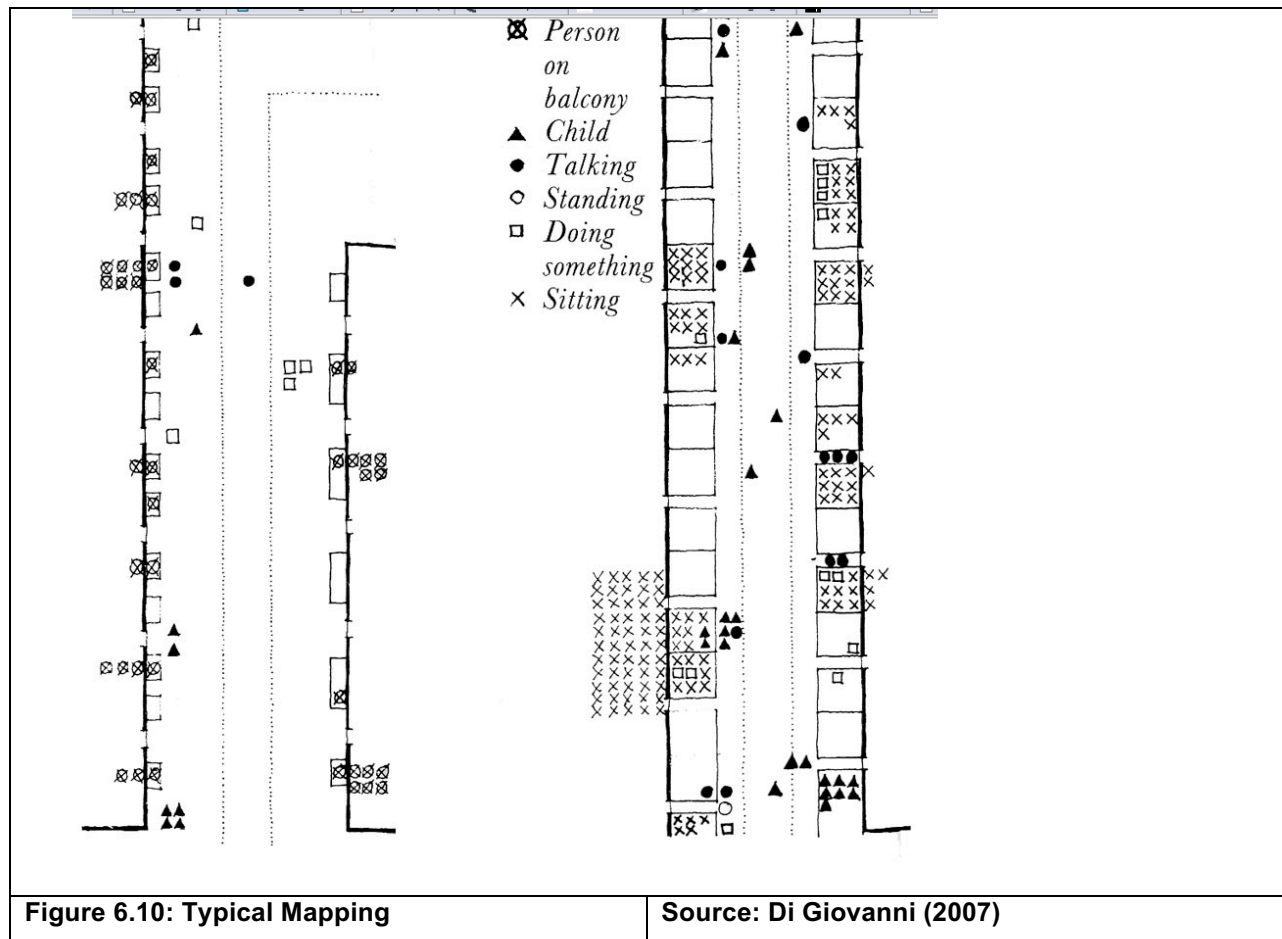
**Source: Gehl Architects (2010).**

The methodology adopted by at CPSR was driven by the emergence of ecologically motivated citizen initiatives that later become a political force according to Webler and Renn (1995). The methods of political articulation that used large demonstrations, boycotts and the blocking of environmentally controversial facilities had shaken European countries including Denmark. It is not surprising that the focus of the work at the centre was on the environmental conditions of the public realm of the streets and squares used daily by pedestrians.

The literature review reveals that the methodology adopted consists of observational, behavioural mappings of most public spaces. It relied on two methods for the analysis of the uses and morphology of public spaces. The first method was a descriptive survey of the physical conditions that provided the basic support ingredients that support pedestrian activities. The second method was a survey of the pedestrian activities that occurred in the public spaces in the city centres.

### **6.3.1. First Method: Mapping Exercises**

The first method relied on textual and image taxonomies of maps and written data of the streets under study mapping of various land-uses, the locations of steps, seats, short walls, and lamp post, etc., are marked out. The elements that affected how the spaces are used, where people stood and sat were mapped. In addition the configuration of the streets, height of buildings, the visibility, and nodes, are mapped and drawn, The maps were keyed with information on the sizes of areas available for the pedestrians and public life and where they were situated, the conditions offered for walking and staying and finally the traffic conditions (**figure 6.10**). The image by Di Giovanni is a representation of the typical mapping plan as used by Gehl at CPSR.



### 6.3.2. Second Method: Traffic and Pedestrian counts

The second method correlated the intensity of both the pedestrian and vehicular movements through the site to the level of activities within. It examined the pedestrian traffic volumes, and their locations; the number of people stationary, in groups or singles and what they did within the spaces. The pedestrians were counted in the selected public spaces for 10 minutes every hour between 10:00am and midnight. The figures were then extrapolated to get hourly rates. The amount of people staying was counted every second throughout the study. The surveys were carried during the various varying seasons and weather conditions during the week and weekend both at day and night. Gehl's methodology has weakness in that it does not unravel reasons why people are attracted to the city by not asking the users, and is very labour intensive.



## **6.4. Examined Case of the CPSR Projects**

As pointed out earlier at the beginning of this chapter, the researcher encountered difficulty in obtaining records of student's projects from CPSR due to circumstances that occurred in 2007 when Jan Gehl left the centre to concentrate on his practice. However, the methodology is similar to what he uses at his practice as well as when teaching abroad. A review of several of the projects (Adelaide, 2002; London, 2004; and Copenhagen 2007) revealed that the methodology has been standardized as a toolkit and therefore only one case study has been examined as it is representative of the rest.

### **6.4.1. Public Spaces and Public Life: City of Adelaide, 2002**

Gehl Architects carried out the study of the public spaces and public life in Adelaide in conjunction with students from the University of Adelaide to highlight the fact that changes can happen over a longer time frame with examples taken from Copenhagen. The study was of the central area of the city that contained most of the public and commercial activities. Its objectives were to identify problems and potentials within the city and to make strategic recommendations for the improvement of the quality of spaces.

It started by giving the physical descriptions of the physical environment that were provided for the pedestrians who are the focus of all Jan Gehl's studies. During the study, the focus is less on building, but more on people and what they do within the spaces through pedestrian counts, surveys of stationary activities and behavioural mappings. It is not clear from the study what the participation by the users was besides the researchers acting as participant observers. The power of decisions here still lies with the expert who identifies the problem and proposes a solution.

#### **6.4.1.1. Contextual Issues**

The content analysis of the report reveals that there was more emphasis on addressing the environmental contexts than other forces by a large margin (**figure 6.11**). This is related to the political, social and economic history of Denmark discussed previously

(section 6.1.1). This responded to the environmental consciousness that was heightened during the 1960s by the radical student groups which they linked to the urban problems and political posturing by the parties.

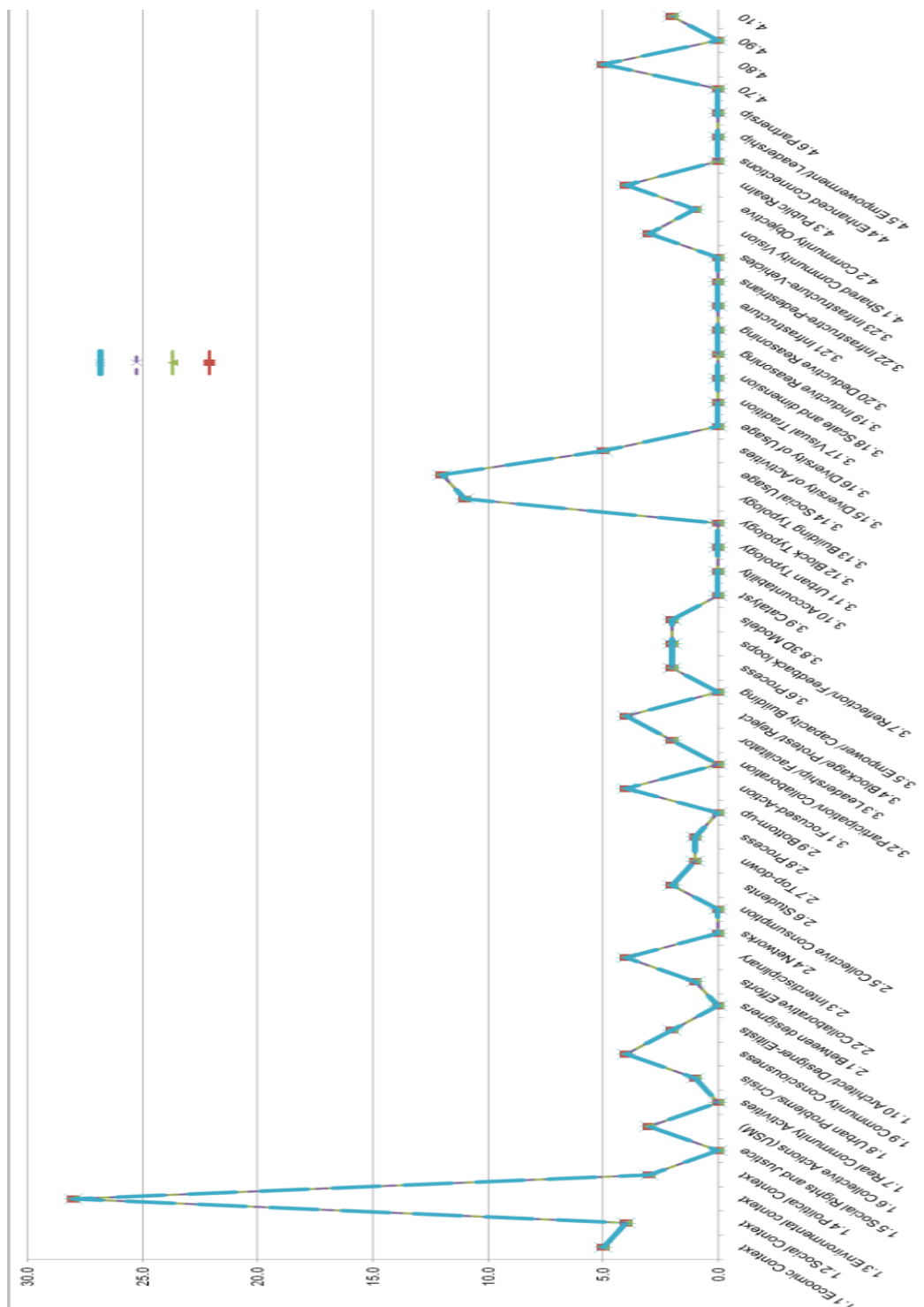


Figure 6.11: Content Analysis: Public Spaces and Public Life: Adelaide 2002

Source: Onyango (2011)

#### **6.4.1.2. Interrelationship Issues**

The project was carried out by an interdisciplinary team of students at the University of Adelaide, the staff from the City Council and professionals from Gehl Architects in Copenhagen, however the process itself was managed top-down with the decision made by the experts without involvement of the community.

#### **6.4.1.3. Tactics and Strategies**

The content analysis reveals that the strategies or tactics category had the highest scores of all the other categories as well as the other laboratory projects highlighting great emphasis on building typology and uses of the spaces through activity mapping. This was driven by the positivist approach taken by Gehl that perhaps comes from his contact with his psychologist wife. This would not be surprising as developments in psychology had carried out studies that linked behaviour with environmental causal forces; Mead, (1934) and Kelly, (1955); quoted in Canter, (1977, p.2).

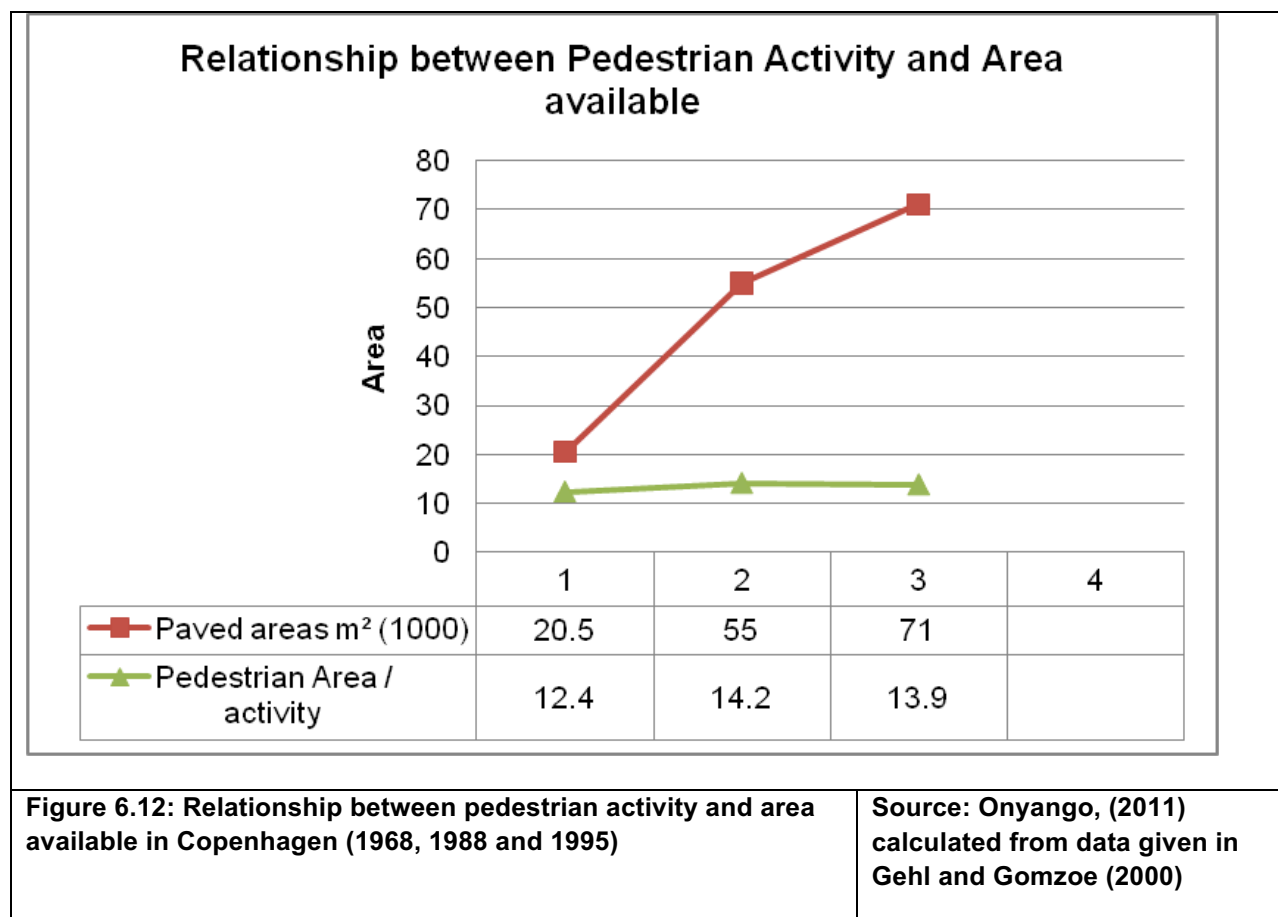
Canter's work (1977) is similar to Gehl as it uses the methodology that deals with the cognition of places, followed by the understanding of the structures of the systems, i.e. one that enables the capturing of the experiences. In order to interrogate the second, recording and measurements have to be carried out. He suggests a variety of methods that include recording of the everyday activities through photography, maps, textual taxonomies, caricatures, etc

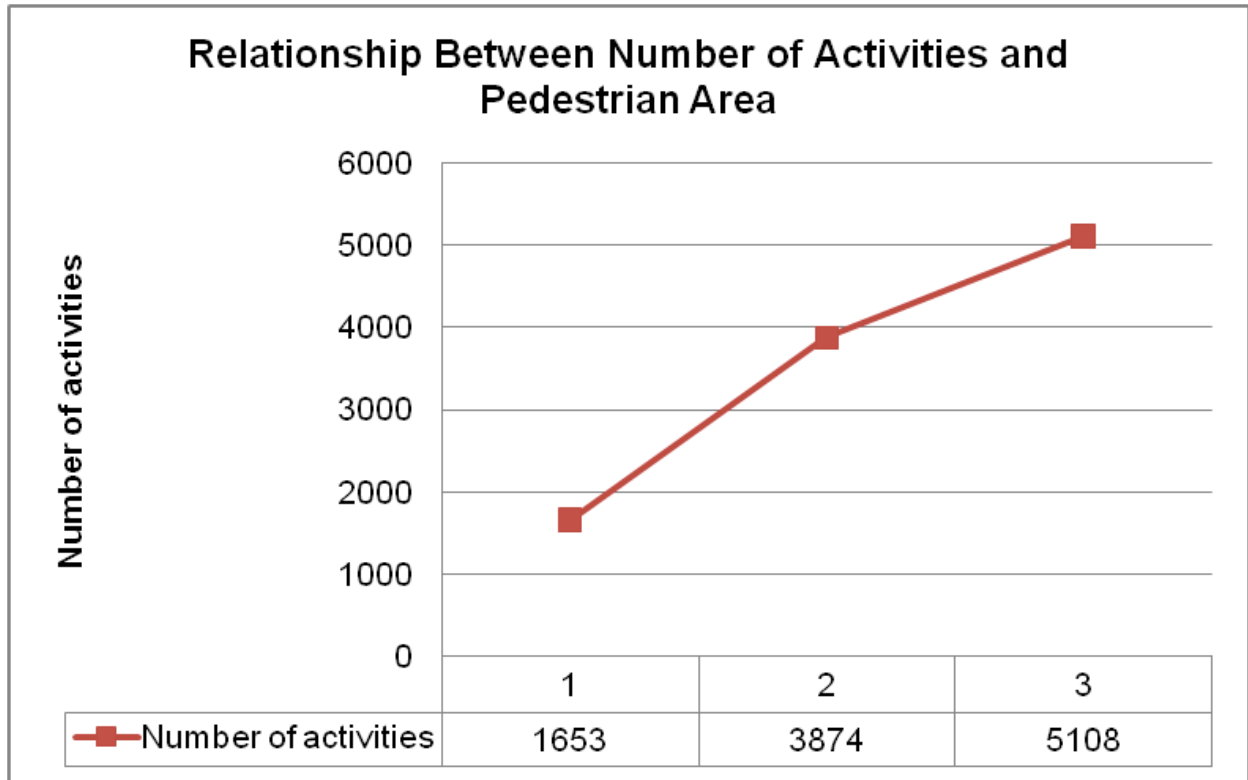
#### **6.4.1.4. Consequences**

The consequences of the project were recommendations that focused on the physical improvements to the urban fabric in direct contact with pedestrians. These included reduction in through vehicular traffic; connections between the city and the river; pedestrian networks; sidewalk improvements; safety in the street through lighting and an increase of diversity of activity over longer periods. They do not specify the design intent and are left to the client body to implement. Therefore it would be difficult to

ascertain how successful this would be other than to rely on data from Copenhagen where Gehl has been very actively involved.

The images below (**figures 6.12 and 6.13**) are from the study of the impact of the pedestrianization of the streets in Copenhagen with the numbers 1, 2 and 3 corresponding to the years 1968, 1988 and 1995 respectively. The first image reveals that even though the area available to pedestrians has increased three fold over the period, the area used by the pedestrian per activity has remained constant. It suggests that the design of a successful city using the Copenhagen model would need an average area of 13.5 m<sup>2</sup>. The second image reveals a positive correlation between the pedestrian areas and the number of activities observed. If one takes the number of activities as the measure of quality of the place, then the study suggests that the consequences of implementing the recommendation would result in a better environment.





**Figure 6.12: Relationship between number of activities activity and pedestrian area available in Copenhagen (1968, 1988 and 1995)**

**Source: Onyango, (2011) calculated from data given in Gehl and Gomzoe (2000)**

## 6.5. Summary

This section will summarize the CPSR model at Copenhagen by type of organization and the methodologies adapted with their roots to contexts based on the material provided from the publications, and the interview with the current director of the centre.

The table below (**Table 6.2**) is a summary of the activities, the technique used to carry the activity and the influence or cause of the choice of the method.

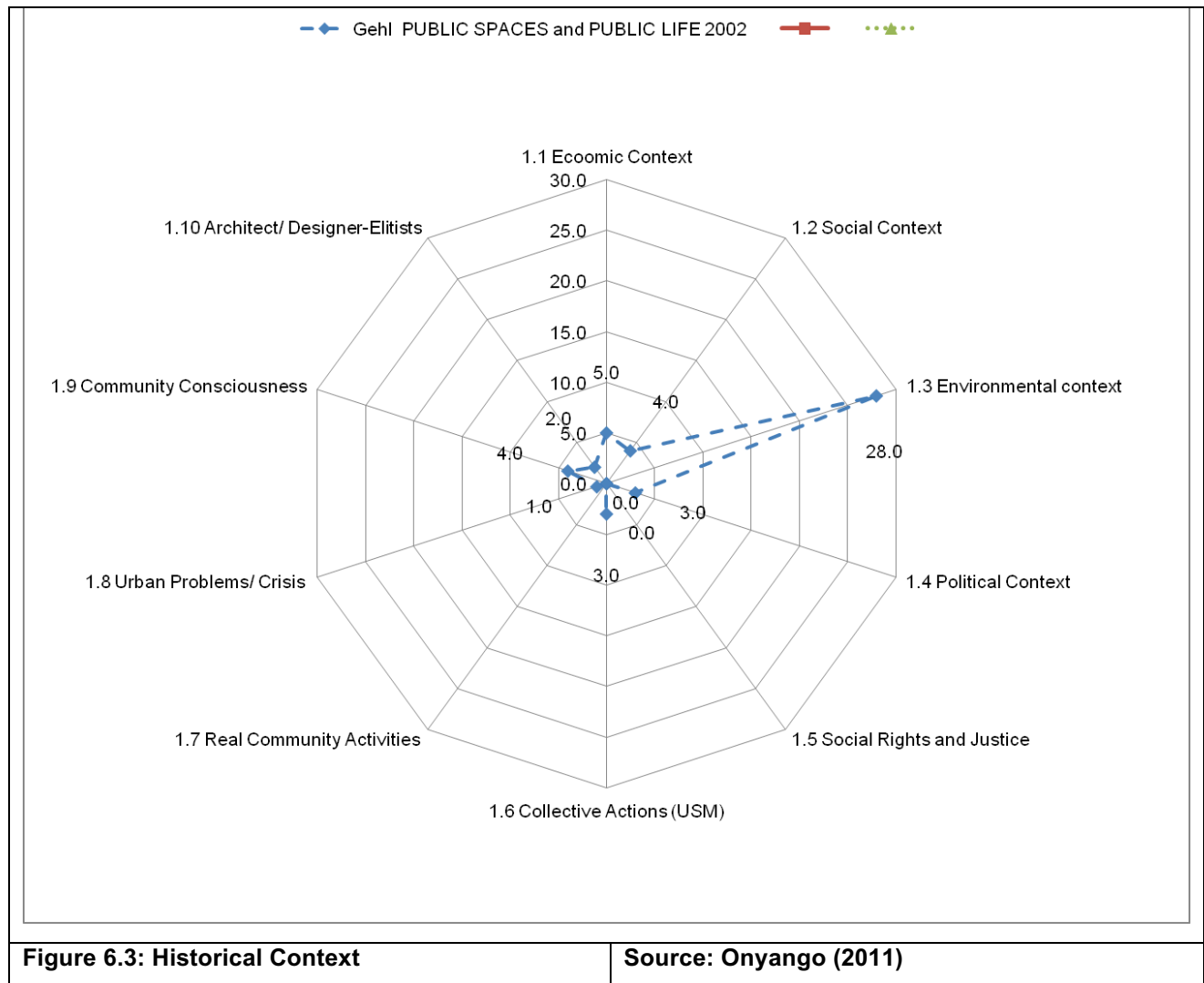
Phase	Methods	Influence/ cause
Formulating Vision and Programming of Activities	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Awareness methods</li> <li>2. Indirect methods</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Rationalist approach: (Jorn and Situationists, Lefebvre- Rights to the city)</li> </ol>
Public Space Framework	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Brainstorming among team members</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Collaborative context</li> </ol>
Place-Making and Building Project	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Visual artistic/ social usage</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1.</li> </ol>
<b>Table 6.2: Summary of Phase, methods and influences</b>		<b>Source: Onyango (2011)</b>

The work of the centre is characterized by its interdisciplinary approach within the team members and underpinned on personal observation of the activities within it as a measure of quality of the space. There is very little if any public participation, which is not surprising given that the level of engagement has fallen over the years according to Jensen (1995).

The analysis also revealed that the process occurs in three key phases as illustrated (**table 6.1**). The theoretical leanings are the Social-Usage and Visual Artistic traditions. Three main methods are used that could have arisen out of the circumstances in the political history of the place, the social and environmental histories and the academic

traditions of the time. These are the awareness method, the indirect method, and brainstorming methods.

A content analysis of the historical contextual force within the report reveals the condition of the built environment as the most important driver to the formation of the centre (**table 6.3**). The level of emphasis is more than five times that of the nearest important issues, economic context and community consciousness. However the literature review points to the developments of environmental consciousness as driven by political and economic parameters.



In addition, examinations of the importance of interrelationships in the process reveal an emphasis on interdisciplinary procedures between the participants (**table 6.4**). The students are equally important to the process as they provide cheap labour in addition to learning the techniques developed by Gehl over the years. However the most revealing drawback is the top-down nature of the process, which is contrary to the historical context that framed it.



—●— Gehl PUBLIC SPACES and PUBLIC LIFE 2002  
2.1 Between designers

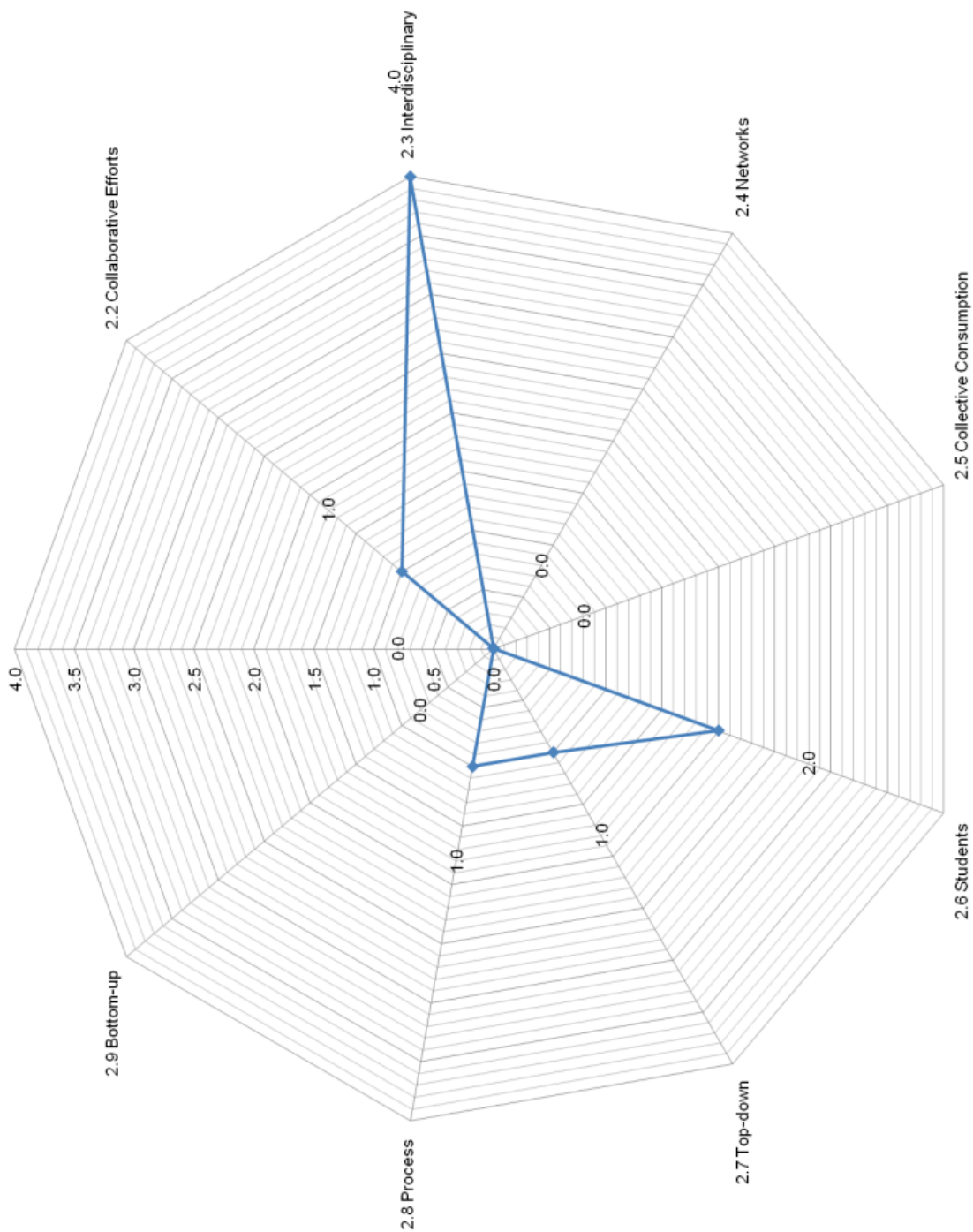


Table 6.4: Interrelationships

Source: Onyango (2011)

The strategies and tactics adopted reveal a focus on the social usage between the buildings and the building typology that frame it (**table 6.5**). The buildings are important to the process, however unlike in the conventional design process, they are designed around the activities rather than the other way round. In addition the analysis reveals that the reflection process is important to the methodology. However, unlike the UL at CUM where it occurs during the design process, at CPRS, the reflection involves measuring the changes that occurred due to transformation in the built environment over time. In Copenhagen, the average period was five years (**figures 6.11, & 6.12**)

The next chapter will summarize the outcome of the dissertation by comparing the cases and looking at the methods and techniques adopted.



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## **7. CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

- 7.1. Historical Comparison between the cases
- 7.2. Comparison between the methods and techniques
- 7.3. Does Participatory process matter to urban design education and practice in built environment?
- 7.4. The impacts of the Urban Laboratory versus traditional approaches
- 7.5. Limitations of the study
- 7.6. Policy implications
- 7.7. Expanding knowledge in Urban Laboratory process?
- 7.8. Future Research
- 7.9. Conclusions

### **Chapter 7 References**

The research was guided by a central hypothesis that if the model of urban laboratory was used in the education and practice of architecture, then the future designers are likely to be rooted in the ethical values of building or serving the nation through sound built environment. The dissertation started with a key question; how and why did urban laboratories come about, addressed through looking at several secondary questions that emanated from it. These include to what extent did the historical context contribute to the formation and methodological practices of the Urban Design Laboratory at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh? How do the methodologies of the urban design laboratory model at CMU in Pittsburgh compare with others in the European continent (i.e. in Barcelona and Copenhagen)? What constitutes urban laboratories and how can an 'ideal model' of urban design laboratory be replicated elsewhere in the world?

The research was focused on how the urban laboratories worked, the historical context surrounding the constitution of urban design laboratories, their supporting structure, how the urban laboratory model bridged the gap of curriculum

requirement and community service at the same time and finally how the model contributed if at all to the best practice in urban design and place creation.

This chapter explores the historical contexts that framed the founding of the urban laboratories at Pittsburgh and Barcelona. It examined the impacts of the transformations in the social and economic conditions and the political realignments on the collective action and participation. The chapter also looked at the tactics used by the communities and professionals to respond to the changing landscape conditions mentioned above.

The literature review linked the deteriorations of the physical environment to the rise of new approaches to urban developments. The CIAM dealt with urban problems caused by socio-economic changes because of industrializations among others. In addition, worldwide, there were changes to the methods of design due to perception that the corrupt and tired older hegemony of the *Beaux-Arts*.

The complexities involved in solving these urban problems were recognized and new methods of analysis were developed by academics from Frankfurt School of Sociology and later Chicago School of Sociology. The new methods meant that solutions came after the experts had studied the city with public interests at heart. However, the approach was elitist and on the other hand, they claimed all was to be done in public interests.

The designer/ expert now worked with the concern of the user in mind. The new methods however had shortcomings because it had separated human activities of dwelling, working, leisure and travel in addition to reliance of the idea of the minimum dwelling. It proved to be short-sighted. In academia developed an interest in the morphological study and analysis of the city and architectural typology that impacted the teaching in schools of architecture across both the USA and Western Europe.



### **7.1. Historical Comparison between the cases**

The industrialization led to an increase in population in Barcelona and Copenhagen due to rural-urban migration and in Pittsburgh to both rural-urban migrants from southern states and immigrants from Poland, Germany, Italy and Ireland. These increase demand for new housing was not matched by the supply. In Pittsburgh, the renewal efforts were directly linked to the housing shortage, but unfortunately provided only to those with access to finance, while the majority were left out.

In Spain, large urban centres like Barcelona experienced a doubling of the population between 1950 and 1970 and it gave rise to concentration of consciously aware industrial workforce because of the conflicts between the workers and employers. However, due to the ban on any form of gathering other than through the mandated syndicates by the Franco Regime, the workers opted to use forums outside them to fight for their rights both politically and economically.

The study revealed that even though no major historical events occurred in USA in the 1960s, however, major pieces of legislations were enacted such as Voters Act of 1964, the Employment Act of 1967, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968 that framed local events in different regions. These gave rise to the civil rights movements, the women's liberation, anti-war movements and the challenge of the alternative energy culture. A new consciousness, an alternative culture of demanding a say in all affairs affecting the future of not only the young people but also the local communities developed. The students' free speech movements came out of this period as well.

The study revealed that in both Spain and USA, the political conditions during the 1950s and 1960s had created both social and environmental injustices. These led to the formation of the forums outside the official syndicates and the Civil Rights movement respectively to fight for the rights of those without voices.

However in Denmark, the situation was different, in that decision making through a consensus model though universal suffrage had been established by 1600. By 1930s, the Danish parliament had revolutionary parties that got elected to provide the check and balance to the existing traditional parties.

The revolutionary party attracted radical intellectuals such as architects, artists, teachers who defended the community interest against the government welfare programmes. The radicals led to the growth of an alternative culture in the 1960s that influence participatory democracy in non-hierarchical way.

This is contrary to the USA where the various Acts enacted in 1960s were supporting welfare programmes and providing the framework from which the advocacy groups grew. However it has to be pointed out that all the three cases are similar in that in Copenhagen, Pittsburgh and Barcelona the fight was for rights but within the collective society, better good of the society.

However, in all the three places, USA, Spain and Denmark, the activities students' revolt opened up debates and involvement of more people in the alternative culture. In Barcelona, it occurred in 1966 through the *Caputixada* (uprising) by the students and their professors that took place in a Franciscan Monastery; in Denmark, through the activities of the student revolt of 1969 at University of Copenhagen. In USA, it occurred in 1964 and 1968 at University of California Berkeley and Columbia University in New York respectively.

The research reveals parallels; in Barcelona as early as 1951, collaborative approach to tackling housing problems had developed through the formation of *Grupo R*. It used a multi-disciplinary approach open to not only the professionals like architects, sociologist, town planners but also to the members of the public. In Pittsburgh, ACTION-Housing was formed in 1957 as a non-profit organization that worked with professionals to provide the best solutions to the housing shortage. They collaborated and worked with low-income residential groups that

had risen out of the Acts that had been passed in 1960s to provide self-improvements. The work of these organizations depended on good leadership from within the government bodies.

However, the main differences between the two places was that in Pittsburgh the citizen participation and organization actually came through the government funded initiatives such as Community Revitalization Plan, while in Barcelona, they were voluntary, in opposition to government ban. In Pittsburgh, the focus was mainly on providing the needed financial support and opportunities for collaboration, while in Barcelona it was focused on the development of national identity through the culture of critique and analysis. The *Grupo R* held lectures that were open to all and well attended by the public because of the close-knit formation of families among the Catalans. In addition, the lectures were on wide ranging topics from sociology to urbanism, which in effect built the capacity of the community to participate in governance.

In the USA, activism against the demotions of the new deal and revitalization programmes fostered new thinking within the academia and the ethical stand to support those communities that they deemed were unjustly treated. The academic community came up with new methods of analysing the city that was not mainstream at period by approaching the residents to help them find aspirations, identify the problems that they faced beyond the demolition, identify the course and target for action. Equally in Barcelona and Copenhagen new thinking emerged from the political and social contextual challenges, which led to the methodologies developed by the designers and academics. In all cases the students were used as a pool of raw talent, energy, creativity and activism, the young always want actions against the established authority.

Therefore, the research has revealed a connection between the founding of the UL, LUB and CPSR at Pittsburgh, Barcelona and Copenhagen respectively to different contextual circumstances. In Pittsburgh and Barcelona, the context was

a fight for injustice focused mainly at the social and political levels, while at Copenhagen, it was on environmental issues that were none the less linked to global events such as the anti-nuclear movements, anti-Vietnam War etc.

The founding of the UL at CMU by David Lewis appears coincidental rather than driven by specific events at Pittsburgh, in particular to the Civil Rights Movement as there is very little record of direct involvements by students at CMU in the protest movements.

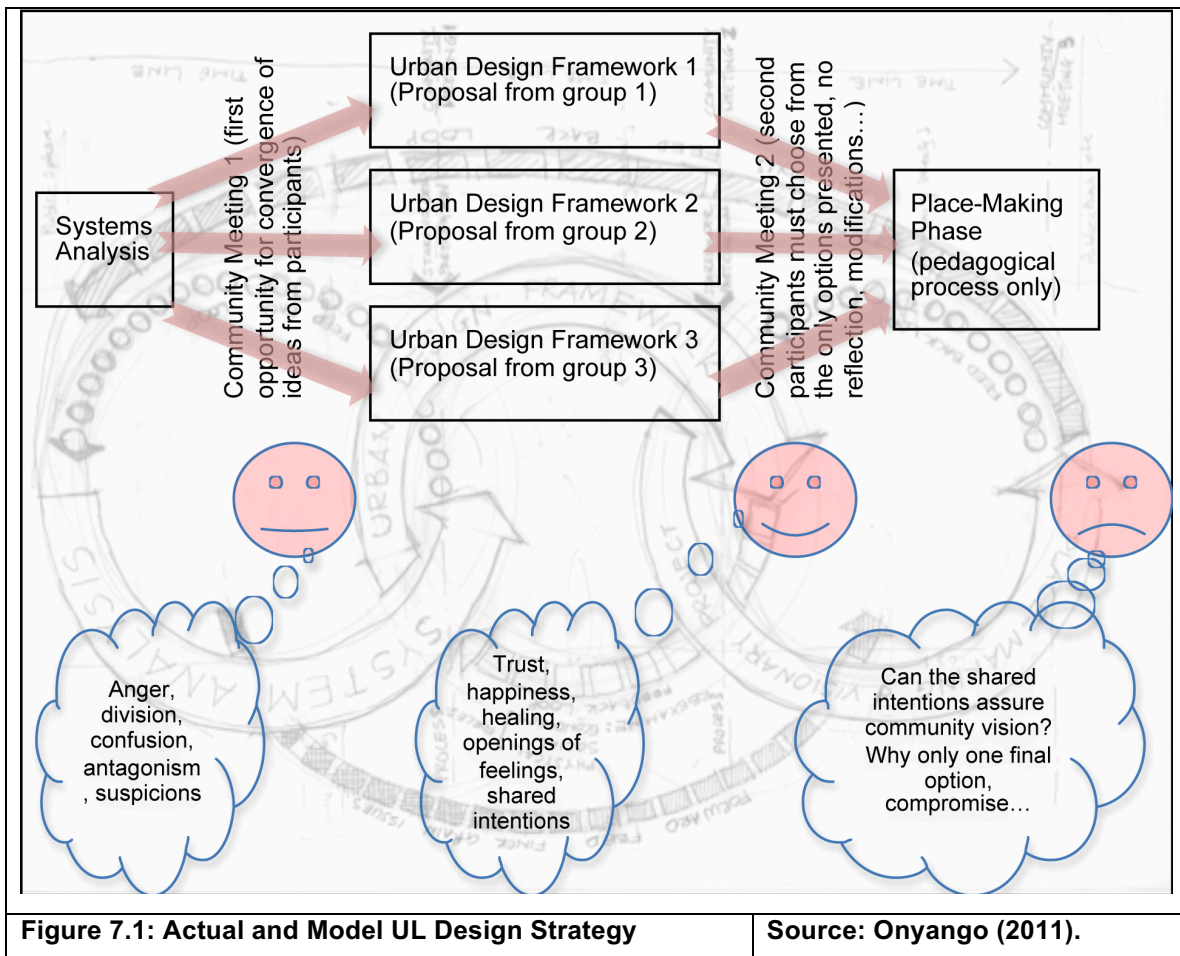
## 7.2. Comparison between the methods and techniques

The research revealed that the design process in the laboratories occurred in three key stages that were fundamentally similar at UL and LUB and is summarized in **table 7.1** below which are organized around the pedagogy of the various schools and in some cases at the UL provided support for the meeting community objectives.

Stage	UL at CMU	LUB at Barcelona	CPSR at Copenhagen
1 <sup>st</sup> Phase	Systems Analysis	Morphological Studies	Formulating Vision
2 <sup>nd</sup> phase	Urban Design Framework	Urban Design Framework	Public Space Network
3 <sup>rd</sup> Phase	Place-Making	Place-Making and Urban Project	Place-Making and Building Project
<b>Table 7.1: Summary of Stages</b>			<b>Source: Onyango (2011)</b>

The laboratories at Barcelona and Copenhagen use what is known as a linear design process strategy where one phase follows another directly in a “...sequence of actions that are dependent on the previous one, but independent of the output at later stages...” as pointed out by Jones (1992, p.76). All the three laboratories start their design processes at phase one, move to two and complete in phase three without any commitments to continue the work further

with the community making the work focused mainly on advocacy rather than provision of consultancy services. The UL at CMU however, relies on what they claim is a reflective strategy as previously discussed in chapter 4, but a close analysis reveals that in actuality, it is a branching out strategy as illustrated in figures 7.1 below.



The figure is superposition of what the model design strategy and actual process ought to look like from the descriptions of syllabus, published material and interviews with the faculty at the UL. It suggests an open-ended system that is allows for the community to continuously amend the design, yet in reality this is not done due to compressed pedagogical logistics, but also complete empowerment of the community has not really been fully realized. As would be expected, there is a lot of animosity, anger, suspicions of the intents of those

proposing the meetings as they control the agenda, are on payroll of the client owners, are outsiders to the community and of elitist background. However, it seems like the curiosity of the community drives them to continue attending the meetings, seem to see opportunities, have high expectations which are dashed when they are presented with only 3 options to choose from during the second meeting. There is little evidence of follow-up in the communities to see if the proposals have grown legs further.

At the UL, advocacy was the most important driver in the 1960s, as the context then called for communities such as the Hill District to be empowered with a voice to fight against the destruction of their community through what was called the renewal or development efforts to rid the city of blight. Over time as the community become more aware of the rights, levels of participation seem to have dropped to passive at best as passion decreases with availability of other options such as relocation to other areas due to what they perceived as upward mobility.

At the UL, the study of threshold is done through the use of urban and block typologies that seem critical to the process and arise out of the French and Italian traditions of urban design. In this sense, morphological analysis to understand the activities within the spaces and the connections to other surrounding contexts are fundamental. The study has revealed that in all three cases, the main driver for community involvement is the degradation of the built environment and the protesting against the destruction of their communities. These informed the methods and strategies used by the laboratories more than the ethical stance of the designers, except in the case of Barcelona where the design professionals had started critiquing own work and supporting communities through support for alternative visions.

At CPSR, the focus is mainly on the usage of the spaces between the existing buildings in redevelopments, or the kinds of activities that the client and the designers desire to foster in the places made. The strategy though may look

similar to those at LUB, but is fundamentally different in that there is less emphasis on the building (what Morales called the urban Project), but on how the spaces are used or could be used, before deciding on ways to enhance them. At both the UL and LUB, the initial phase looks at the spaces through systems analysis and urban design framework while at CPSR only through the second phase, public space network.

Therefore, the research reveals that the methods and tactics adapted are very much driven by the theoretical traditions that underpinned the laboratory more than the desire for community participation. At UL at CMU, the participation comes from the history of advocacy but methods driven by the emphasis to the social usage and visual artistic traditions of late 1950s and 1960s. The LUB emphasised the morphological study of the relationships between the street and the buildings, the connections between the various existing public realms and the rationalist historical growth strategies. At CPSR, the designers take a utilitarian ethical stand, deciding that the quality of the life in the public space is a measure of the quality of the built environment, hence the decision for the designer to make the places as they ought to be, an elitist value judgment.

### **7.3. Does Participatory process matter to urban design education and practice in built environment?**

Chapter 3 and 4 discussed the importance of participatory processes where I argued that they are fundamental to not only getting a chance to be involved with the design of live/ real projects, but also addresses the issues of ethics which I will address in this section. The levels and kinds of involvements will inevitably vary depending on the pedagogical needs of the individual school, however, at the UL at CMU there is little evidence that participatory process was fundamentally important to the process of design education given that it comes late in the learning stage as well as not emphasised all throughout. In addition, the levels of community involvement appeared very low, with majority of participants at the community meetings being the students, client body representative or

faculty. Where participation occurred, the power of decision making still resided with the student designers as they drove the agenda, made proposals based on their system analysis of the context then merely asked the community to respond (see **figure 7.2** below where blue represents passive stance)

There were however, attempts at co-design during the *charrette*, using 3D models, which were mainly used to check if the student designers understood the physical elements of the community better. This is corroborated by analysis of meeting minutes as well as interview with both student and faculty participants making the session more about information exchange, consultation and tokenism.

The proponents of the UL have constantly argued that the participatory process is fundamental to the education of the urban designer and hence making their programme unique. In reality, the position is not too dissimilar to what Bourdieu argues:

“...defined in relation to the space of possibilities and its distinctiveness arising from its negative relationship with the co-existing positions takings to which it is objectively related and which determine it by delimiting it...” (1993, p.30).

In other words, the UL at CMU tries to define itself outside the norm of existing positions taken by other schools of architecture, which is to give it distinctive value of difference! An interview in November 2010 with Prof. Bruce Lindsay of university of Alabama, an alumni of CMU and student of David Lewis during the early phase of the UL points out that pedagogically, it was viewed within the school as weak in academic and pedagogical rigour, which is what led David Lewis and Ray Gindroz to leave in 1968 and go to Yale. It is not surprising as the curriculum was completely changed at the start of the second phase.



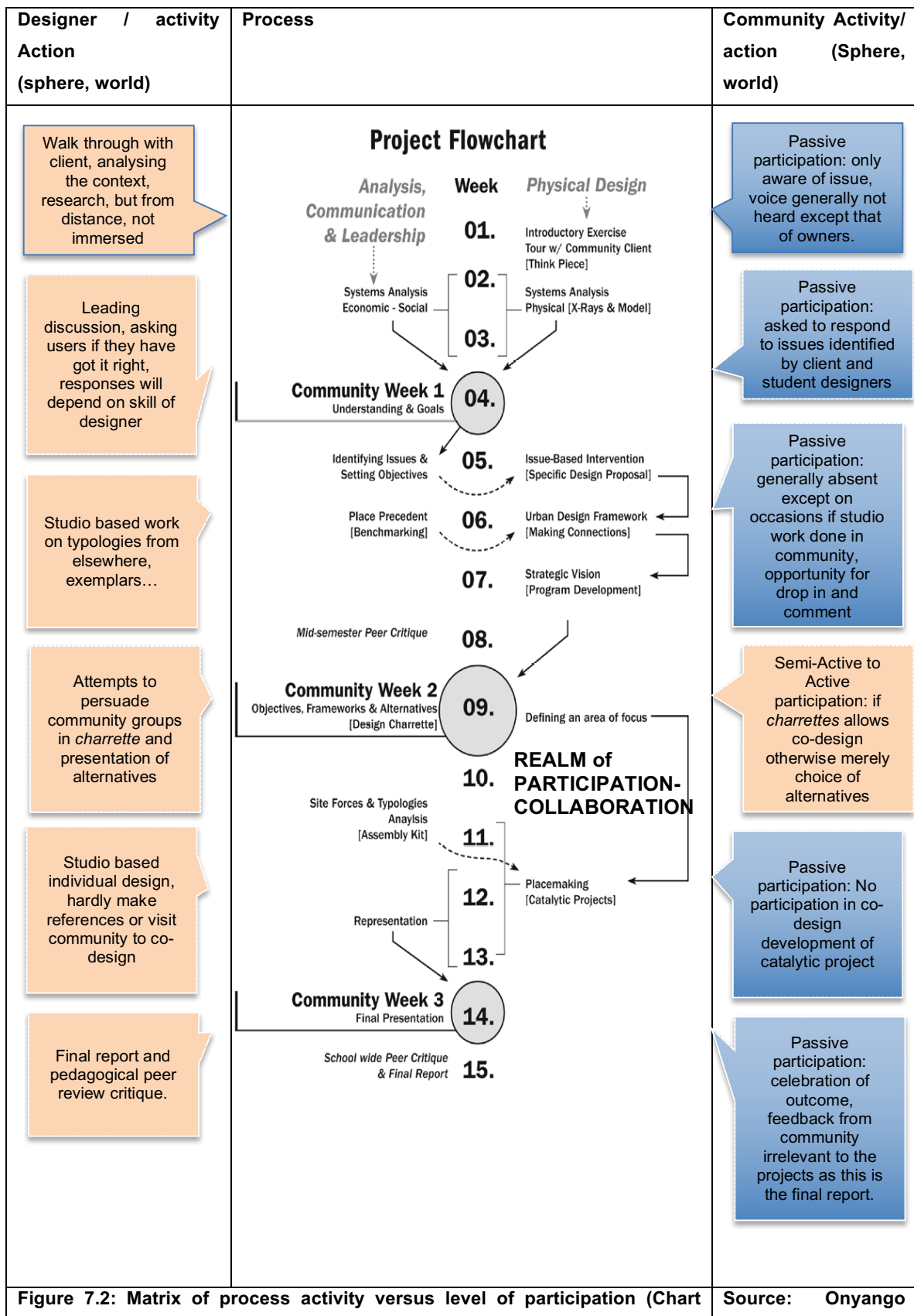


Figure 7.2: Matrix of process activity versus level of participation (Chart

Source: Onyango

On the argument of position taking, a question that arises is what would happen to the UL programme at CMU if other peer schools of architecture start taking similar positions, will its position remain the same or will it shift to maintain the distinctiveness? I argue that it would probably shift looking at the transformations that took place over the years as other schools like University of Miami, University of Notre Dame, University of Alabama, University of Cincinnati have started their own in order to maintain the culture of production.

The culture of production in a capitalist society is supported by an educational system because it imposes the legitimate mode of production as pointed out by Bourdieu (1993) who argued that symbolism of work of arts exists only if they are known and recognized, in other words, because they are socially instituted works of art and received by spectators capable of knowing and recognizing them as such.

The work and methodology at the UL at CMU has meaning mainly because of the strong relationship that exist between the school and the benefactors, Andrew Mellon and Richard King, both who were very important in the renaissance of Pittsburgh in 1950s. Their wealth and influence has continued the propagation of the culture of production and distribution of both the social and economic capital, it is therefore not surprising to note that the social agents involved in the field of urban regeneration in Pittsburgh are intimately involved with the School (Don Carter, Ray Gindroz among others).

At both the LUB and CPSR, participatory process is not explicitly mentioned nor depended upon as a strategy, however, the consequences reveal little differences to the outcomes of the laboratories, place created to foster and support urban living, feeling of ownership, safety, beauty, among others. They all envision the communities where they have been involved with and their students are

trained to have the ability to carry out designs that call for ethical stand based on hard choices that have to be made.

The graduates of the LUB over the years have been engaged with the city of Barcelona and are credited for the success of the Barcelona model of managed development and growth without destruction, of creating strong communities that continue to inspire others, while Gehl's methodology appears to be gaining ground worldwide as different cities compete to stem decay and focus on people. The same cannot be said of the UL at CMU that has been in existence longer, shout louder yet it is difficult to establish the impact of the training as their methodology are those either employed by the firm founded by David Lewis (Urban Design Associates) or working at the university to continue to propagate the system.

So, one would wonder if participation really matters to the processes of the urban laboratory methods? Fundamentals to at least the UL at CMU is the issue of advocacy that it actually came out of, the desire to support communities that lack ability or are not empowered to challenge or even decide on the how their community development would occur despite rights being conferred by the US constitution.

The concept of empowerment is tied to the issue or ethics and moral sensitivity which Deutch defines as "...the recognition that is informed by knowledge and understanding of an action or act of the causes and the consequences of the action..." (1992, p.185). The participatory process of the UL at CMU takes the community through the discovery and understanding of the causes of stress and blight in their environment [be they cultural, economic, social or political] and the actions and the consequences that would result from them at the end of the design visioning.

Therefore, through the process of participation use their knowledge of ethical awareness by being morally sensitive to the contextual situation, as it is

locational and not universal. The term ethics here is not applied in terms of good or bad, right or wrong dichotomous relations, but in a subtle way that accepts and recognizes that the relativity of success or failures of the acts against its realization and promotion of freedom of those affected.

One would therefore be left to wonder if there is a proper or model participatory processes or activities that are related to a project? This is negative looking at the way each school developed their own methodology in response to their contextual needs. It has to be pointed out here that the crux of the matter is not really about judging the merits of the issues that are raised during the meeting, but rather is about the examination, discussion, exploration with the objectives of trying to resolve the difficult sticky points of the design decision, that is the collective dialogue.

This introduces an interesting cycle to looking at ethical acts of the UL approaches that constantly raises other questions such as; do their actions make the moral designers or good persons by their expertise offered? Deutsch points out that it is not the case as he postulates "...that the moral actor does not possess special branch of knowledge or body of truth called morals nor have specially tuned intellect that give them privileged ability to reason to the correct moral conclusions..." (1992, p.190).

Therefore, the education provided to the students does not bring about some kind of intuitional grasp of the ethical principles apart from their involvement in the specific actions; it however does cultivate in the students the situation awareness and its uniqueness. It enables them to do that which as best as can be determined, embodies and promotes the self-identity, confidence and freedom of the individual participants from the community, i.e. builds their capacity to act for the benefit of the whole group.

The other approach taken at the LUB and CPRS does not explicitly use participatory process as a methodology, but seem to be based on another ethical approach to the built environment as utility or artefact. It is an old idea that has in the past been associated with the “...public principles and common good...” as pointed by Whiteley (1999, p.190). For example, in post war Britain it was once an approach to design that exposed a belief in the higher role for beyond profit as a way to improve the life of citizens and the ethos of society. At the heart of this design thinking is the idea of existence of the ethical dimensions that is both above and in judgment on any design manifestation. This argument linking morality of the designer/ builder and their artefacts or design have been put for example by John Ruskin:

“Great art is the expression of the mind of great man, and mean art, that of the want of mind of a weak man. A foolish person builds foolishly, and a wise one, sensibly; a virtuous one, beautifully; and a vicious one, basely. If stonework is well put together, it means that a thoughtful man planned it and a careful man cut it and an honest man cemented it. If it is too has too much ornament, it means that its carver was too greedy of pleasure; if too little, that he was rude, or insensitive, or stupid and the like...” (1865, quoted in Clarke; 1967, p.168)

In the traditional view, ethical and aesthetic informed design with the objectives of focusing on the improvement of human conditions along timeless lines. The idea of applications of good design principles was first mooted in the Nineteenth Century and were “...not involved in the cause of an ethically superior society, but to improve the tastes of the public...” as argued by Whiteley (1999, p.192). It suggests that the public were deemed ignorant, lacked knowledge of good taste, and had to be taught how to appreciate what was good. The elite designers were therefore making value judgments on the basis of what they considered their moral/ ethical responsibility to do for the collective good of the community at large. William Morris and the other proponents of the Arts and Crafts Movement for example deplored capitalism that they blamed for the creation of an ugly environment (Morris, 1885 quoted in Denvir, 1986).

The above raises fundamentally important arguments on the ethical ideals of the relationship between the designer and the operating contextual social conditions. The advent of Modern Movements in Architecture ignored the relationship as it focused on the object and the commitment to social progress through design only as pointed out by Loos (1908 quoted in Conrads, 1970). It is interesting to note that in early modernism, ethics and morality centred on the object of design, seen as truthful. The tough depravation of the war period provided the opportunity for the advancement in the social and cultural spheres through the raising of design that Russell "...would give people something better than they might have expected to demand..." (1946, p.184), in other words, showing them through exemplar projects what the community might actually look like, vision the place to aspire for something much better.

#### **7.4. The impacts of the Urban Laboratory versus traditional approaches**

In Barcelona, there is evidence of the impacts of work both the LUB's Urban Projects whose model is being studied intensely as ways to succeed in regenerations and redevelopment of cities without destruction through catalytic step-by-step process of little spaces as part of the overall project strategy which is additionally continuously studied and monitored and modified as contextual circumstances change.

The same can be said of Gehl's work at Copenhagen over the years that has transformed the quality of life in the city through targeted changes to the pedestrian environment and infrastructure that supported life on the streets. The strategy of first focusing on the envisioned life in the space, then the supporting framework and buildings turns the traditional process on its head where the buildings are the first focus and in most cases the only focus, while the public realm is the spaces that are left over. Little is done to understand what the impact of those buildings might be and in comparison, the strategy by the LUB to look at every project as an urban project has been critical to its success by taking the

importance of scale and impact of a little change over a wider area of influence through the analogy of acupuncture.

The work of UL at CMU even though has been extensive in terms of the number of projects or studies taken, the impact is not as wide or as far reaching as those of LUB at Barcelona and CPRS at Copenhagen. I argue that one of the reasons being is that the strategy is still very much tied to and liked to the urban regime coalition system where those in positions of power are still holding the pan by the handle.

However, having said that, the urban laboratory model in its various forms definitely has an impact on the design process, design education and the built environment. In the three case study locations, the impacts have been significant enough to make a case for consideration of the model as a method of teaching urban design at universities as well as perhaps as outreach using master classes as Jan Gehl has now started in Copenhagen.

### **7.5. Limitations of the study**

This research has been limited to examinations of three urban laboratories at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh; Universidad Politecnica de Catalunya in Barcelona and the Centre for Public Space Research at the Royal Danish School of Architecture and Fine Arts in Copenhagen. The period of study of advocacy and founding of the laboratories and the end cut date that the published materials were available.

It was limited to documenting and critically examining the impacts of the revolutions of the 1960s on the participatory decision making and specifically in the transformation of the urban design processes through urban design laboratories. It focused on the assessment of various methods and tactics used at the laboratories in addressing the complex issues of urban design education and practice. The research will finally suggest aspects that have universal application that may be incorporated in the use of the urban design laboratory

model as a tool for educating future designers especially in emerging economies, where democracy is still developing and building on the Arab Spring uprising. This is especially important for places where urban populations are rising unlike in the western world where some countries are facing different challenges, increase in percentage of older people while at same time facing an overall dwindling population.

### **7.6. Policy implications**

The research revealed the importance of genuine participation in the promotion of place and ascribing meaning to place that would occur only if the community's capacity to participate has been built. In addition, it should not be taken as a given and that will occur merely because of legislative measures as can be seen from the case of Pittsburgh, and perhaps a better approach is one taken in Scotland with the publication of Planning Advice Note 81 that "advises planning authorities and developers on how communities should be properly engaged in the planning process" (Scottish Executive, 2007, p.8).

In addition, the study revealed that participation might be omitted if the focus is on the quality of the built environment (aesthetics). Examples from Barcelona and Copenhagen indicate that if the designers take an ethical approach to design, one that recognizes that they have positions of responsibility to community at large beyond their immediate client, then the urban laboratory methodologies selected if targeted on the development and improvement of the public realm positive results are likely to be achieved. The model is useful here in regards to imparting skills in leadership, and the acknowledgement of the importance of collaboration with other professionals, interested parties in the urban design process.

Finally, the studies revealed that success requires long-term commitments to monitoring the transformations in the life in the public realm as the built



environment is changed over the years due to various spheres of influences from the economic, social, cultural and political fronts.

### **7.7. Expanding knowledge in Urban Laboratory process?**

The research has contributed to the understanding of the methodologies and tactics used at the various urban laboratories and how they have risen from the contexts. It is the first study that has documented the comparisons between the methodologies in three urban laboratories of similar age from different parts of the western world and contributes to the area of urban design education, practice and process that would enable a model urban design laboratory to be developed that responded to the local context anywhere in the world.

### **7.8. Future Research**

The study has been limited to the understanding of the influence of historical context in the founding of the urban laboratories and the influence on the methodologies adapted. It examined only three urban laboratories from USA, Spain and Denmark; however, it has to be pointed out that over the years there has been an increase in the number of schools that have adapted participatory methodologies as part of their pedagogy.

Future work could look at comparing the differences in the models used at universities in the same country that have similar historical origins, for example, MIT URBLAB, Dallas Urban Laboratory, University of Washington-Chandigarh Urban Laboratory were all established in 2006; Glasgow Urban Laboratory, Queens University-Live Projects Studio, University of Sheffield-Participation studio (after 2007) among others.

## 7.9. Conclusions

The research has contributed to the understanding of the methodological framework of best practices of urban design education and practice that may be applied to improve the quality of designed places, build capacities of local communities under study, highlight and build partnerships with developers, foundations and local authorities and perhaps establish and build networks with schools of architecture in other non-western countries. It is however important to point out that a universal model laboratory would be difficult to achieve as the methodologies, strategies and tactics are context dependent. This suggests that the first step would therefore be the undertaking of historical study of the place, changes to the current traditional working practices to one of collaboration and eventually slowly involving communities to support the work.

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## APPENDIX 1

### Typical Questions

1. Describe how the urban design process was carried out?
2. How did you come to know about the urban design project?  
Not aware    National Media,                      Local Media    Local    Authority    Notice  
                    Local Leader
3. What is the level of your involvement ranked between 1 and 5 where 5 represents full involvement and control  
  
1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Not aware
4. Is there a community organization in your area?
5. How are your leaders chosen?
6. What is the background to the community organization?
7. Does your community organization have financial and technical resources?
8. What is the source of your financial support?
9. What other support do you get from any organization and which organization?
10. How are your views expressed in the urban design meetings?  
Visual verbal drawings      verbal and drawings
11. Which of these tools do you prefer to use and why?
12. How selected the method or tool used in the process?
13. What kinds of activities are done during the public participation meetings?
14. What happens at the end of the meeting?
15. At the next meeting if there is one, is there a review of what was previously agreed on?
16. Can the previous decisions be reviewed and how?
17. When there is disagreement or difference of opinion how is this resolved?
18. Do you feel your views or opinions respected?
19. Do you consider that your views as a group or community have been incorporated in the final decision?