JOURNAL OF RESEARCH IN ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

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IN
ARCHITECTURE
AND
PLANNING

CONTENTS

EDITORS NOTE

The Editorial Board of the Journal for Research in Architecture and Planning is honoured to present the second issue of the journal on the theme of townscapes. The first issue was distributed with a slightly different nomenclature during the previous year by the Department of Architecture and Planning. Upon reviewing the promise, standard and need of a research journal as well as the previous issue, the Syndicate of the University was pleased to grant it the approval as a periodical publication. Inception of this journal is vital in the domain of research in architecture, urban design and planning in Pakistan in several ways.

Peer reviewed research, which is a fundamental attribute of any academic discipline, has had a very limited tradition in Pakistan, particularly in architecture and planning. With the exception of a few isolated publications occasionally brought out by some academic departments, no sustained effort could be instituted in this reference. Reasons for this state of affairs itself may constitute an interesting topic for research which is beyond the scope of this brief write-up. Despite this deficiency, the need continued to exist for publishing a refereed journal. Absence of such an academic platform was intensely felt by the teaching and research institutions in architecture and planning. The serious attempts to conduct research and to disseminate it to the concerned stakeholders remained paramount. The exchange of ideas, research findings and conclusions from different quarters has been entirely limited. Often the descriptive publications are confused with a refereed journal, which is entirely different in its scope and contents. By definition, a refereed journal publishes original and authentic research which is vetted by a peer group in the same field of work. An attempt is henceforth made to fill in this widening gap.

This journal addresses the various aspects of research in the domain of architecture and planning. It lays down the basis of reporting some of the ongoing research activity pertinent to the respective branch of study. It opens the much-needed avenue for publication of research in the country and abroad. It also establishes the format which shall be otherwise useful for local researchers to focus around.

This issue contains a diverse response to the theme of townscapes in context and approach. A sizable part of the journal encompasses papers related to Karachi for the simple reason that little has been done in respect of research in this domain of planning studies. A contribution on the case of historic preservation in Bologna has been published which emphasizes user participation as an appropriate approach. Besides a case of a change in townscape from the world famous site of Sydney Harbour Bridge/Opera House raises several issues for further probe. Hybrid urban landscapes in Vietnam put in equation the realities on ground as against the approaches coined by architects and urbanists.

The editorial team shall be most obliged to receive contributions for the forthcoming issues flyer of which has been already circulated. Comments, criticism and suggestions are welcome to help improve the standard and substance of this modest initiative.

Editorial Board

VIETNAM'S HYBRID URBAN LANDSCAPES:
The Dream of Western Architects / Urbanists

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ABSTRACT

The non-designed built environment has long been a fascination in Western-based theoretical discourse of architecture and urban design. The powerful sensation of barely controlled chaos that pervades the atmosphere of urbanity in the South has proven globally inspirational and challenges Western world's model of urbanization and modernization. This paper draws upon the particular case of Vietnam. It is premised upon the belief that there exists the possibility to embrace informal and/or illegal settlements and activities into a Vietnamese urbanity for the 21st century. Vietnam has the opportunity to develop an ambivalent urbanity – one where 'place culture' meets globalization. A balance can be struck between the forces of stability and the forces of mobility in the country's hybrid urban landscapes. Two very different but complementary elements of landscapes need to continue to develop in parallel – one established, maintained and governed by law and political institutions, dedicated to permanence and planned evolution; the other, the vernacular landscape, identified with local custom, pragmatic adaptation to circumstances, and unpredictable mobility/change. The informal and/or illegal elements within Vietnamese urbanity can become the *strategic* points to create such a balance. Examples in three secondary cities (Vinh, Hue and Can Tho) of Vietnam are explored for their respective qualities which undeniably tie the informal urbanity to 'genus loci' and suggest manners in which these hybrid landscapes can become a formal and legitimate part of future urban development.

INTRODUCTION

The so-called developing world has once again become a fashionable 'site' for progressive Western architects/urbanists to research and occasionally intervene. Notably, a number of leading educational institutions in the field (Harvard, Sci-Arc, Berlage Institute, Architectural Association, etc.) have recently incorporated the study of cities in the South into their normal curricula. The favelas of Rio de Janeiro, canal-side squatter settlements in Ho Chi Minh City, informal housing communities of Nairobi and Gecekondu in Istanbul are documented, analyzed and to a certain degree romanticized. What is it that architects find so potentially interesting in such sites? Are there indeed lessons to be learnt from these areas? In an era of globalization, are there indigenous settlement practices that can and should survive to retain local identity?

The New World Order is radically restructuring the physical, socio-political and cultural structure of locations throughout the globe. While designed environments are becoming more visible in cities in the South, so too is the proliferation of a parallel non-designed world – often sites deemed illegal and/or informal. The market economy is completely changing the landscape and the mega-forces of international finance and multi-national capitalism, seemingly impervious to cultural distinctions and national character, are creating sprawling, global cities – containing fortified enclaves for the rich and squalor, nearly inhuman living conditions, for the less fortunate.

Nonetheless, the complexity of relationships in the non-designed world remains fascinating not only for their rich spatial environments but also for their symbolism. Often, the non-designed world represents a scene of social struggle, where no-man's land has been cleverly appropriated by local ingenuity outside of institutional frameworks. There is neither a single author, producer nor user. The autonomy and rhetoric of architecture with a capital A is questioned; heterogeneity is celebrated.

Since the mid-20th century, the non-designed built environment has become a quasi-mainstream reference for the Western-based theoretical discourse of architecture and urban design. Team X's fascination with primitive societies and sets of cultural systems that configure the non-designed built environment was replaced by a more close-to-home incorporation of popular Western vernacular forms and urban fabrics in the late 1960's and 1970's. From the International Situationists to Archigram to Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi to N.J. Habraken the 'establishment' of architecture was challenged by homage to mass culture, pop culture and the architecture of the everyday. Since the 1990's, well-known writers and practitioners in America and Europe continue to develop concepts and programs that deviate from the historical conception of urban form and use. Rem Koolhaas, the demi-God of late 20th Century and 21st Century architecture, has revalorized the notions of programmatic indeterminacy and instability. The late Igansi de Sola-Morales popularized not only time-space perceptions of flow and 'fluxus' but also reinvestigations into 'terrain vague'. Bernard Tschumi continues prolific writing on 'event-spaces' and 'event-cities', whereby the dictum 'form follows function' is abandoned in favor of 'promiscuous collisions of programs and spaces'. Steven Holl continues his plea for the development of hybrid buildings. Andrea Branzi has termed 'weak urbanization' and proposes the inclusion of agricultural activities within the urban fabric. The mass of literature that has arisen under the guise of 'everyday urbanism' explicitly comments upon the spontaneous, informal and sometimes illegal programs and spatial entities that animate daily life.

Often, the descriptions and reference images for the 'new' contemporary concepts come from existing realities of cities in the South. Occasionally, the most spectacular examples come from informal and/or illegal settlements. For example, Koolhaas' exposé of density gained the now extinct Kowloon Walled City fame amongst architects worldwide. Beyond the obvious problems of overcrowding, poor sanitary and hygiene conditions, unsafe constructions and non-durable nature of such settlements there remains an enduring appreciation for the flexible and creative use of space, the combination of productivity of landscapes into an otherwise increasing consumptive land-use system and results of the ingenuity born from necessity. As electronic surveillance and gated, super-safe and vigilantly ordered communities gain in popularity, numerous architects look with nostalgia to the powerful sensation of barely controlled chaos that pervades the atmosphere of urbanity in the South.

The corollary of such developments is the questioning of the Western world's model of urbanization and modernization. As environments in the regions of the first world are continually destroyed by the abandonment of urban cores, piecemeal development and ever-persistent loss of 'countryside' to suburbanization one can reasonably ask if the concentric, compact-city model of urban form (with its subsequent ribbon development and decentralized suburbs) is the correct one to begin imposing on 'the rest'.

Perhaps, an answer lies in understanding developing contexts as they are and enhancing the qualities that already exist in the environments of the South. Can the juxtaposition of agriculture and urbanity remain as a viable asset for cities? Can informal and unplanned development be embraced in a series of strategies (not plans) that evolve in time – ever adapting to the changing political, cultural and social conditions of the place in context? Can globalization of culture and homogenization of the built environment be halted by the acceptance of 'alternative modes of living' where informality is given a place to flourish? Can the non-designed built environment be incorporated into newly designed worlds?

This paper draws upon the particular case of Vietnam. It is premised upon the belief that there exists the possibility to embrace informal and/or illegal settlements and activities into a Vietnamese urbanity for the 21st century (Map - 1).

1 - CIAM DREAMS / VIETNAMESE REALITIES

The *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) – the renowned mouthpiece of the so-called Modernist Movement in architecture

Map-1: Geographic Location of Vietnam

concrete systems solved the urgency demanded by masses of populations requiring housing. The new house-type was also built in those countries of the developing world that underwent revolutions and claimed to build socialist societies. Today, these housing estates are witness to the 'failure' of the modern movement's contribution to mass housing. Plans are condemned as monolithic and uniform due to their strict separation of functions. The sheer scale of estates, resulting in identical housing blocks from which it was all but impossible to identify individual units, diminished the notion of collectivity and community. Blocks are perceived as autonomous objects at the ground level. Often, the vast open spaces are no-man's land, imbued with a lack of public security; they have been deemed the 'concrete disasters' of an aborted social-engineering experiment.

Numerous such housing estates were built as gifts to Vietnam from the German Democratic Republic. The East Germans not only financed the blocks, but also provided the technical expertise for their design and construction. Due to the pressing housing need for the housing following the American-Vietnamese war, estates were constructed quickly with low-quality materials and poor technical detailing. Nonetheless, they were originally designed as an attractive living area following a rational plan of clear infrastructure, with various public facilities, playing yards, green and open public spaces. Four to five-story blocks of reinforced concrete column and beam structures, with infill (brick) walls and concrete floor plates, began to mark the territory. However, neither the urban form nor the housing typologies were altered to suit the tropical climate and Vietnamese lifestyles. Compounding the non-compatibility issue was more general problem of the poor quality and short supply of building materials in addition to inadequate quality control and accountability.

The Quang Trung Housing Estate in Vinh, a provincial city 300 kilometers South of Hanoi, simultaneously exemplifies the problems of the East German transplant of their mass construction of concrete tenements into Vietnam and testifies to the power of local customs and lifestyles in appropriating foreign impositions. The extreme heat of Vinh's summers and ravages of autumn's typhoons resulted in the immediate dilapidation

and urbanism that was founded in 1928 – openly asserted that architecture was unavoidably contingent upon the broader issues of politics and economics. CIAM architects were passionately engaged in large-scale social-engineering experiments through the development of new urban and architectural forms.

Across the globe, the CIAM dream was premised upon improved urban living conditions vis-à-vis economic efficiency and the ideal of collectivity and community. The utopian legacy and pursuit of the 'modern project' – as the exploration of possibilities created by technology and a rebelling against all that is normative – peaked in Europe and Russia in the 1920's and 1930's. However, the 'urbanist ideal' continued to be realized decades after its conception. The dramatic conditions brought upon by the vulgarities of World War II legitimized the massive and expedient building of housing schemes throughout Europe. Pre-fabricated

Figure 1: Quang Trung Estate, Vinh - Colourfully Animated at its Base

of blocks. Apartments, designed with the nuclear European family in mind, proved far too small for extended Vietnamese families. This, in turn, has led to numerous illegal and unsafe unit and balcony extensions. The minimal size of individual apartments is further aggravated by the fact that bicycles and newly acquired motorcycles (often representing the largest investment of families) are stored in the units themselves, often occupying the living space. Public facilities and open public spaces are not maintained by the State.

However, the no-man's-land, so common in Western mid- and high-rise housing estates is colorfully and productively animated at its base, where ground units are invariably converted into shops, restaurants and informal markets; (Figure1)

sporting activities, meeting places, small husbandry and agricultural areas colonize the open space. Although these activities are informal and illegal, they are recognized as providing legitimate reconsideration in the planning of open space. The LA21 Vinh City Project (with HABITAT and the Post Graduate Center for Human Settlements, University of Leuven) is developing a series of strategies for the rehabilitation of the site that includes the formalization of such activities in open spaces as well as rebuilding balcony extensions with structural integrity. The informal and illegal spaces and programs developed by the inhabitants has become the base from which to redevelop this important site within a secondary city in the North of Vietnam.

2 - URBAN COUNTRYSIDE / RURAL METROPOLIS

In the delta regions of Vietnam, nearly every piece of vacant land is intensively cultivated, and since 1986's *doi moi*[1], businesses of every sort continue to spring up like mushrooms. Export processing zones – strategic sites where global processes and the linkages that bind them materialize – and new industrial zones are beginning to dot the landscape. The dynamic dispersal, centralization and hyper-concentration of facilities are strengthening the inequality of resources and infrastructure in various areas of the country. At the same time however, Vietnam remains a primarily agrarian country – currently the world's third largest exporter of rice[2] – and it is the muscles of men, women, children and water buffaloes that make Vietnam's soil yield its treasure, not machinery.

In terms of land use, the two (agriculture and commerce) simultaneously compete and co-exist. Similarly, the economic culture of Vietnam, like most in South-east Asia, is based upon two parallels – and seemingly contradictory systems: one modern, firm-based and the other pre-industrial, rooted in extended systems of kinship. Cottage industries appear alongside high-tech corporate enterprises; rice, lotus, sugar cane, sweet corn and spinach fields edge industrial complexes; sidewalk barbershops and noodle-stands affront entrances to new corporate headquarters. Along the numerous strings of roadside villages, cottage industries revel themselves through their neatly organized bamboo racks for rice paper and incense drying(Figure 2).

Figure 2: Informal Outlets of Cottage Industries String Along Roadsides and Sidewalks.

[1] In December 1986, facing bankruptcy and famine, Vietnam's National Assembly agreed on a program of economic reform as radical as any in the communist world. By embracing *doi moi* (literally meaning 'renovation' but more commonly translated as the 'restructuring' of the economy), Vietnam adopted the vagaries of the free market economics whilst retaining Communist Party rule. Nonetheless, the 'restructuring' of Vietnam has not merely been the erasure of the economic disaster but the dismantling of the 'cradle-to-grave' social achievements of the 'command economy' era.

[2] In 1989, for the first time in decades, Vietnam exported rice, becoming – virtually overnight – the world's third largest exporter behind the USA and Thailand.

Informal (and frequently illegal) cultivation of urban land is widespread in all cities of Vietnam, including the centers of the two larger agglomerations (Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi). Urban agriculture for subsistence is often carried out on land that is not owned by the user: roadsides, riverbanks, along the railroads and vacant municipal lands (Figure 3). Nonetheless, systems of informal rents and inheritance do exist. The most cultivated are short-duration seasonal crops, which do not require investments to improve soil quality, introduce tree and shrub components and undertake erosion and water-harvesting measures. This is primarily due to the illegal status of plots and subsequent fear of eviction.

In the recently approved land use and master plans to 2020 for Vietnamese cities, land allocation for urban food producers is excluded. Needless to say, there are numerous potentials in enveloping the productive landscape (agriculture, sea-products farming, salt field, etc.) into emerging urban structures. Urban agriculture may not only provide food as security and additional income for lower income households, but also may become an increasingly valuable source in the supply of urban food. The ecological opportunities afforded by urban agriculture extend beyond urban greening and the creation of desirable microclimates to potentials for recycling and re-use of urban organic waste and wastewater. The promotion of multifunctional land use, where urban agriculture is one component, coupled with encouragement of community participation in the management of urban open spaces can reduce public expenditure in management and maintenance. Peri-urban agricultural zones can be included in urban development plans as green belts or green corridors in order to avoid uncontrolled development and destruction of soil.

In the case of Hue, a secondary city geographically in the middle of the country, the potential role of urban agriculture in the future development of the

Figure 3: Urban Agriculture Around the Forbidden City, Hue

city is particularly interesting. The Hue Imperial City (the historic citadel area of the city), an area blown to bits during the TET offensive of the American-Vietnamese War, was inscribed on the World Heritage list by UNESCO in 1993. Since that time, there have been numerous interventions in Hue of bi-lateral and multi-lateral aid agencies. Projects for the piecemeal development of the city have been embraced and the Vietnamese bureaucrats in Hanoi are forging ahead with their production of master plans. The so-called garden city atmosphere of the citadel area is to be maintained and some areas rebuilt for the purpose of tourism. However, urban agriculture is not a part of the plan. The area immediately outside the Forbidden City, which has temporally been appropriated by urban farmers, is to become a formal public park. Likewise, the banks of the Perfume River (currently occupied by larger-scale crop cultivation) are slowly being transformed into waterfront promenades with hard surfaces, playing areas and picturesque parks.

There is no reason why food production may not be combined with recreation, water storage, nature conservation, and zones of flood risk. The combination of urban agriculture with the desired programs in Hue's open space is complementary; an economically and socially intelligent manner to combine private and public interests. The neat rows of vegetable gardens and the lush green fields of rice can become part of the palette of materials, colors and surfaces in the redesign of the city's open spaces. The step from informal and illegal to formal and legal in urban agriculture merely requires a revision of urban zoning and allocation of municipal open space bylaws and the development of policies that carefully regulate the types of agriculture so as to minimize health risks.

3 - AMBIGUOUS THRESHOLDS

Highway One[3], the 2100 kilometer route, rich in history and immortalized by war, is paralleled for most of its length by the national railway[4]; the two form the only north-south artery connecting Hanoi to Ho Chi Minh City. The badly rutted, single pot-holed lane in each direction is shared by bicycles, ox carts, honking motorbikes, speeding and unreliable cars, ancient buses and transport trucks, billowing bilious exhaust fumes. Along the edges of the decrepit road, men, women and children on foot (barefoot in the poorer rural areas) carry incredible loads of various kinds either on shoulder-poles with hanging bamboo baskets balanced at both ends or woven baskets precariously poised on heads. Across the country, farmers take over part of the already narrow and congested highway as a drying and threshing floor for newly harvested rice. Informal markets, a growing number of billboard advertisements and State propaganda posters colorfully decorate and indicate an approaching town. As Highway One bisects towns – it simply becomes 'main street'. From early morning until late evening, hordes of motorcycles, bicycles and cyclos[5] compete for space with a host of other activities which gravitate towards (and in) the street: washing, storing, playing, sitting, sleeping, selling, and eating. The complexity of land use in Vietnam is accurately encapsulated along Highway One.

Vietnamese urban fabrics (the sacred precincts excluded) appear to lack civic spaces – hallmarks of a Western civilized society. Instead, the street is the vibrant focus of public life. In larger cities, sidewalks are taken over by individual households or businesses; guarded motorcycle parking places and informal cafes extend from building lot lines to curbs, forcing pedestrians to walk in the streets.

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[3] In a significant rewriting of history, the Government has recently acknowledged that it was the first Emperor of the Nguyen Dynasty (1802 – 1911) Gia Long, who first united the country by building the road linking its two halves together. During French times, the road was known as the Mandarin Way. During the Vietnam-American War, it was known as the 'Highway of Terror.'

[4] In addition to city building, in 1893 (under Governor-General Paul Doumer) the French embarked on a vast public works program– eventually producing two major rail lines: one from Haiphong to Hanoi, up the Red River Valley into the Chinese town of Yunnan Fou; the other, the 1,000-mile-long Trans-Indochinese (finally completed in 1936), connecting Hanoi and Saigon, paralleling the Mandarin Road. The line was a particular target of the US bombing in the North and of the communist sabotage in the South. Bringing it back into service after the war, required the rebuilding of 1,334 bridges, 27 tunnels and 158 stations. Nowadays, the fastest train is called the 'Reunification Express,' but taking at least 36 hours to do so at an average speed of 30 miles per hour it is one of the slowest railway journeys between major cities anywhere.

[5] A cyclo is a combination of a rickshaw and a bicycle; in some cities of the Mekong Delta, the cyclo is motorized.

Likewise, the public realm often extends into the front room of the 'tube-houses'[6]. Housekeeping, economic and free time activities literally span an ambiguous threshold between private and collective, imbuing the Vietnamese street as an unmatched public realm (Figure 4).

Fortunately, thus far, Vietnamese cities emerge as vibrant points in the network society constellation. The 'global village' has become merely another layer while the local street has retained its identity as a local street. However, as the ring of cellular telephones becomes as commonplace as the chants of the streets hawker and cyber-cafes as normal as noodle shops, Vietnam has to be prudent to

protect the quality of its streets. Urban design rules must be established that protect human safety (pedestrians can no longer be forced to walk around motorcycle parking areas occupying sidewalks) but at the same time, the street profiles must respect the rich ambiguity of urban thresholds. Creative road profiles, ample sidewalks and articulated, yet programmatically undetermined, thresholds between public open space and semi-public or private built space can incorporate existing illegal and informal activities into a more organized series of changeable urban events. The street is the penultimate public space of Vietnam and can remain so if the existing public/private dynamism is understood and intelligently transformed.

Figure 4: Ambiguous Thresholds - Private and Public Overlap

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6 17th Century imperial administrators taxed the width of shop fronts, which in turn led to the construction of narrow houses that evolved into the tube houses' found in the 36-streets district. The houses were low, kept to just one story and a windowless attic, supposedly to prevent any attempt on the life of the emperor as he was carried around in a palanquin.

4 - WATER EQUALS WEALTH

Flatland accounts for only 25 percent of the territory in Vietnam. Nonetheless, the majority of ethnic Vietnamese (87 percent of the population) lives in only one-fifth of the country's land area. Most of Vietnam's people, (rice production, industrial output, political power and cultural activity) are concentrated in two relatively small areas centered on the Hanoi – Haiphong axis in the northern Red River Delta and Ho Chi Minh – Bien Hoa – Vung Tau axis in the southern Mekong River Delta, accounting for approximately 47 percent of the urban population. The two plains – often called the 'rice bowls' of Vietnam – are joined by a narrow, mountainous strip of land that is more than 1000 kilometers long but in some places only 50 kilometers wide. Secondary cities are located along the coast of this strip and much of the densely populated, low-lying habitable areas of the country are prone to severe flooding. The struggle to contain and control water remains a dominant force in spatial planning. Vietnam has a dense river network resulting in discontinuous patches of fertile deltas and accounting for 0.22 km/sq.km. Every major city has a river running through it, however, with the exception of Hue, no Vietnamese city is a 'river city'. Usually, only one bank of the water is developed and the other remains a hinterland.

Can Tho, a secondary market city of the Mekong Delta has an intensive network of canals that feed into its two main rivers, the Hau and Can Tho (Map - 2). The waterways are an essential means of communication for people as well as for goods. The city's role as a primary Mekong transport hub is enhanced by a vibrant water-based urbanism. The most populated areas of the city are along the main waterways. Approximately 20 percent of Can Tho's housing is built over the water; this housing is of the urban poor, illegal and built of non-durable materials. The city is in the process of constructing large embankments, covering-over inner city canals, removing waterside housing and heightening parts of the city by two meters. Meanwhile, the Cai Rang floating wholesale market is a featured stop for Western tourists (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Floating Market of Can Tho
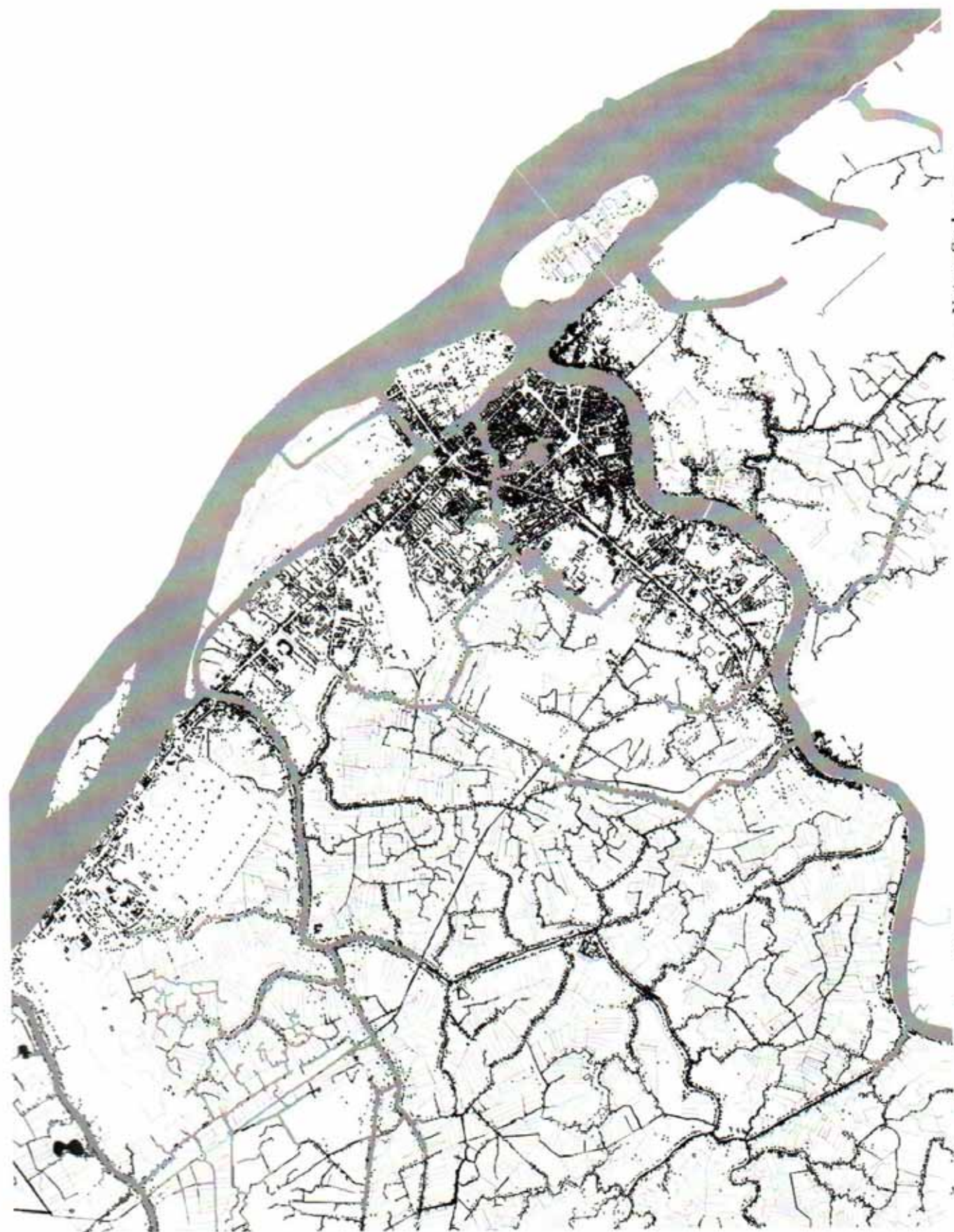
Map - 2: Can Tho a Water Based City

— Not on Scale —

Admittedly, water management is all embracing and difficult. However, the present policies for Can Tho hinder inclusion of the dynamic relation between land and water in development. An antagonistic attitude towards water in spatial planning remains. Yet, if low-cost technology marries to ecological and inventive design, a new urban environment with water is possible. Amphibious living can accept flooding as an inevitable fact; house typologies and urban morphologies can be redesigned so that they work with climatic influences, tides and seasons, creating an ever-changing, ecologically balanced environment. The housing on pontoons and scaffolding that the government wants to clear can be modified to improve living conditions while retaining the identity of water-based living. The extensive network of waterways can be harnessed for public transport, recreation, agriculture and sea farming. The pragmatism of the floating market need be recognized as offering clues to income-generating activities that extend beyond tourism. Floating vegetable, flower gardens and water gardens can animate the city and provide a micro-climatic relief to the increasing density, pollution and hard surfaces of the city.

CONCLUSION

What so-called progressive Western architects and urbanists are fighting for, Vietnam already has in it; informal and/or illegal substructure. Vietnam's hybrid urban landscapes have neither been shaped by aesthetics nor symbolic aims but defined in pragmatic terms.

What so-called progressive Western architects and urbanists are striving to implant in their weakening urban structures, Vietnam has – and has to protect. Presently, the country is leapfrogging over the industrial into the information technology era and accepting the dominant wisdom of the world; Vietnam's red capitalists have embraced market economics with a vengeance. Meanwhile, the centralist planners in Hanoi have permitted themselves the luxury of dream and are producing 'master plans' to quickly propel cities into prosperity. The dynamic messiness of reality is replaced by seductive imagery. Informal and illegal settlements and activities are brushed under a beautiful carpet of urban fantasy. The soul of Vietnamese urbanism could easily disappear.

Vietnam has the opportunity to develop an ambivalent urbanity – one where 'place culture' meets globalization. A balance can be struck between the forces of stability and the forces of mobility in the country's hybrid urban landscapes. Two very different but complementary elements of landscapes need to continue to develop in parallel – one established, maintained and governed by law and political institutions, dedicated to permanence and planned evolution; the other, the vernacular landscape, identified with local custom, pragmatic adaptation to circumstances, and unpredictable mobility/change. The informal and/or illegal elements within Vietnamese urbanity can become the strategic points to create such a balance.

In the examples of Vinh, Hue and Can Tho and Vietnamese streets, the existing potentials of informal markets, urban agriculture, water-based urbanism and ambiguous thresholds can be exploited. All four areas fit the criteria/objectives to be developed as strategic projects:

i. economic objective: A project is strategic if it can generate income in itself or help to generate income. For example, strategic projects can create interaction between formal and informal economies. Besides socialist and capitalist economies, the importance of the informal economy was stressed, especially in its regards to the use of resources and spatial opportunities it affords.

ii. social objective: A project is strategic if it reinforces the public realm and if it aims at improving the working and living conditions, especially of the urban poor.

iii. spatial objective: A project is strategic if it clarifies and strengthens the basic structure of the city.

iv. environmental objective: A project is strategic if it is able to achieve a balance between the consumptive and productive use of space and able to improve the balance between the man-made and the natural environment.

Ultimately any planning system is only as good as the political will supporting it. The public policies regarding urban form need to be up-dated to include the contemporary discourse within the professions of architectural and urban design itself. In this regard, the terms 'informality', 'unplanned' and 'illegality' become assets and opportunities, providing not only realistic arenas for the complexity of the current economy, but also as identity for communities.

Vietnam's stunted development can play strongly in the future opportunities of urbanization. Many of the ambitious plans for the country remain on paper. The period of reflection that is sweeping across South-east Asia – triggered by economic doldrums – need be earnestly taken. Architects and urbanists can build upon the potentials inherent in the existing Vietnamese structuring to create a truly Vietnamese urbanity for the 21st Century∎

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LYARI EXPRESSWAY
Concerns and Proposals of the Urban Resource Centre

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ABSTRACT

This paper critically examines the Lyari Expressway Project which is being constructed to divert the heavy traffic load from the inner city areas of Karachi. Technical validity of the project; transparency; consultation with the stakeholders; capacity of concerned civil agencies to exercise and manage the project; implications on existing settlements that fall in the right of way; relationship of the project with the larger city planning issues and aesthetic and social repercussions are addressed in this paper. Concerns and proposals raised by Urban Resource Centre – a research based non-governmental organization are presented in a bid to study the validity of the project in comparison to other planned options available for the purpose.

INTRODUCTION

The Northern Bypass[1] was proposed by the Karachi Master Plan 1975-85[1]. If the bypass had been built, all port related traffic, which now passes through the city, would have been re-directedthrough it to the Super Highway. Since this traffic consists mainly of heavy diesel vehicles, their bypassing the city would have helped in removing congestion and pollution in Karachi. However, the bypass, for a variety of reasons, was never built and over the years the volume of port related traffic has steadily increased, congesting and polluting the city further.

In 1989 a group of public spirited citizens proposed the Lyari Expressway[2] as an alternative to the Northern Bypass. The Expressway was to be an elevated one built over the Lyari River from the port to Sohrab Goth. Subsequently, the local government changed its design and it was decided to build the Expressway along the banks of the Lyari River (Map-1).

Many professionals, NGOs and citizens of the Lyari Corridor objected to the building of the Expressway, including the Urban Resource Centre (URC). This paper gives the concerns and proposals of the URC[3].

1 - PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS AND TRANSPARENCY

Since 1992, Lyari Expressway has been on the cards. Controversy has raged around it.

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[1] Northern Bypass was proposed in the Karachi Development Plan (1973-85) as a semi ring road and an alternate route from the port to the Super Highway. Detailed static's and corresponding plans have been prepared for the bypass which are aimed to divert the heavy traffic from the city roads. If built, the bypass shall help de-congest inner city areas; align a new development corridor for the much needed ware housing and storage spaces; help maintain urban roads by taking their heavy loads away; revitalize the inner city areas and procure spaces for transit terminals. The bypass awaits implementations up till now.

[2] Lyari is one of the oldest settlements in Karachi. It is located in the south-western zone along the banks of Lyari River. It evolved as a worker's settlement but slowly gave rise to mixed land use. Over the period of time the area has densified due to its proximity with the port. Warehousing has become a dominant activity in the area. In the intensifying development, most of the area has been covered with built structures, leaving only the river and its immediate banks as extended open spaces. The proposed Lyari Expressway shall change this characteristic of the area in a sizable manner.

[3] Urban Resource Centre (URC), set up in 1989, is a non-governmental organisation aimed to study and analyse development plan/ proposals for Karachi. It prepares alternates in consultation with the communities and interest groups and compiles and catalogues information related to the city of Karachi. During the past several years, URC has addressed many development projects and plans related to Karachi in water supply, sewerage, transportation, housing and physical development sectors.
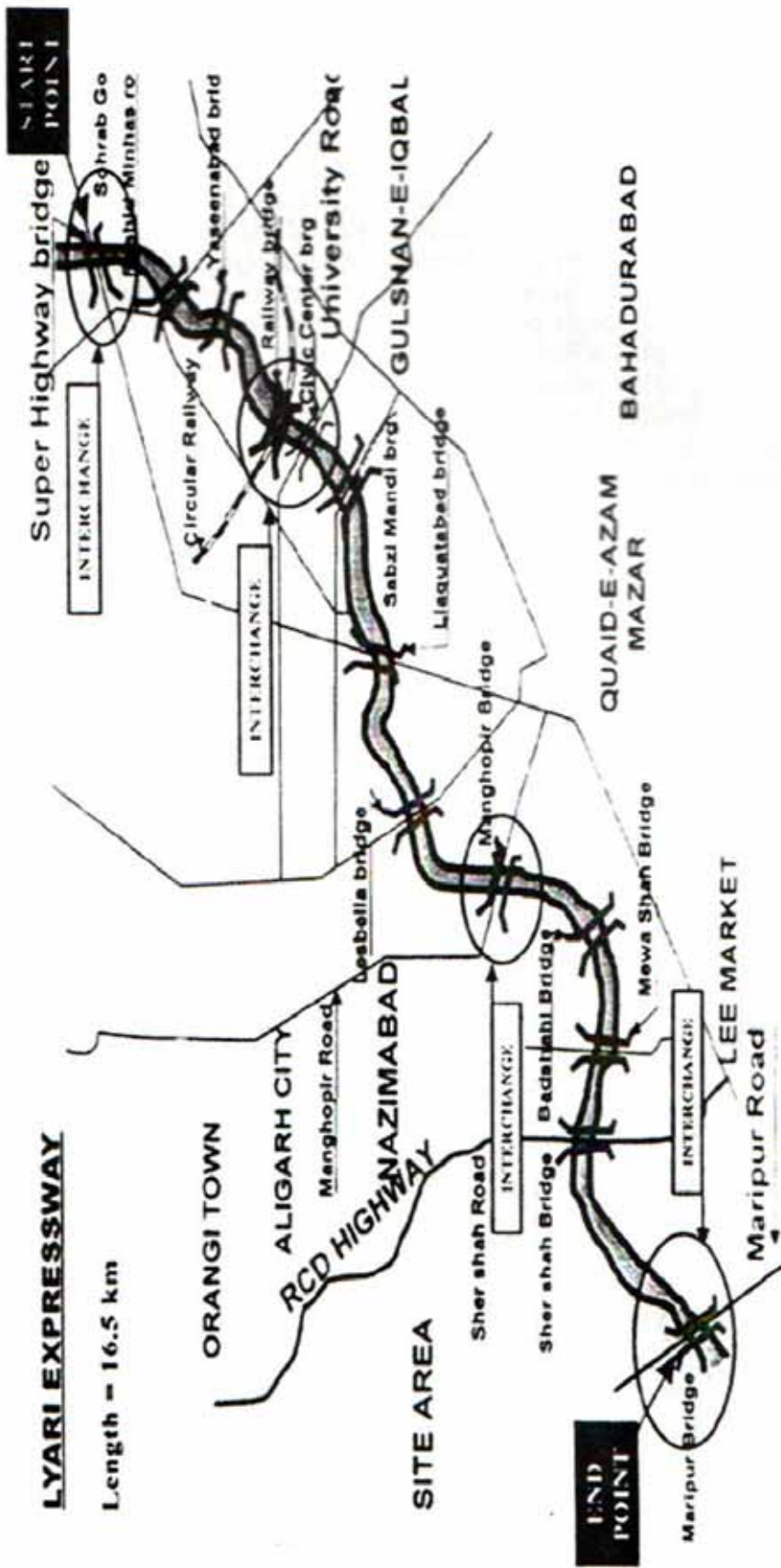
Map 1: Lyari Expressway as Proposed by the National Highway Authority, Ministry of Communication, Government of Pakistan

Professionals and NGOs have pointed out that heavy traffic should not move through the city but should bypass it, because it will cause immense pollution. They have pointed out that the Defence Society has refused to let the Southern Bypass be constructed through it. They have also pointed out that since heavy traffic started moving through Khyaban-e-Roomi and Sunset Boulevard, the lives of the people living on this corridor have been adversely affected and the green areas on the roundabouts which were full of people previously are now deserted. They have also pointed out that in many cities, expressways that passed through the city and carried heavy traffic, have now been restricted to light traffic only or have had major environmental mitigation measures applied to them[4]. As such, the opponents of the Expressway have supported the building of the Northern Bypass (Map-2).

Given the controversy, public consultations on the project should have been held before finalising it. Such consultations are even more important in the case of Karachi where many projects of the past have turned out to be disasters. In most cases, citizens and professionals gave reasons as to why these projects would fail and asked for public consultations. Such consultations never took place. A list of some of these projects is given below.

- METROVILLES[5]: It was pointed out that the plots in these housing schemes would never reach the target group and that the better-off would make use of the subsidies in-built in them. After building two and a half metrovilles, the Metroville Project was abandoned. The dissenting professionals were proved right [2].

- LINES AREA REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT: Professionals pointed out that the Lines Area Redevelopment Project would turn the area into a large slum which would neither benefit the city nor the people of the area. Alternatives were offered but the authorities did not consider them.

The Lines Area today is the largest planned slum in Karachi both physically and sociologically[3].

- GREATER KARACHI SEWAGE PLAN: This has been funded by the Asian Development Bank (ADB). As a result of this, the Karachi Water and Sewerage Board (KWSB) is in debt to a tune of Rs 42 billion which the city of Karachi will ultimately pay. However, Karachi's sewage problems have still not improved and its treatment plants function to only about 20 percent of their capacity [4].

- BALDIA SEWAGE SCHEME: Funded by the ADB, it has been a major failure which the ADB itself has admitted. As a result, Rs. 600 million have literally gone down the drain. Alternatives to the Scheme offered by the Orangi Pilot Project-Research and Training Institute (OPP-RTI) were rejected. However, the same proposals were successfully implemented in Orangi; a success later admitted by the ADB in its reports[6].

- KARACHI DEVELOPMENT PLAN: A team for the evaluation of the Karachi Development Plan was appointed by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). It pointed out that the Plan was not implementable and gave many reasons for it. Its recommendations were not considered. The Plan which cost Rs. 430 million was never implemented and the expensive hardware purchased for it is now lying wasted [5].

- KARACHI MASS TRANSIT PROJECT (KMTP): Citizens and professionals raised objections to the Karachi Mass Transit Project. As a result, the Project was modified to reduce the number of proposed mass transit corridors from seven to three, since it was pointed out that the Circular Railway ran parallel to some of the corridors and if it was revived, the corridors were not necessary. Also, as a result of citizen's intervention, the width of the transit way along a part of M.A. Jinnah Road was reduced which

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[4] Riyadh, Boston and Bangkok are major examples of such cities.

[5] A series of low cost housing projects on the outskirts of Karachi.

[6] Various sector reports on Urban Environmental Sanitation by Asian Development Bank, Pakistan Country Office-Islamabad have admitted to this fact.
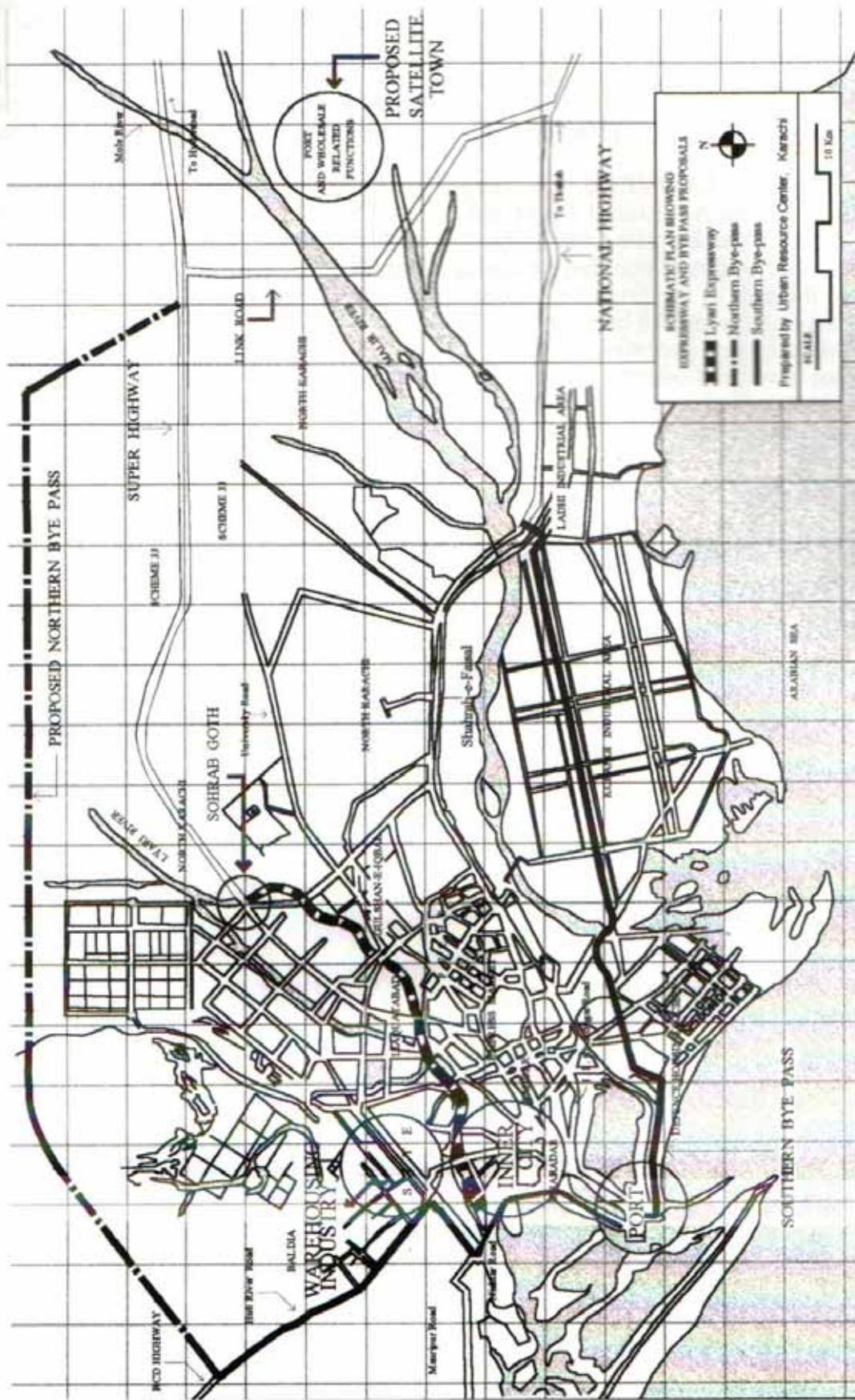
Map - 2: Map of Karachi showing the Relationship between Lyari Expressway and the Northern and Southern Bypasses.

helped in improving the environmental conditions. It is now accepted that the Karachi Circular Railway and its extensions are a viable mass transit option to the KMTP and is cheaper and environmentally more friendly[7] (Map-3a, 3b).

- THE GULSHAN FLYOVERS: Citizens pointed out to the then Additional Secretary, Government of Sindh, that by taking the Railway track underground or overhead one flyover could be reduced and the cost of the project would be reduced to a fraction of what had been estimated. If this proposal had been accepted, the largerf lyover would not have been constructed, much to the relief of pedestrians, and would have led to a marked improvement in the aesthetic and environmental quality of the area[6].

In the absence of public consultations, there is no transparency in the project design and implementation process. This is obvious from the following;
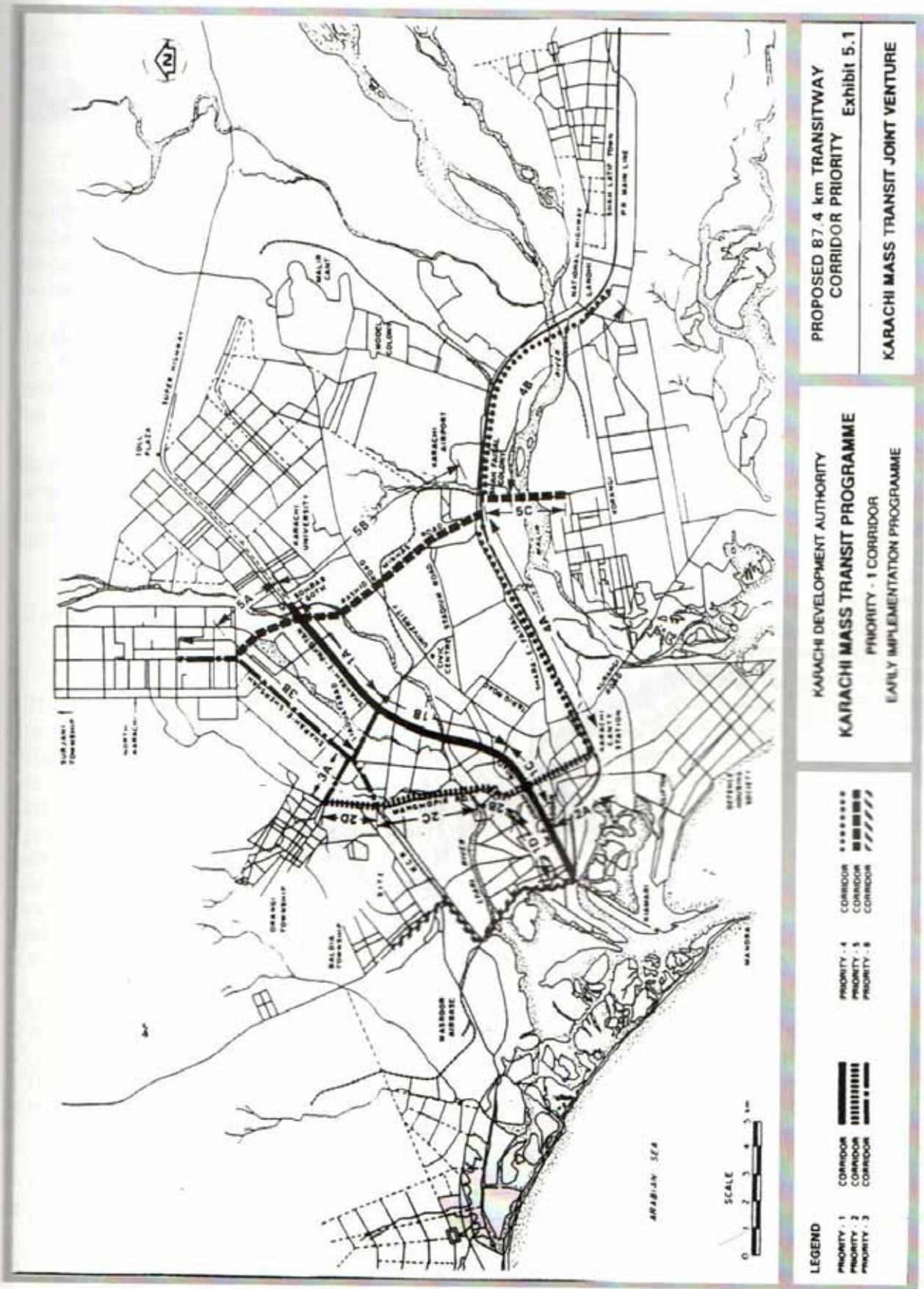
- The plans of the project have not been made available to the effectees and as such many of the populace is unaware of whether they are being effected or not.

- The Expressway planners do not seem to be aware of either of these issues, since the plans have not been finalised and yet demolitions have begun (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Demolition in Progress

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[7] Karachi Mass Transit Programme (KMTP) was proposed to serve the rising demands of commutation along the major movement corridors. The Corridor-1 originated from Sohrab Goth Junction and culminated at Mereweather Tower. Corridor-2 was planned to start from Orangi and end at Cantonment Railway Station. Total estimated cost for these two corridors was USD 1.150 Billion. In addition the priority three corridor spreads onto 15.4 km, which passes through the localities of North Karachi, Nazimabad and branches to Banaras Chowk, Liaquatabad and Manghopir Road Bridge near SITE Office partly along Karachi Circular Railway. Source: Hasan (2002).

Map-3a: KMTP Original Plan

KCR Existing Lines

Proposed Extensions

N

SIND

HUB VALLEY EAST

WEST KARACHI

Layari River

North Karachi (Scheme 11)

Northeast Karachi (Scheme 33)

Super Highway

National Highway

University

Malir Cantonment

Airport

Drigh Cantonment

Industry

Cattle Colony

Salt

Korangi Creek

ARABIAN SEA

Orangi

Baldia

C.N.A.P.

Railway

AIR BASE

S.I.T.E.

Treatment Plant

P.E.C.H.S.

Saddar

Defence

Clifton

Mangrove Swamp

Mangrove Swamp

Karachi Port

Manora

Sandspit

Salt

Mauripur Road

HAWK'S BAY

SCALE

10 Km

Map - 3b: Existing Karachi Circular Railway Lines and thier Proposed Extensions.

– The President of Pakistan had issued instructions that the affectees should be rehabilitated on the land acquired as a result of the building of the Expressway[8]. Despite this the effectees are being removed to distant locations.

– The Karachi Nazim has claimed that all land reclaimed by the building of the Expressway will be turned into parks and will not be given or sold to developers. He has also announced that it will be earmarked for development projects. This is a contradiction to the presidents order.

At the *Jang* Forum[9] the officials and consultants in charge of the Expressway project expressed conflicting views as to whether heavy traffic would be permitted on the Expressway or not.

In the absence of transparency, there is confusion among the communities that are being effected; confusion among the planners, concerned NGOs and citizens.

2 - ILLEGALITIES AND UNFULFILLED COMMITMENTS BY THE GOVERNMENT

The Government of Pakistan has committed itself to the global plan of action adopted by the UN Habitat – II, in 1996, which recognises the right to adequate housing, condemns forced evictions and encourages a humane manner of dealing with poor squatter families. The forced eviction and demolition of homes and businesses for the building of the Lyari Expressway is a violation of this commitment and also the violation of the policy adopted by the Musharraf Government for dealing with *katchi abadis*[10][7].

Under Section 12 of the Pakistan Environmental Act, 1997, "No proponent of a project shall commence construction or operation unless he has filed with the federal agency an initial environmental examination". This section further binds any proponent of a project to submit an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), when the project is likely to cause an adverse environmental effect, and obtain approval from the concerned federal authority.

In the case of Lyari Expressway the Government is violating its own commitments and its own laws. A government that does this cannot be taken seriously and no one can expect its citizens to follow its laws.

3 - NEED FOR A RESETTLEMENT PLAN

According to Government estimates, about 13,531 housing units and 1,222 commercial units are being demolished with building of the Lyari Expressway (Figure 2). In addition, 58 places of worship and tombs would be effected. 1,348 multi-storey structures, including 31 five-storey buildings also come in the Expressway alignment. Government estimates that the lives of a population of 81,540 will be disrupted. However, according to estimates of the Lyari Nadi Welfare Association (an association of 42 Lyari community groups), the figures are 25,400 houses and 3,600 businesses. These are enormous dislocations of livelihoods, homes and families[8]. The association estimates that over 200,000 families will be effected. Majority of the people who are being effected either work within the corridor in garbage collection and sorting or in the neighbouring settlements as daily-wage labour. The garbage collection and sorting industry serves the recycling factories that are functioning in the settlements located on the Northern banks of the River. This industry is crucial to Karachi as it recycles about 30 percent of Karachi's solid waste[9].

The Government is offering a plot to these effectees in Baldia, Taiser Town, Surjani Town and Hawksbay. Land required for resettlement is around 600 acres. These alternative sites have no water, roads, sewage, electricity, social amenities or job

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[8] The land that will be reclaimed is estimated to be 1.8 million square yards.

[9] Occasional forums held by Jang, a leading Urdu language newspaper, to discuss various civic problems.

[10] *Katchi Abadi's* is a local term used for informal settlements.

Figure 2: Settlements along Lyari River.

opportunities. In many cases, people who have previously been allotted plots in resettlement schemes, have yet to receive them for reasons that the authorities are unable to give. In Karachi a very large number of people who have been evicted previously from their homes (example, Lines Area) were given *parchis*[11] promising them a plot. Even after ten years they have still not received their piece of land. That *parchi* is worthless. Also, experience tells us that it requires Karachi's development authorities anything between five to ten years to fully develop 600 acres.

A resettlement plan guaranteeing homes, jobs and social amenities should have been an integral part of the Lyari Expressway Project. There are many examples of such plans. For instance in Bombay 19,000 families are being evicted as a result of the expansion of railways. According to the Bombay

Resettlement Plan[10].

– State government provides land,

– Railway authorities level and develop the land,

– The municipality provides off-site infrastructure and allots the land to community co-operative,

– The Housing Bank provides house building loans to the co-ops through NGOs,

– Railway expansion starts after this process has taken place.

A proper resettlement plan for Lyari could have been partially self-financed and would have been an opportunity for improving the housing

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[11] *'Parchi'* is a note issued by a government department as a soft recommendation. In this case, it refers to the recommendation for allotment of a plot of land.

conditions, education, health and economic activities of 25,000 families and businesses instead of their total destruction in this age of recession, unemployment and growing homelessness. Urban planning is not about building roads alone but about improving job opportunities and community cohesiveness. By now, after years of civic strife, Karachi's planners should have learnt this lesson.

4 - LYARI EXPRESSWAY AND ITS ADJACENT AREAS

The building of the Lyari Expressway will not solve the problems of the areas adjacent to the Lyari Corridor. The problems of these areas are in essence the problems of Karachi. These issues are explained below.

A. Between East Avenue in SITE and M.A. Jinnah Road are the settlements of Sher Shah, Chakiwara, Khadda, Lyari, Kharadar, Mithadar, Bohra Pir, Ranchore Lines, Wadhomall Quarters and other old areas of the city.

B. These areas are the most densely populated areas of the city and by far the most environmentally degraded and congested with traffic. The reasons for this are that;

− These areas contain Karachi's old markets and industries. Previously they occupied a small area and the rest of the area was all residential. But these markets have expanded to meet the demands of a growing city and now engulf this entire area.

− This market and industrial activity requires godowns. These have proliferated bringing about major land use changes.

− Godowns are served by trucks and transport and these have clogged the narrow lanes of these old settlements. All cross roads and open spaces have been turned into transport terminals and the pavements cater to the needs of the drivers, loaders and mechanics.

− Due to the absence of space for the growth of

this activity, it is now taking place on the roads and footpaths.

C. The markets and industrial activity in this area consist of the following;

DHAN MANDI: (Wheat Market) The Mandi[12] operators do not wish to remain in this area. They have been asking for relocation to places that are easily accessible by rail and road and where they can expand their godowns. Their godowns are now not only on the ground floor but even on floors above and have expanded to around the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation (KMC) offices. Due to their presence people in the area suffer from asthma and other respiratory diseases. With the absence of space many Dhan Mandi merchants are establishing godowns in *katchi abadis* which will create problems in the future.

CHEMICAL MARKET: Six children died recently because of pollution produced by the chemical market. The market has godowns attached to it which are very hazardous for the area and should be shifted in any case. Residents are constantly in conflict with the chemical market operators and godown owners. They too are seeking godown space in *katchi abadis*.

METAL MARKET: Metal Market has foundries, casting and recycling industries. It occupies a very large area and due to a lack of space it has expanded along the Lyari Corridor.

SOLID WASTE SORTING AND RECYCLING: The solid waste recycling factories are in Sher Shah and the Northern bank of the Lyari River. The sorting activity that supports them has expanded along the Lyari Corridor due to an absence of space for its growth. This activity is crucial for the city of Karachi since it manages to collect and recycle about one-third of Karachi's solid waste. The recyclers and sorters have indicated to the Governor's Task Force for the Improvement of Municipal Services, that they would be willing to shift to landfill sites if they were developed in an appropriate manner that provided them and their labour with land, water, electricity and access roads[11].

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[12] *'Mandi'* is a local term used for wholesale markets.

D. Residents of the Lyari settlements have constantly demanded that cargo transport and godowns should be shifted from their areas so that congestion and pollution of the area can be reduced. They have also demanded that the areas vacated by these activities should be taken over by the government and turned into badly needed amenities.

E. The areas of Kharadar, Mithadar, Bohra Pir, Jail Quarters and Wadhomall Quarters, house much of Karachi's built heritage. This built heritage is being pulled down and replaced by godowns and residential accommodation for the people who work in these markets.

F. Over the years the number of people sleeping on the streets and pavements of this vast area has increased alarmingly. Most of them work in the markets and industries that are located here.

G. The suffocation of this huge area by traffic is one of the major problems that the city of Karachi faces. It is also the reason why businesses from Serai Quarters and "down town" are shifting to Clifton and Shahrah-e-Faisal, turning the historic core of Karachi into a dilapidated and environmentally degraded area.

The building of the Lyari Expressway will not solve any of the problems and concerns mentioned above. On the contrary, it is possible that much of the land reclaimed from the building of the expressway will be used for the activities that the expressway is dislocating. This is because the market is stronger than the desires of the planners or the power of the state. This is an aspect that needs to be looked into.

5 - AESTHETICS AND SOCIAL REPERCUSSIONS

The design of the consultants for the Expressway indicates that the expressway will be built on an earth embankment of approximately eight feet in height which will run along the Lyari Corridor. At 12 points along the Corridor this embankment will rise to a height of about 27 feet so that it may "fly over" the existing bridges. Four of these points will be interchanges. Thus, we will have a high roller coaster on either side of the River, often way above the level of the river bank. It is necessary to seek the advice of the architectural and planning professionals in this regard and to involve other interest groups in the discussion. From the looks of it, the Lyari Expressway will consist of two massive fortifications along the two banks of the river, physically dividing the city into North and South Lyari. This existing division between comparatively better off and poorer sections of the city will be reinforced. In addition, with this plan the Lyari Expressway will be no Lahore Canal Bank[13] as its promoters have claimed it will be.

6 - PRIORITIES

If the Government is desirous of saving the people living in the Lyari bed from a flood disaster, there are other ways of doing it. These alternatives should be discussed. If on the other hand, the government wishes to reduce traffic congestion, there are a number of projects whose impact would be far more beneficial than that of the Lyari Expressway. These projects include the building of a road from Tin Hatti to the Jail roundabout reducing pressure on Guru Mandir; the completion of the Preedy Street and Korangi Road extensions; the building of inter-city and intra-city transport terminals, workshops and depots (a lot of spade work has been done already on these by the Governor's Task Force on Municipal Services) and the building of the Circular Railway and its extensions.

The Northern Bypass and the Lyari Expressway both begin and end at approximately the same locations and serve at least for port related traffic, the same functions. Therefore, one can ask that after the building of the Northern bypass, what exactly is the need for such an elaborate Expressway?

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[13] Lahore Canal Bank Road is a fast moving double track carriage way developed on either side of the main canal. The surrounding environment of this highway is grossly pleasant due to the precedented plantation and greenery along the corridor.

7 - POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES TO THE PRESENT PLAN

Considering what has been said above, the alternative to the present plan should be to;

i.   Build landfill sites and negotiate the shifting of the recycling industry and garbage sorting yards from the trans-Lyari area to the landfill sites along with the families that work in them. They will require water, electricity, land and roads. Plans for this have already been developed for the Governor's Task Force on Municipal Services and consultations have been held with the garbage recyclers and sorters.

ii. Build the Northern Bypass and negotiate the shifting of the Dhan Mandi, Chemical Market, Metal foundries and the labour working in them. Much of the homeless labour can be housed through schemes on the *Khuda-ki-Basti*[14] model.

iii. Occupy all land vacated by the transfer of these activities and turn it into amenities for the trans-Lyari settlements.

iv. Dredge the river and build embankments on either side. The land reclaimed by this should be converted into parks. If a road is still thought necessary, it should be developed as a simple bank road. Karachi and specially the trans-Lyari area, needs open areas and spaces for recreation.

v.   Institute a conservation plan for the old quarters of Karachi. This will be possible only if congestion and environmentally degrading activity can be shifted from it.

If it is problematic to develop infrastructure along the Northern Bypass, then the development of the Southern Bypass[15] should be reconsidered and the various markets and their related activities should be shifted to it. However, if the Northern Bypass is built without formally planned development, informal developments along it are bound to develop. Indications are that this is already happening.

CONCLUSIONS

Work of the Lyari Expressway should be suspended and a discussion on the issues raised in this paper should be initiated. If as a result, it is decided to build the Expressway then a proper rehabilitation plan which improves the living and economic conditions of the effectees in particular and Karachi in general, should be developed and implemented with their participation, before the commencement of physical work on the Expressway∎

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[14] 'Khuda Ki Basti' (God's Settlement) was a settlement evolved on the concept of incremental housing scheme. This approach provides housing option to Urban poor at an affordable cost and management conditions. Procedure of the housing provision is kept transparent, simple and compatible to the needs of the poor. Three projects have been launched at Gulshan-e-Shahbaz near Hyderabad, Gharo at National Highway and Taisar Town Karachi.

[15] Southern Bypass was proposed as an alternate route to pass through the areas of Clifton and Defence Housing Authority. This route, which was initially planned as grade separated, aimed to connect the port to the National Highway. However due, to the resistance and influence exercised by the area residents of the posh locations, the bypass could not be developed as initially proposed.

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USER PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESS OF PRESERVATION
A Case Study of Bologna Historical Core Preservation Project

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ABSTRACT

Historic city centres all over the world have suffered from neglect as well as harmful developments. Many historic districts have been ripped off their traditional fabric and cultural essence due to insensitive decisions of the govering bodies. Many renewal/ preservation projects have failed to retain the socio-cultural essence of space/ area. The main reason for all these is the fact that planners/ architects completely disregard the communities or inhabitants living in such old historic areas, and refrain from indulging into an interactive participation with the communities for whom they are working. This paper looks into the importance of community participation in projects of historic preservation, and the impact it has on the success of such projects. The case of Bologna Preservation Project is discussed, where community pratication has been the key to success.

INTRODUCTION

The process of globalisation, effectual in the entire world; might have started off in the 1980's as the "integration of national markets", yet today its implications are evident in every aspect of life.

This rapid change and transformation has also changed the concept of space and attributed new meanings to urban environment. Sky-scrapers, giant concrete blocks, big shopping centres, fair areas and prestigious buildings, besides being a product of design, are considered as symbols of power or indicators of cultural change. In other words, city image turning into a "trade good", caused a new vision of spectacular architecture to become a new dimension in architectural design process [1].

How has the individual been affected and changed during this new process in the context of the formation of the environment? The answer to this question can be found by searching how the individual participates in the process of global urbanization, both in theory and in practice. Participation by definition, means the inclusion/ intervention of an individual to an event or activity by sharing the views and ideas with others who join the same event or activity. However, in a more confined view - relevant in this article - 'participation' should be conceived as all possible professional groups encouraging and enabling the public or users to partake (in any way; ideas or activity) in the process (regardless of the kind of production). Hence, an individual who participates in the decision-making, i.e. in constituting his/ her own environment, will undoubtedly enter a process of change and development for him/ herself. Otherwise, if the individual in question is left out in the course of the process, he/ she will inevitably be alienated from his/ her environment. Alienation refers to a situation where people detach from others or environment, leading to a sort of isolation.

New problematic forms in environment-human relations can be shown as the consequence of such a globalisation phenomenon in the metropolitan areas. The problem is the alienation of the individual to his/ her own world (living millieu) who, basically, has integrated with the world in a "globalised" manner. This particular "feeling" that is extensively and deeply experienced in our contemporary urban spaces, obliges designers to develop alternative production processes and approaches investigating the social reality with its different dimensions. It is obvious that, in the new models to be developed, the urban individual, has to defend his/ her own rights and freedoms, hence his/ her identity, while re-creating the environment.

Architects' Council of Europe (ACE) has brought forward the discussion on socially responsive architecture and the social responsibilities of architects, who are primarily responsible for the man-made environment. The objective of such a discussion is the adoption of environmental ethics, including parameters like humane, sustainable, livable and culturaly consistent.

With such an understanding the primary aim in this article is to investigate the important role of the architect in providing the users a new form of living; by participating to the process as well as in organising the whole process.

Bologna Historical Core Preservation Project is presented hereby within the confined scope of the article, because it examplifies the above mentioned view-piont and understanding in the field of preservation in the 1970's. But it should also be underlined that the sustainability and validity of the approach is of greatest importance to today's societies.

The main idea behind the choice of this project for this particular paper, is to emphasize the advantages of user's participation in creation of the environment and the contribution of the society in forming the new life style. In other words, participation of individuals in the creation of the environment, should not only be perceived as an alternative design process, but should rather be considered and studied as the power for changing the society.

1 - INTEGRATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN AND SOCIAL CHANGE

In 1968 with the introduction of the participation concept and its reflections in ideological and political platforms, numerous experimental projects were inspired by the idea of user's participation in the processes of architectural/ urban design in the entire world.

With the incorporation of this concept into architecture - or design in general - it has been observed that in different countries, approaches emphasizing the participation have been developed

on the basis of each country's specific conditions.

Architectural design, when not integrated with social reality, is condemned to be an incomplete professional exercise. A space which is designed independently from socio-cultural and psychological specification of the users can never be integrated with them and can never serve the purpose of creating a sustainable life style that will contribute in the enhancement of the qualities of the environment.

2 - THE PROCESS OF PARTICIPATORY DESIGN

Bologna, an important center of trade and commerce throughout history is situated on the fertile Po Valley, in Emilia-Romagna, Northern Italy.

Its historical center has gone through a preservation implementation in 1969 which constitutes an original example of its kind in Europe. This implementation process in Bologna Preservation Project illustrates holistic approach in design process and therefore remains valid and up-dated especially for developing countries. This is the

Map - 1 : Geographic location of Italy.

reason why this specific case study has been taken up for this article.

The old city of Bologna possesses very rich samples of Medieval and Renaissance buildings. The first regulatory plans concerning city development and preservation, that were in force already in 1889, had given priorities to growth, construction of new roads and upgrading the physical conditions. The mentality of the bourgeoisie looking upon the traditional/ historical urban pattern, particularly the city walls, as obstacles for the development, caused the demolishing of city walls in order to open the avenue of Mercato di Mezzo [2].

It was only after the plan of 1955, that new approaches were introduced, and an awareness for the historical city center and the need of its preservation increased. In 1966, the first open session for public was held, and Professor Benevolo's[1] proposal for Preservation of the Historic Core of Bologna was presented. This was the time when people started becoming more and more conscious about the issues of Historic Preservation[3]. However, it was only after the approval of the "Plan for Historical Centre–General Regulatory/ Master Plan", that the treatment of the historical zone/ district with its economic and socio-cultural parameters could be taken into the agenda. The objective of this particular project, besides the preservation of a historical environment, was to develop a new life style. The approach, presumes that preserving old buildings as uninhabited spaces is a misconception, and replaces it with an understanding that takes social and cultural variables into account. The principles in the Master Plan prepared by the planner L. Cervallati represent the same approach.

Cervallati, conceiving the city as the symbol of collective memory of the individuals, invites the volunteering citizens to participate in the process of implementation[2]. Hence, this preservation work, while being an experience of participatory democracy on one hand, also respects the protection principle of original social life of the city, on the other. In other words, historical district of the city, should be preserved with the integration of human and space parameters (Figure 1).

In this special (original) preservation work, the first thing that the planners envisaged was, the improvement in awareness of users by instigating in them a certain possessive attitude towards their environment. First stages of the implementation were completely devoted to such efforts. As a result, Bologna residents comprehended that historical center was not only a space constituted by old buildings, but was also a cultural heritage which was shaped by their own life styles and traditions. Undoubtedly such a process of consciousness could not be realized in a short

Figure 1: The Arcades Shelter a Rich Social Life, also Retained as Prominent Feature in the New Infill Housing.
Source: Pierluigi Cervellati.

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[1] Professor Benevolo was a renowned Architecture Historian. His proposal was later on referred to as Benevolo Project.

[2] In Bologna the total population approaches 480.000, of whom about 70.000 live in the historic core.

Figure 2: Deteriorated Conditions in the Historic Core Prior to the Begining of Preservation Programme.
Source: Pier-Luigi Cervellati.

period of time. In the beginning phases, work was done on developing awareness of people regarding preservation and the realization that history was not limited with Maggiore and Nettuno Squares or the sculptures. People were also made to appreciate housing patterns as important elements of cultural value (Figure 2).

The quality of preservation improves in direct proportion to the correct perception and appreciation of users, as well as its achievements in the field of social enlightenment. In this regard the first thing declared to the users was that, such a work requires serious research and analysis. It was also explained that an old city should be conceived as a living organism which has gone through evolutionary stages parallel to different policies and strategies.

During the improvement of awareness and education process, the message conveyed to the people was that the Master Plan under consideration is not a work which has nothing to do with the lives of the users. It was made clear that the objective of the work is not the preservation of

buildings but more so the preservation of the culture of the city.

In Italy, Bologna Historical Core Preservation has been referred to, as a special implementation example due its democratic approach. Instead of having all administrative controls concentrated in the hands of Municipal Council, the participation of the citizens in planning and preservation matters was ensured. This achievement can be conceived as a continuation of the sensitivity in urban culture that was originated in Italy the 1950's. Establishment of the Neighborhood Council symbolizes the organization of people with ever increasing power against central authority vision[4].

Efforts on this city quarter system started in the 1960's. By means of re-activation of a passive city law, sections within city walls were sub-divided into fourteen quarters. The decentralization of services and public offices was thus initiated. With the approval of the respective area residents, organizations were elected for each quarter in 1963. First council members of the quarter and

their chairman were elected in 1964. In the Bologna Project, the design team also proposed several regulations for legal effects. These proposals dealt with aspects concerning contracts between owners and local authorities. For instance, provision of support in building restoration for individual property owners was made conditional to return of the property to the existing tenants.

The local authority provided financial assistance and technical advice. The contractual arrangements made in this respect controlled speculation and exploitation of the project for political purposes. The project, thus, ensured to keep the area inhabitants intact in their living milieu (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Views of Typical Aarcades after the Restoration.
Source: Dr. D. Binan Archives

This understanding of Bologna Master Plan, which happens to be its important specialty, was accepted in 1974 as a valid principle, by the European Council, as an approach of holistic preservation.

The individuals who experienced the Bologna Project have realized that, what counts in the environment is the qualitative values and not the quantitative ones, and those values are directly connected to their lives. This conclusion indicates the interaction situations between the enlightenment process and the preservation of cultural heritage.

Experiencing a design process is not only a creation of environment but also a re-creation of the society. The citizen who participates in the process, becomes aware of the past of the city and feels responsible for it's future. As already mentioned above, besides being a successful renewal and preservation work, this project has proved to be an achievement in the improvement of social consciousness and enlightenment (Figure 4).

CONCLUSION

The presented project emphasizes the fact that the art and the science of architecture is a human-centered phenomenon, hence has to resume its social responsibilities. This approach aims at creating a new and consistent culture of architecture by contributing to consciousness raising and democratization in the society.

The shapes that our cities will take in the future as well as preservation of their natural and historical values, would primarily depend upon the policies to be developed on those issues. The attitudes in this regard, aiming at establishing democratic methods, are becoming research issues for contemporary designers.

This particular vision is of paramount importance for developing nations, because development of the environment will gain a different dimension by the shared understanding of concious and ethics of individuals. In other words, perceiving the environment as a common possession of mankind – regardless of the segment of history, is the pre-requisite of universalization process.

Figure 4: Typical Buildings after the Restoration. Source: Dr. D. Binan Archives.

Therefore it is the concern of all societies' future that our target should be a humane, livable, and sustainable environment.

Today, consequences of lack of "partnership" and "consciousness", as well as harms to the environment due to individualistic approaches, are well known by everyone; and they cause frightening ecological disasters. At this point, where it would seem inevitable that with the conscious individuals' participation, valuing the priorities of public benefit, a new era of planning has to be introduced.

The new culture that is to be created, is not a matter of design methods, but more importantly it is an endeavor for changing the society. In such a quest, while searching for solutions to enhance relations between society and architecture or producing the built environment, an adoption of a common policy is required, that obliges all concerned parties to join hands in creating a humanist, sustainable, livable and consistent city culture. Within such an organizational framework, the profession of architecture has to revise its social responsibilities and develop an attitude based on today's realities, on an international scale[n]

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A CITY BUILT BY KINGS

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ABSTRACT

The evolution of cities is always governed by many complex factors. These may be geographical, historical, economic and social imperatives. East Asian cities developed in a particular kind of environment, where the demands of survival in a water-dominated environment as well as historical events, shaped the fabric of cities. Bangkok, or *Krung Thep*[1] is one such example. This paper studies the physical and historical evolution of Bangkok, the various factors which shaped the city, and the direction in which it is growing today.

1 - HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The history of Thailand is often referred to as the history of Bangkok and its Kings. Furthermore, the Kings of the Chakri Dynasty who ruled Siam for almost two centuries occupy a very special place in the collective memory of the Thai people. The kings, who were thought to be the incarnation of the Hindu god Vishnu, took the title of Rama. The present king, Bhumipol Adulyadej, is Rama IX. The Chakri Dynasty was responsible for developing much of what is today the historical fabric of the city of Bangkok (Map-1).

It was the destruction of Ayuthaya, the ancient seat of the Siamese empire, which led to the emergence of Bangkok as the new royal capital in the eighteenth century. Bangkok was supposed to resemble Ayuthaya as far as possible which was no small ambition since at the height of its power, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Ayuthaya had a population of one million inhabitants.

There were gilded stupas and temples at every turn of streets and the entire city was encircled by the Chao Phraya River [1]. The siting of Bangkok as the royal capital was a strategic decision.

After the fall of Ayuthaya, Bangkok was chosen as the new capital by King Taksin in 1767. However, the area now known as Bangkok had been occupied for several hundred years by Chinese merchants and had been a trading stop for europeans long before it became the royal capital.

It was King Rama-I who built Bangkok in the image of Ayuthaya. His wish was not to create a new city but to restore Ayuthaya as far as possible. The restoration embraced not merely the form but the whole Ayuthayan way of life, its ethics, its arts, its literature, its law and all the traditional institutions including its administrative system. After the destruction of Ayuthaya at the hands of the Burmese, building materials scavenged from the ruins were transported to Bangkok on barges through the Chao Phraya River and were used in the construction of the new city. Most of the monumental construction was carried out using the slave labour of war captives. The need to have a good defence dominated the way the new city was constructed, to avoid what had happened to Ayuthaya [2].

2 - THE CITY FABRIC

Bangkok was a city shaped by two factors; its geography and physical surroundings, and the strategic interests of its ruling monarchy.

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[1] *'Krung Thep'* is the name of Bangkok in Thai Language meaning the 'City of Angels'. Unless talking to foreigners, the Thai people never call their capital city as Bangkok, in stead they would always refer to it as Krung-Thep pronounced as 'grung-tayp'.
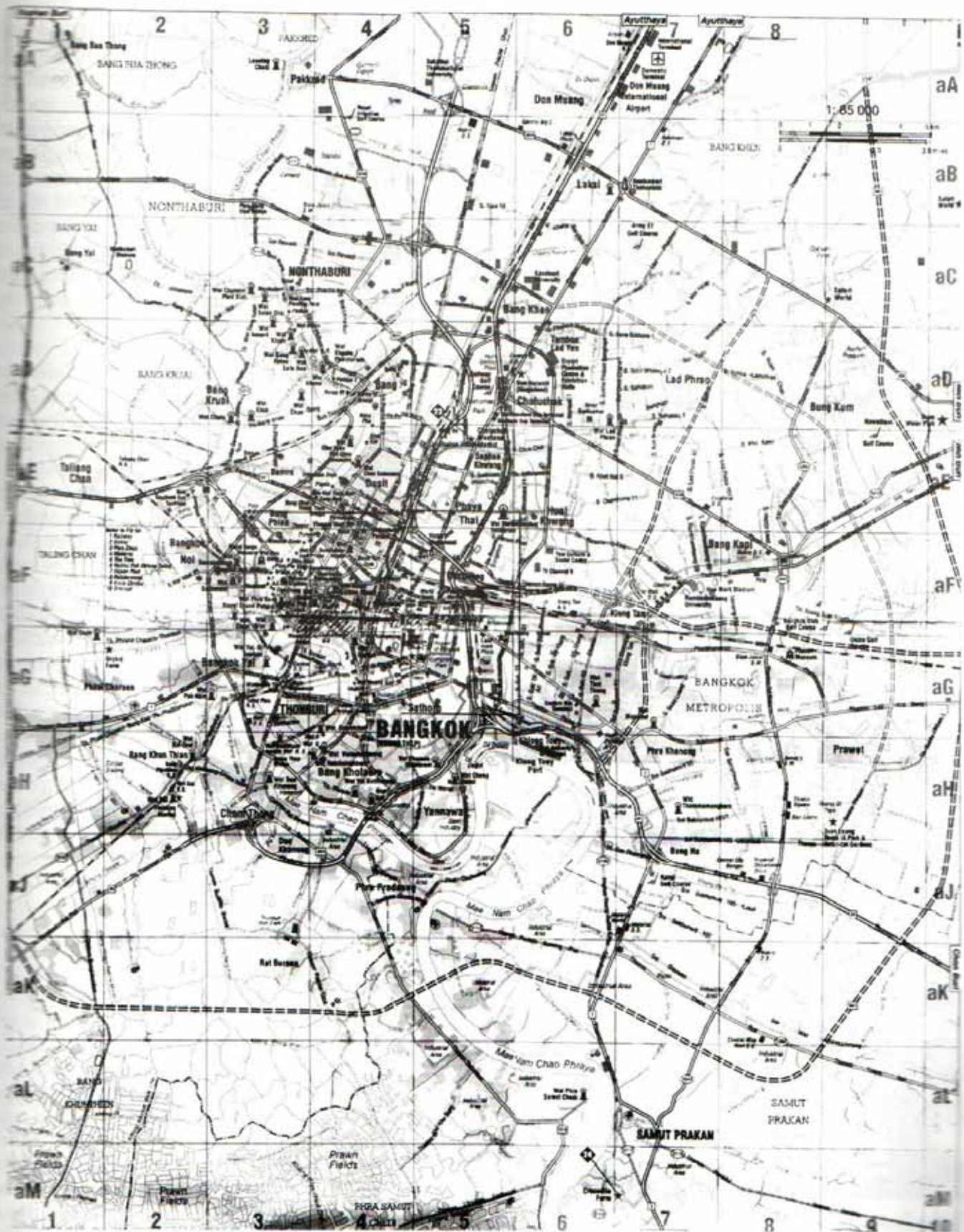
Map - 1: Bangkok and its Environs.

In the course of time the city thus became a reflection of the changing waterways coursing through its heart and the whims and interests of successive kings, the incarnation of the God Rama, who sat upon its throne. Unlike other cities which were shaped by impending realities of economics, politics and population growth, Bangkok's physical fabric was shaped by defensive needs and royal decrees, at least until a certain point in time. In 1785, the King Rama-I decided that the site of construction of the new Grand Palace would be where the old Chinese merchant communities had been settled for the past several hundred years. The entire community was thus moved further west of the city to make way for the new construction. This area is what is presently known as Samphaeng or Chinatown [3] (Figure 1).

Figure 1: An Old Image of the China Town.
Source: Steve van Beek.

King Chulalongkorn (Rama-V) filled the waterways of *Krung Thep* to make wide boulevards which evoked images of European streets, where he had been educated for most of his life, and on which British diplomats could go for evening rides seated in horse carriages. This eventually led to the roads containing more traffic and becoming wider. Consequently, the trees lining the old streets were cut down and sewers were built on the sides. King Rama-V also planned the modern district of Dusit and a modern palace precinct outside the old town walls, linked to the old city by Ratchadamneon Avenue.

A picture of Bangkok begins to emerge from the accounts of a nineteenth century traveler; "…numerous temples of Buddha with tall spires attached… frequently glittering with gilding, were conspicuous among the mean huts and hovels of the natives, throughout which were interspersed a profusion of palms, ordinary fruit trees, and the Sacred Figure… On each side of the river there was a row of floating habitations, resting on rafts of bamboo, moored to the shore… close to these, were anchored the largest description of native vessels... the bazaar in which all the various products of China were exposed for sale in houses floating on the water, in rows of about 8, 10 or more... at either end the houses were bound to long bamboos driven into the river. They are thus enabled to move from place to place... almost all are occupied by merchants and trades people as shoe-makers and tailors... the latter occupations are followed almost exclusively by the Chinese…"[4].

3 - TRANSFORMATION

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Bangkok had become a multicultural city. Two factors contributed to this. First, its location at the mouth of the Chao Phraya River and secondly being an important trans-shipment point. Its reputation as a rising center of trade. The various wars with neighbouring Cambodia, Laos and Burma meant that hordes of captives and slaves were brought to the city and consequently housed there. Their families and later descendents formed neighbourhoods and communities reflecting a great ethnic diversity, including Cambodians,

Laotians, and Malays from the south.

In later years subsequent changes to the city can be attributed to the impact of an expanding capitalist market economy. Previously, Bangkok was defined by a collection of semi-independent communities focused around markets and institutional / religious nodal points. As the city's exposure to the fast modernizing world outside increased, its landscape began to reflect the influences of the western cultures which were residing there. By 1912, "… the streets of Bangkok were well-paved and metalled and kept fairly clean. Those nearest to the palace being in the best condition. Here and there a row of the older thatched dwellings persists and a few floating houses still cling to the banks of the river. The picturesque castellated fortifications of the city are going also, the gateways have nearly all been removed to facilitate traffic and whole sections of the walls have been demolished and utilised as road-metal" [5].

Today's Bangkok is defined by its many high-rise office and apartment buildings, an extensive network of elevated highways and expressways, and one of the densest vehicular traffic in East Asia. Upon first glance it is very difficult to find traces of the old Bangkok, but like the many and complex layers of its history, the city also has many hidden dimensions. The old and the new co-exist, albeit uneasily, in a city populated by six million people, but it is the new which dominates. Modern development in Bangkok is defined by a vertical growth of the city (Figure 2).

It is not merely the buildings which are growing upwards, but the public and circulation spaces as well. Highways, tollways and an elevated skytrain system have overshadowed a large part of the city. Some argue that there are good reasons to build these in Bangkok namely that the city has limited buildable land due to its location on the silty delta of the Chao Phraya River, it is already over-crowded and the public transportation system on the ground is choked with serious traffic problems.

Figure 2: Modern Development in Bangkok is defined by Vertical Growth of the City.

The above-mentioned unprecedented growth has destroyed most of the city's traditional transportation which operated earlier in an elaborate network of canals and small streets (Figure 3).

From a water city, Bangkok is now becoming a 'sky city'. The old network is today still very much in use by the city's poor i.e. those who can not afford the elaborate cost in tolls and tickets of the massive overhead concrete structures. The 'upper city[2]' thus also reinforces a class division already very stark in Thailand.

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[2] The 'upper city' is a term referred to the newer and more developed areas of the city. Since the modern city has developed vertically these parts are called the upper city.

Figure 3: The City's Traditional Mode of Transportation Depended upon an Elaborate Network of Canals.

The creation of the *upper city*, defined by its massive re-inforced concrete pylons and overhangs, has fostered the growth of a new kind of city immediately below. In the shadows of the highways and tollways, informal settlements have sprouted abundantly. They house the growing migrant population of the city as well as the marginalized segments of society. Here, self-built housing abounds and pavements are used for setting up commercial enterprises. People use recycled materials for construction, whatever they can find in the leftover waste and refuse of the massive city overhead.

Another area where informal settlements abound, is along the old waterways and canals. Previously the thriving arteries of trade, these waterways are now increasingly becoming either waste dumps of the city or tourist attractions, wherever they can be salvaged that is.

Along the waterways, the old wooden houses are rotting away but are still somehow maintained for habitation and survival by a creative population.

The stark contrast between the have and the have-nots can be seen as a sign of the rapid inclusion of Bangkok with Thailand into the so-called global economy. The Asian financial crisis which plunged Thailand into a recession in 1997 is an indicator of the transient nature of 'free markets'. This disaster is also reflected in the built environment, where half-finished concrete pylons line the Northern Highway out of Bangkok, as remnants of a now abandoned multi-million dollar infrastructure project. Many other such examples are found all over Bangkok where buildings lie half-finished, a testimony to collapsed financial empires.

4 - THE PERSISTENCE OF TRADITIONAL INFLUENCES

Within all this, elements of Bangkok's traditional past still survive (Figure 4).

A significant part of Bangkok's history are more than 300 temples, called, 'wats', dating from the seventeenth century to the present day. Within their walls, these temples seem to have retained intact the ancient customs and rituals of Siam.

Today, they are also an integral part of the religious and social life of Bangkok's inhabitants. They almost appear to fill the lack of otherwise absent urban public spaces within the city, where tradition and modernity co-exist uneasily.

One of the most striking examples of this coexistence are the hundreds of 'spirit houses'[3] and shrines located at the entrance of almost every commercial office tower in the city.

Figure 4: In Todays Modernized Bangkok the Contrasting Reminders of theTraditional Past Still Survive.

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3   Many Thai believe that when a family builds a new house there is always a possibility that it has disturbed the spirits who lived on that property. Thus to protect their new home a little 'model' house is put up on a pole for the spirits to live in. 'Spirit house' must be located in such a way that the shadow of the human house never falls on it. Offerings of incense, fruit, flowers and rice are placed in these houses, from time to time, to keep the spirits happy. The theory behind it is that if the spirits who haunt the place are given a home they will not spitefully endanger the new inhabitants.

Even in their fast-paced, work driven, daily schedule, most Thais still find time to stop and pay homage to the ancestors and spirits who they believe guard and protect them. Bangkok's skyline, consisting mainly of high-rise office towers and reaching higher and higher everyday, dwarf and sometimes completely hide the temples and 'khlongs'[4] of old *Krung Thep*. A new city above the old, but still ruled by a king and still worshipping the old gods.

CONCLUSION

Bangkok built through a response to merchant ventures geography, defensive needs, royal decrees and the demands of modern day global economy has emerged to become a city full of contradictions and dichotomies. In times it proves to be a representative of Thailand and a *'global city'* in its own right where the past and the present, the history and the current intermingle to produce a city of the upwards and the downwards, both physically and socially■

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[4]   Traditionally one of the most important means of transportation in Thailand were canals and streams called '*Khlong*'. Bangkok was once a floating city. In 1840's almost 80 percent of its populace lived on *Khlongs*, in either rafts or stilt houses.

URBAN PLANNING FOR KARACHI DURING THE POST INDEPENDENCE PERIOD:
Review, Analysis And Lessons Learnt

Editorial Board NED-JRAP
Assisted by
Masooma Mohib

ABSTRACT

Karachi, which is the largest urban center of Pakistan, has experienced a fast tracked physical and socio-economic development during her post independence history. To rationalize this growth and development process, several urban planning exercises were launched under the aegis of concerned civic agencies. Some of these attempts were rather elaborate exercises with a sizable capital overlay and institutional inputs. However, despite such measures, the city continues to develop and function without any reference to a proper urban plan.

This paper reviews the urban planning for Karachi that was undertaken during the Post-Independence Period (1947 to date). It analyses the various issues related to the planning process and concerns raised by the professionals and administrators associated to it. The paper concludes offering some recommendations.

INTRODUCTION

Karachi is the primate city of Pakistan. Located along the shoreline of the Arabian Sea, Karachi depicts the phenomenal growth pattern which is characteristic of a typical major port city of the developing world. Established as a small local port and subsequently developed into a military base by the British, the city had a population of 14000 in 1839 and a total built up area of 35 acres, within the city walls. The city growth gained impetus after the British consolidated their activities in Sindh and Punjab and used Karachi as a major transit base for goods and military purposes.

Physical development of the city continued in a haphazard fashion soon after the occupation by the British. Connections of upcountry provinces through railway in 1861 provided a major breakthrough in the development of tanneries, oil storage, wood processing industries and warehousing. These activities generated job attraction for the inhabitants of adjoining provinces who migrated and settled along the banks of river Lyari. By 1900 the population of the city had exceeded 100,000.

As mentioned in an official document of the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation (KMC-1990), "the Bombay Town Planning Act was promulgated in 1915 and as Sindh was a part of the Bombay presidency at that time, it became applicable to Karachi. This act was primarily meant for setting up and regulating new neighbourhoods, as well as for streamlining the provision of public and community facilities. With the addition of new areas the old town transformed into a commercial and merchandising district. By 1920 the total number of dwelling units within the municipal limits was approximately 30,000" [1].

This process continued till 1947. The city grew steadily with stable trade and commerce activities which were proportionately supported by the rail and road transit networks that connected the city to the up-country. The port/ shipping facilities for transportation of raw materials and finished products also expanded. Karachi airport was one of the earliest airports in the Sub-continent to link Karachi to some of the remote regions. Besides the city possessed a responsive population that remained keen in all these developments. In 1946 the city had a population of 435,000 and was labeled as one of the best-maintained cities of South Asia.

After independence from the Colonial Rule, the

economic growth continued to accelerate amidst the rising multitudes of refugee population from India. The population multiplied 2½ folds within four years and reached to 10,50,000 in 1951. Since then the anomalous growth of the city has taken several leaps and today it has a population of over 10 million with 4.5 percent annual growth rate (Table-1).

The primacy of the city has remained. Karachi is still the hub of economic activity in Pakistan and major employment magnet of the country. It provides 25 percent of the total federal revenue and 15 percent of gross domestic product of the country. Besides, 50 percent of the country's bank deposits and 72 percent of all the issued capital is from Karachi [2]. From this account, the significance of the city in the political and economic texture of Pakistan can be empirically established.

1 - URBAN PLANNING FOR KARACHI: A REVIEW

The following have been the significant master planning attempts under-taken for the city of Karachi during the Post-Independence Period.

GREATER KARACHI PLAN: In 1951-52, a Swedish consulting firm Merz Randal Vattan was commissioned to develop a master plan for Karachi. After an intensive exercise of about three years the firm came up with a master plan, known as the Greater Karachi Plan. This plan established the growth corridors of the city and proposed an exclusive, detached district in the northern part of the city, to be developed as the new capital. Fast mobility links were also proposed between the capital complex and the old town. Housing issue was to be resolved through the development of multi storeyed flats between the old and the new part of the city.

The plan could not meet its targets due to many reasons. The data base upon which the plan was founded was grossly inadequate. Besides the capital was also shifted from Karachi to Islamabad thus making the new Karachi district a redundant idea. However, the city expanded more or less along the same corridor identified in the plan.

GREATER KARACHI RESETTLEMENT PLAN: In 1956, the Government of Pakistan commissioned Doxiadis Associates of Athens to develop a resettlement strategy for refugees who were then residing in the city center. After two years the consultants came up with a proposal which was known as Greater Karachi Resettlement Plan. This plan earmarked two locations, Korangi and North Karachi to be developed into self-contained townships where the refugees could be shifted. Provision of employment opportunity through industrial and commercial development was envisioned parallel to the process of resettlement. The government was initially assigned the task of constructing displaced people colonies in these areas while incentives were provided to the private sector to invest in the industry. The plan could not achieve its targets because;

- It lacked a long term or even short-term strategy for land use management.

Year	Population	Increase/ Decrease since last Census / Survey	No. of years in between	Percent Increase/ Decrease	Per annum increase
1941	435,887	135,088	10	44.91	3.78
1951	1,068,459	632,572	10	145.12	9.38
1961	1,912,598	844,139	10	79.01	6.00
1972	3,426,310	1,513,172	11	44.16	5.15
1981	5,208,132	1,781,822	09	52.00	5.07
1998	9,269,265	4,061,133	17	77.98	3.33

Table - 1: Karachi Population Growth 1941 todate.
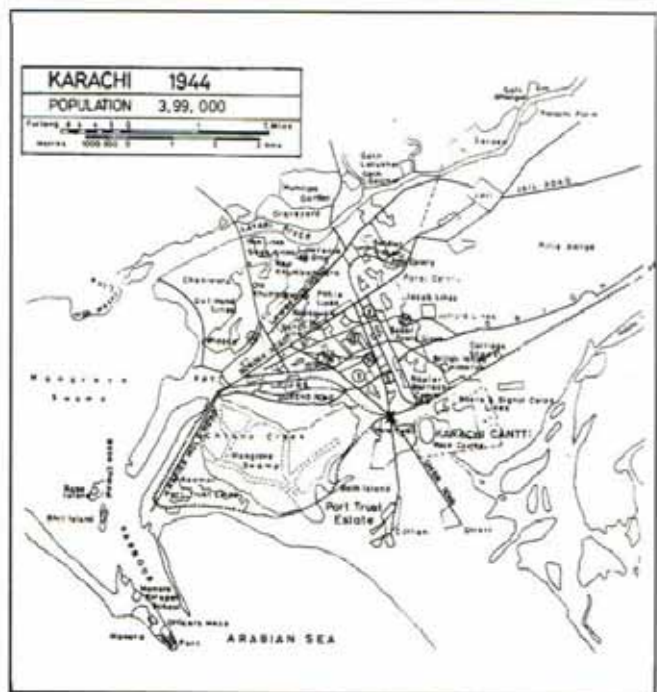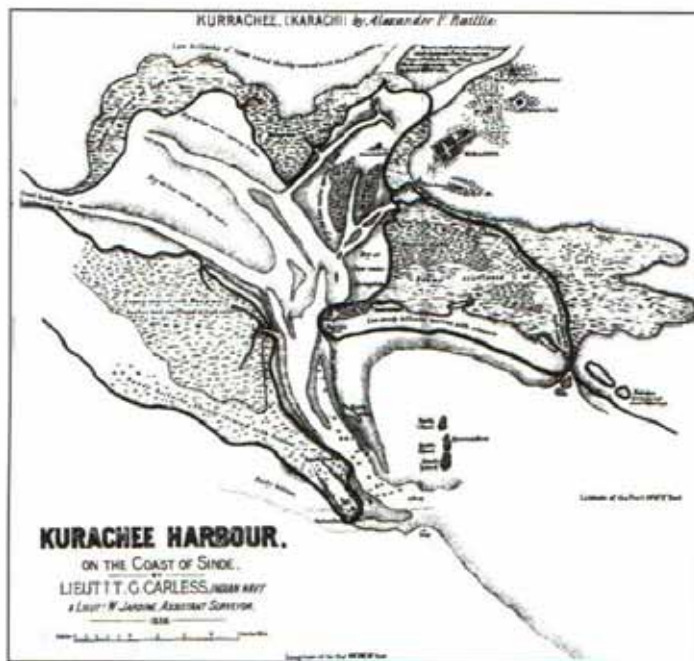
Map - 1: Maps of Karachi showing its growth from 1838 to 1944.

KARACHI 1953

POPULATION 13,50,000

- Role of participant authority was not outlined.

- Provision of built house to the people was beyond the capacity of the government.

- Industrial and commercial development was very slow compared to the residential occupation[3].

KARACHI DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1973-85): With the technical and financial assistance of UNDP and PADCO (Planning and Development Collaborative International), the Master Plan Department of KDA[1] began the preparation of the Karachi Development Plan in 1970. The plan period covered a span of 12 years from 1973 to 1985. A comprehensive data generation exercise was conducted for the plan which provided valuable statistical backup to the project. The plan after careful analysis of the past trends, formulated specific targets at the sectoral and area level. Projection of the population, demand for housing and other facilities, land use allocations, corridors of growth and development of employment opportunities were some of the salient aspects outlined in the plan. Though the KDP 1973-85 was able to achieve certain components of its stipulations, it was not able to meet its targets in the general sense. Ambitiously the plan originated from well-intentioned objectives such as emphasis on adequate employment, basic infrastructure, food supplies, safe potable water, environmental sanitation, flood protection and basic institutional changes. However, due to an entirely limited capacity of the planning authority to persuade, communicate and enforce the stipulations of the plan, the above objectives could not be met. The plan largely believed that the state can deliver the goods but did not elaborate upon the instruments and mechanisms. For example, in one of its sectoral components, it emphasized upon housing provision to the shelterless. But the actual development shows that it was the informal sector that was providing shelter through its own mechanism across the dismal failures/ impeded public sector housing projects. The plan made references to fiscal and organizational changes but did not indicate them specifically. It addressed various comprehensive and/ or sectoral programmes without outlining the basic role of participant actors.

KARACHI DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1986-2000): In the words of the planning document, the Karachi Development Plan 2000 was aimed at providing a framework for development to the city over the next decade and beyond. The plan is an output of a dynamic planning process development by the KDA's Master Plan and Environmental Control Department (MPECD) with assistance from the UNCHS, UNDP and a team of local and international consultants. This plan was significantly different from the 1974-85 plan (also prepared with UNDP/ UNCHS assistance), because in this case emphasis was placed on developing a planning process rather than a master plan per se. The key objectives of the plan included the following:

- To develop and implement, within the KDA, a new urban growth management tool, based on quantitative analysis and up to date computer technology aiming at presenting a synthetic image of the various urban sub-sectors, as they appear at the present time and projected into the future, and at monitoring performances and redirecting investments in these sub-sectors to meet the objectives set up by the Government.

- To create and establish mechanisms for the continuous updating, presentation and diffusion of development plans prepared by the KDA in support of small scale and large scale investment programmes such as the Karachi Special Development Programme (KSDP).

- To train the operative staff and the senior officials of the KDA in the implementation of the above new methodologies and approaches, including the mastering of the appropriate hardware and software where applicable.
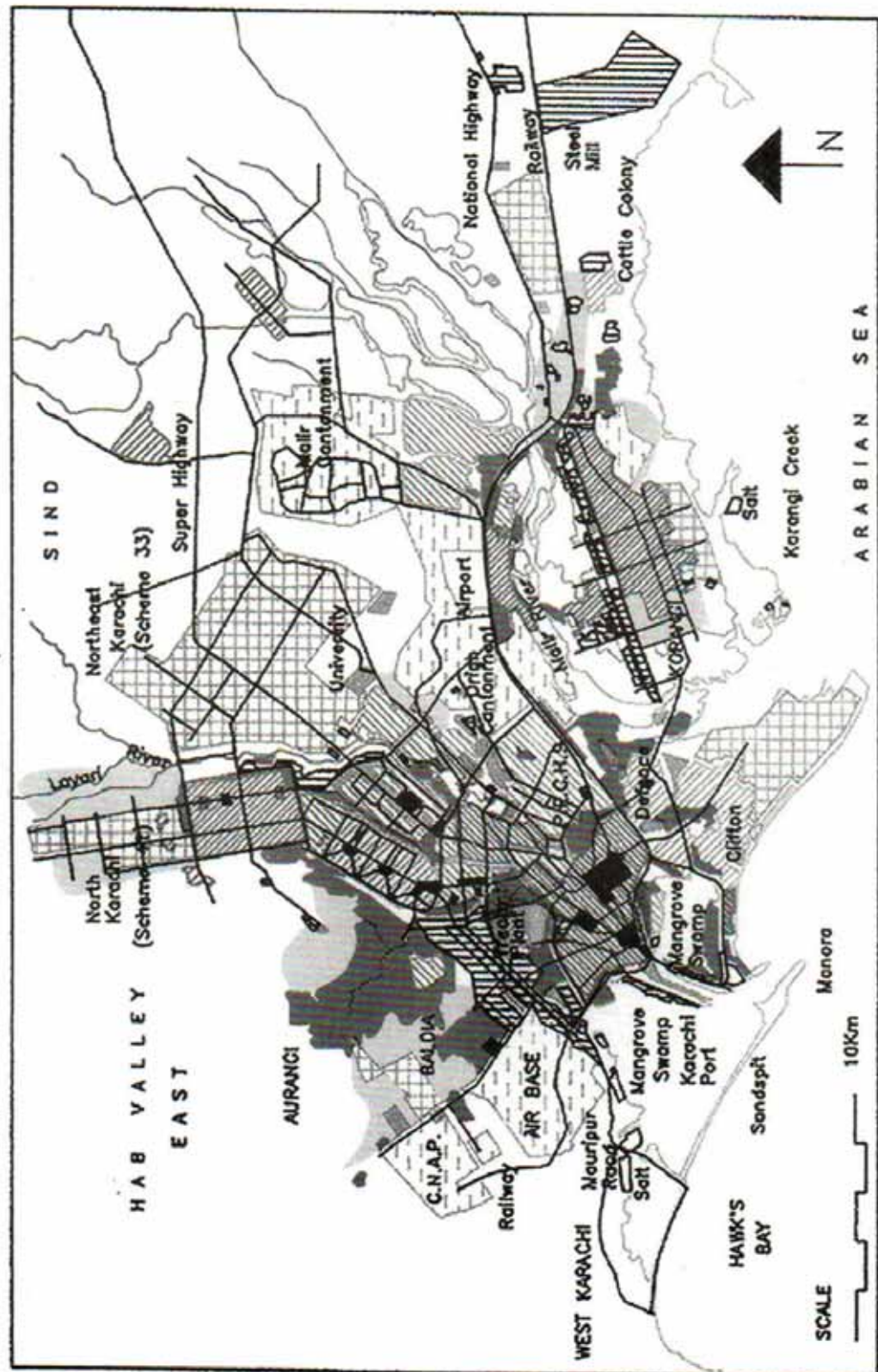
The outputs of the Project according to the Project Document were:

- A comprehensive computerized urban and regional data base including mechanisms for its

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1 Karachi Development Authority has become defunct and merged in City District Government of Karachi in 2002.

KARACHI – HOUSING TYPOLOGY AND LAND USE

Developed after 1988

Map derived from "SPOT" satellite image of Jan. 1987 and aerial photographs from Oct. 1985

A (Katchi Abad) Squatter Settlemt

B (Semi Pucca) High Density

C1 (Pucca & Semi-Pucca) Small Plot

C2+ (Pucca) Medium Plot Size

D (Bungalow) Large Plot Size

E (Apartment)

Commerces

Industries

Developed land

Services/Util.

Govermt/Inst.

Defense

Agriculture

SIND

HAB VALLEY EAST

Northeast Karachi (Scheme 33)

Super Highway

University

North Karachi (Scheme 2)

Lyari River

Orangi Cantonment

Airport

Malir River

Malir Cantonment

AURANGI

BALDIA

C.N.A.P.

Nauripur Road

Salt

Railway

AIR BASE

Mangrove Swamp

Karachi Port

Sandspit

HAWK'S BAY

Manora

WEST KARACHI

Mangrove Swamp

Karachi (Town)

P.E.C.H.S.

Defence

Clifton

Korangi

Korangi Creek

Salt

Salt

Cattle Colony

Steel Mill

Railway

National Highway

ARABIAN SEA

N

SCALE
10Km

maintenance and updating, by MPECD staff.

- A fully tested and documented mathematical model linking together the parameters of the database created, including an established set of consumption and performance indicators associated to the long range objectives of the Government.

- A detailed urban development scenario for 1986-1991 and 2000 using the data base and the model to simulate the effects on the consumption and welfare of the urban population of a number of a demographic, financial, legal, socio-economic and planning factors.

- The first issue of "Karachi Development Plan" includes a set of maps illustrating the spatial implications of the development scenario showing the projected geographical distribution of the population by socio-economic group, the projected land use, the projected utilities, and community services and transportation networks.

- A series of selected sub-sector studies in areas where the database is weak.

- An operational digital based mapping system within the KDA to replace the current analog mapping system.

- Trained professionals in up-to-date approach to urban planning based on computer technology[4].

The plan could not become a legal entity. It remained an academic exercise. According to an evaluation mission, there were several shortcomings inbuilt in this planning process. One, its technical framework could not be fed with appropriate and reliable database. Two, it did not account for the socio-political realities. Three, the Master Plan and Environmental Control Department (MPECD) of KDA was not strengthened to undertake the emerging responsibilities. And four, no political support existed for the plan. One may conclude that the process of planning continued without learning from the past experiences.

From the review of the above-cited background of the planning process in Karachi, several issues

arise. Foremost among them is the fact that in the past and prevailing situation, the planning authority was not the financing agency of the proposed programmes. Nor it had any legal or administrative leverage to influence the public sector departments or agencies to follow its prescribed planning guidelines.

For example, while defining growth control mechanisms, the MPECD – KDA (which made the past two most important city plans), could not influence Defence Housing Authority or the cantonment boards to restrict the density provisions. Similarly, it could not implement its guidelines on the port authorities to develop links of their ware houses through the rail roads, to control the haywire freight traffic. At best it only offered sweet and polite advices to the concerned departments and authorities which responded at their own convenience and seldom acted accordingly [5].

Similarly the planning process did not recognize the clandestine political resistance that existed for the prescriptions of a development plan.

RECENT ATTEMPTS: The KDP-2000 suggested the creation of a Karachi Division Physical Planning Agency (KDPPA). The creation of this agency remained in cold storage for several years. In 1999, the then Governor of Sindh constituted a committee to help create a planning agency for Karachi. This committee, which comprised urban planners, academics, researchers and city administrators, who voluntarily worked for several months on the subject before presenting its report. However, its recommendations were never considered.

After the enforcement of Sindh Local Government Ordinance 2001, new planning structure was notified in December 2001. At the city level, a City Agency for Master Planning (CAMP) was suggested as an umbrella setup to ensure the enforcement of city master plan. The same pattern was to be repeated at the town level. In follow up of this notification no action is initiated till now.

3 - LESSONS LEARNT

- ABSENCE OF A LOGICAL PLANNING

PROCESS: Formulation of a Master Plan of Development for a mega-city like Karachi involves a study of the current situation, cognition of growth trends, careful assessment of future requirements, etc. The process includes surveys of housing conditions, land use patterns, socio-economic conditions, jurisdictional topography, distribution of responsibilities, fiscal management and an inquiry into the prevailing socio-economic and political conditions. The review of Codes, Acts and Ordinances, concerning urban development, their consolidation, framing of new legal instruments for regular updating of data-base, monitoring the implementation organizational cooperation, linking of planning decisions with investment decisions and budgeting procedure of other agencies is an essential part of the planning process. Master Planning is therefore, not a one-time assignment, it is a continuous process. This fundamental structure of planning was never applied.

- **LACK OF EVALUATION OF PREVIOUS PLANS/ PLANNING ATTEMPTS:** It has remained a common practice in planning to start afresh. Each time the previous plan was merely consulted for a passing reference. Never was an evaluation conducted to review the performance of any plan made in the past. The only exception was for KDP 1986-2000 but this evaluation was not adopted by the planning agency for any improvement in the plan.

- **INCAPABILITY OF THE PLANNING AUTHORITIES TO EXECUTE THE PLAN:** All the plans of Karachi had been made under the auspices of (now defunct) KDA which did not possess any legal or administrative control on the nineteen other land development agencies of the city. Thus the capacity of KDA to execute the plans was grossly constrained.

- **ABSENCE OF POLITICAL MANDATE FOR THE PLANNING PROCESS:** The planning process was reduced to a mere residual type exercise which was only conducted under the directions of the donors or the UN agencies. It never enjoyed the political mandate of any regime who traditionally wanted to keep their options open for any adhoc adjustment in the metropolitan functioning. The Steering Committee that was set in the KDP 2000 and chaired by the Chief Minister of Sindh never met in the past five or more years to legally adopt the plan.

- **TECHNICAL LACKINGS IN THE PLANNING PROCESS:** The planning process, which was always organized in the most traditional pattern, was faulty and inadequate. The basis of the assumptions was drawn from sample surveys in the absence of comprehensive views on realities. This led to under/ over estimations. Physical data was obsolete and never upgraded. Karachi, even today, does not have a comprehensive mapping base that is otherwise required for all kinds of planning and development exercises. Data gathered by the Defence institutions is not in the public access. The property ownership records or the alignment of jurisdictions are simply inappropriate and obsolete.

- **PLANNING AUTHORITY IS NOT THE FINANCING AGENCY OF THE EXERCISE:** In the KDP-2000, the KDA has suggested various options of investments or the concerned institutions that are entirely autonomous in their conduct. Thus it is impossible for the planning agency to execute the various components according to the outlined framework.

- **NON-EXISTENCE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND INTEREST GROUPS:** It is interesting to note that those groups who actually decide about the fate of the city were not invited to the policy or plan making tables neither during the KDP-1973-85 nor KDP-2000. Transporters, shopkeepers, estate agents, brokers, dealers, religious and political groups, professionals, builders and businessmen remained aloof throughout the process. Nor were the groups of localities from general public invited to contribute their ideas in the planning process.

- **INCONGRUENT INSTITUTIONAL HIERARCHY:** In the past and present setup, the metropolitan level institutions have always remained an outreach of the provincial and federal government. The control of the municipal affairs directly rests with the provisional and federal bureaucracy. In the absence of an effective local government, it is difficult to imagine any urban planning to go beyond a more academic level.

4 - RECOMMENDATIONS

- Concept of planning must change. In theoretical terms the comprehensive should be replaced by planning support system around commonly identified issues. The localities, their communities or the localized agencies, whether governmental or non governmental must be empowered to undertake planning process at their own ends. The relative success of illegal land sub-dividers over the years in different fringe localities and the subsequent decline in the metropolitan development agencies, to deliver land, are the two contrasting performances in the same respect.

- Planning for Karachi can simply not materialize in the absence of an autonomous planning agency. Such an agency must be created with sufficient independence to draw its own working agenda, time frame and human resources.

- A common agenda must be developed after seeing candid opinions and aspirations of the actors concerned. Though it may be an uptill task to create a common consensus ground, yet unabated efforts must continue to evolve around a common rationale of urban development at the metropolitan and the locality scale.

- Prioritization of plans/ projects/ programmes must be initiated with the involvement of interest groups. It is a common practice that development projects are visualized, sanctioned and initiated without establishing their priority in the overall functioning, thus it leads to alienation of masses and the redundance of the projects themselves. This must be avoided.

- Unabated build-up of information should be initiated. It will be a commendable task on the part of proposed planning agency to revive their capacity of information collection, analysis, storage and concurrent dissemination. Efficient processes like the use of Geographic/Land Information System, etc. will be beneficial in such practices. The availability of information about hidden facts and figures can only lead to transparency in planning and development.

- Efforts must be made to reinforce the technical, managerial and financial capacity of the existing institutions. The creation of new institutions will multiply the confession and disorder.

- Projects/ plans/ programmes should be finalized after public opinion is duly sought. It is not a civilized manner to decide about the people's destiny through any plan or project without taking them into confidence.

In sum, the fundamental pre-requisite to a viable urban planning process is the political mandate and administrative will to undertake it. The technical and managerial aspects simply conform to a vision that is articulated by the decision makers about the city. Unless they do not voluntarily surrender their authority of arbitrariness and adhocism, no appropriate change in the urban development scene can be expected■

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ADDRESSING INFORMAL PROCESSES FOR THE REHABILITATION OF THE CITY CENTRE
Case of Saddar Bazaar, Karachi

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ABSTRACT

Karachi's townscape has evolved through a process of responses to the changing needs and priorities of a population influx of the past 300 years. Over centuries, its port's trading and defence potential has attracted merchants, colonials, feudal lords, intellectuals and political and economic migrants. These migrant groups in turn, have contributed towards the development and degradation of the city and its centre, 'Saddar Bazaar'[1].

In the past 50 years, due to an immense increase in the size of the population of Karachi and the expansion of its geographical boundaries, several centres have developed, serving their locale. However, the importance of 'Saddar' as a cultural and economic centre still remains, as none of the other have been able to develop the required commerce or culture related facilities which could serve the whole city.

Saddar lies in the economic hub of the city and serves thousands of vehicles and transit commuters who pass through it. This has lead to the degradation of its facilities and fast disappearance of its cultural spaces. The absence of these in turn, is resulting in alienation amongst communities, ghettoisation of rich and poor areas and a cultural division of the city.

This paper attempts to analyse the process of Saddar's transformation, identifying the inherent processes and agents of change, and gives some suggestions for its future rehabilitation.

1 - CASE OF KARACHI – LARGER SCENARIO

Historically, Karachi developed from a fishermen village 'Kolachi jo Goth'[2], to a 18th Century trading town, 'Kurrachee'[3], to a mid 19th Century British port and military city, to a 20th century third world Asian megapolis. These developments have been a result of economic and political migrations due to, its port's strategic geo-political location on the Indian Ocean.

The migrant communities have given Karachi its cosmopolitan nature, urban culture, physical and social infrastructure and some of the better-planned settlements and exquisite architecture, of which it can still boast (Figure 1).

However, conditions in the city and its centre have deteriorated due to the population increase

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[1] 'Bazaar' is a local term used for a commercial centre.

[2] 'Kolachi Jo Goth' means the village of Kolachi.

[3] 'Kurrachee' is one of the old names of Karachi.

[4] In 1947, Pakistan gained independence from the British and separated from India.

[5] During 1960's, two industrial estates were established in Karachi, which attracted thousands of port, industrial and building site labourers. These migrants in the absence of formal housing formed inner and outer city slums and shanty towns.

Figure 1: Old British Architecture on Bunder Road.
Source: The Dual City Karachi During the Raj, by Yasmeen Lari and Mihail S. Lari.

instigated by the refugee influx of 1950's into the newly independent state of Pakistan[4] and later the rural- urban migrations of 1960[5] onwards, instigated as a result of the industrial revolution introduced in the country.

The demographic change resulted in an unplanned expansion of the city limits, break-up of old community systems, feelings of apathy and alienation amongst the new communities, exhaustion of the governing institutions and existing infrastructure and moving out of the political power and interest groups.

2 - DEVELOPMENT OF KARACHI'S CITY CENTRE: CAUSES AND EFFECTS

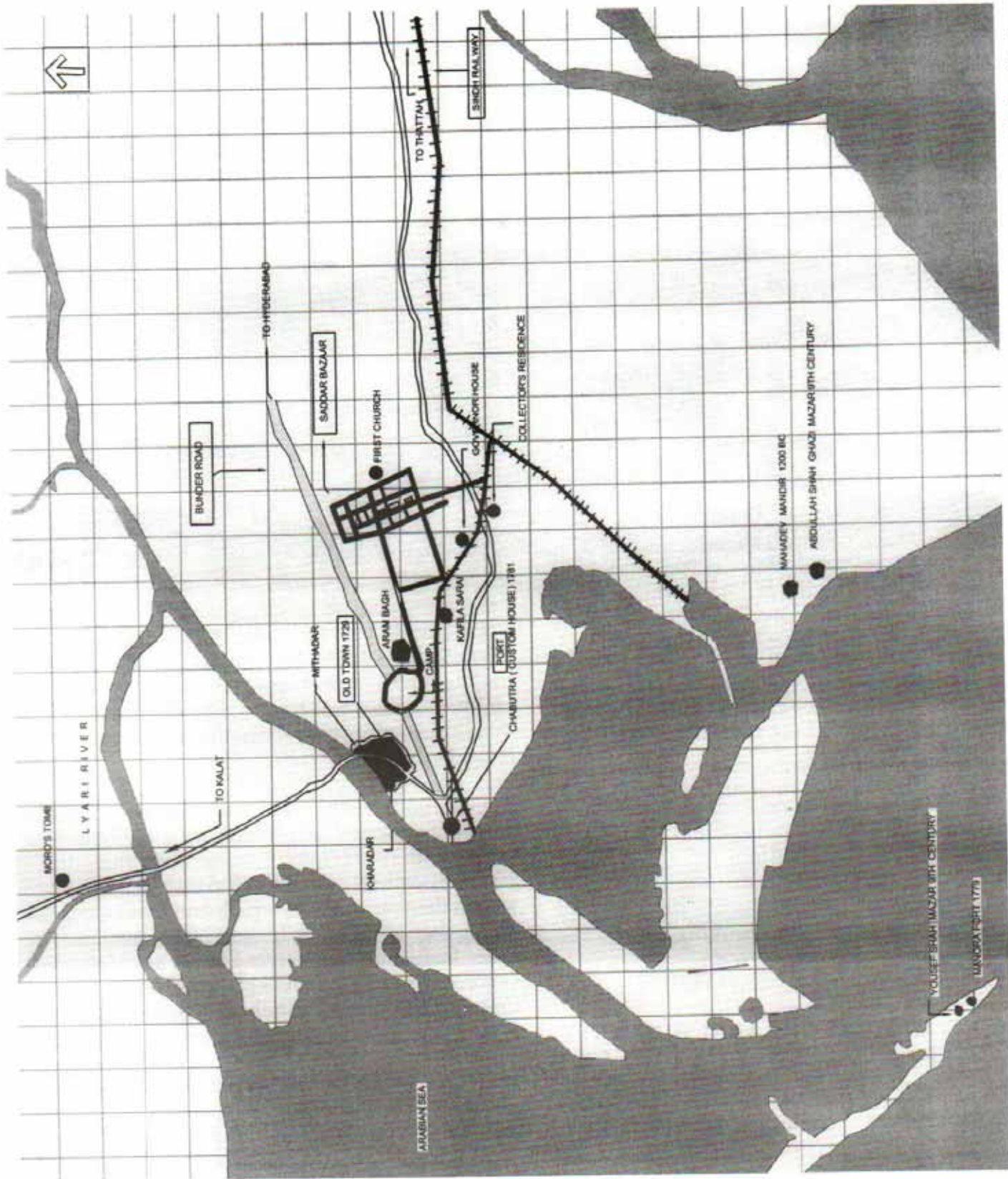EMERGENCE AS A PORT AND A TRADING CENTRE: The 18th century fishermen village,

'Kolachi jo Goth' was developed into a prosperous trading port and town by the Sindhi and Baluchi Hindu merchants of Kharak Bunder (a port some 40 kilometres west of Kolachi), as their own port had silted up [1].

They built the fortified city of 'Kurrachee' on 35 acres of high land north of Kolachi bay. The trading centre with its markets, caravan serai (traveller's inn), shops and related infrastructure operated within the fortification, which had two gates, one facing the sea called 'Kharadar' (salt gate) and the other facing the Lyari river known as 'Methadar' (sweet gate) [2]. A settlement we today know as the 'Purana Shehar' or the old town of Karachi (Map – 1) (Figure 2).
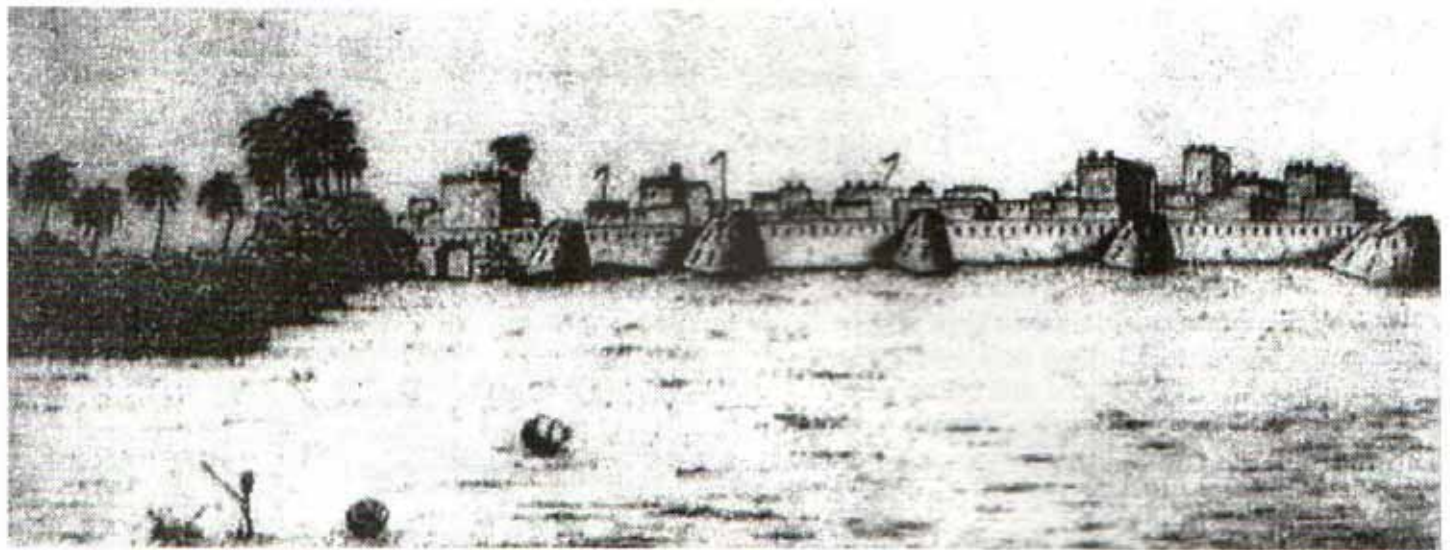
DEFENCE AND MILITARY POTENTIAL EXPLOITED: "By late 18th Century, Kurrachee had changed hands several times between the local

ARABIAN SEA

LYARI RIVER

MORO'S TOMB

TO KALAT

KHARADAR

MITHADAR

OLD TOWN 1729

ARAM BAGH

CAMP

BUNDER ROAD

SADDAR BAZAAR

TO HYDERABAD

FIRST CHURCH

GOVERNOR HOUSE

COLLECTOR'S RESIDENCE

KAFILA SARAI

CHABUTRA (CUSTOM HOUSE) 1781

PORT

TO THATTAH

SINDH RAILWAY

MANGHO MANDIR 1200 BC

ABDULLAH SHAH GHAZI MAZAR/8TH CENTURY

YOUSEF SHAH MAZAR 9TH CENTURY

MANORA FORT 1777

Map - 1: Karachi-Post British
Source: Arif Hasan and Associates, Feb. 1999

Figure 2: A sketch of the Fortification Wall around the Old Town of Karachi.
Source: The Dual City Karachi During the Raj, by Yasmeen Lari and Mihail S. Lari.

Chronological Development of Karachi		
Period	**Migrant Communities**	**Developments**
Till late 17th Century	Local fishermen clans	• Fishing village of a few hutments called 'Kolachi jo Goth
Early to mid 18th Century	Hindu, Sindhi and Baluchi merchants of Kharak Bunder	• Establishment of a trading port and fortified town 'Kurrachee'
Mid 18th Century to mid 19th Century	Local feudal lords including; the Baluchi tribes of Khan of Kalat and the Sindhi Talpurs and Mirs	• Establishment of 'Manora Fort'
Mid 19th Century to mid 20th Century	British colonials, military personnel, traders, businessmen and port labourers	• International trading and defence port • Development of railway, road network and grid iron planned residential and commercial areas
1947 - 52	Refugees from India including; civil servants, bureaucrats, intellectuals and businessmen	• Encroachments in the city centre • Emergence of suburbs
1960's– 80's	Rural – Urban migrants; mostly port, construction site and industrial labourers	• Development of satellite industrial towns • Peripheral and inner city slums, further degradation of the city centre.
1990 to date	Consolidated third generation migrant communities	• Multi-centred city Metropolis containing 16 towns

feudal lords including; the Baluchi tribes of Khan of Kalat and the Sindhi Talpurs and Mirs"[6].

These indigenous tribes developed its trading and defence potential by constructing the 'Manora Fort' and investing in the old centre [3].

By the early 19th Century, the city centre had expanded as new markets dealing in slaves from Africa, goods from Europe and local produce, were added to it. The news of this booming trading centre reached the ears of the British ruling the Sub-Continent and Karachi was occupied in 1838[4].

EMERGENCE AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE AND SERVICE CENTRE FOR THE BRITISH EMPIRE: British developed Karachi as an imperial trading, defence port and administrative centre [5]. They invested in the communication and transportation infrastructure, developing Karachi as: one, district headquarters, looking after Sindh, Baluchistan and Punjab[7] as a separate entity from the Bombay Presidency; two, military base and port exporting cotton, wheat and importing arms via the Suez Canal [6].

They divided the city into native and British towns lying on either sides of the main transportation artery of the city called 'Bunder Road' that, connected to the port towards the south and had an intra city tramway running on it.

The old town centre compact and congested with its winding and cul-de-sac streets, wholesale markets and labourers and workers quarters, brought in to look after the administration, services and infrastructure of the port could not aspire to accommodate the retailing, cultural and social needs of the British.

For this, a new city centre 'Saddar' was planned on gridiron and developed with modern infrastructure and buildings to serve the high ruling military and administrative staff of the British Empire, traders, businessmen and some rich and influential locals (Figure 3).

An Inter city, 'Sindh Railway' network was laid to link up the port to the wholesale markets of the native town and the railway station, administrative offices and retailing shops of Saddar.

Figure 3: The Old Tramway of Karachi.
Source: Arif Hasan's Archives

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6 'Sindhis and Baluchis' are two of the indigenous ethnic/linguistic groups living in the South and West of Pakistan. Talpurs, Mirs and Khans of Kalat are the names of some of the tribal clans belonging to them.

7 'Sindh, Baluchistan and Punjab' were the three Muslim dominated provinces of the British Empire; nowadays these form three of the four provinces of Pakistan.

The respective centres were maintained to keep a social and physical distinction for the sake of cultural sanctity and political stability. The Karachi Municipal Committee (KMC), setup by the British during this period, controlled and maintained all the facilities.

EMERGENCE AS THE CAPITAL OF THE NEWLY FORMED STATE OF PAKISTAN: Pakistan gained independence in 1947 and Karachi was made its first administrative and economic capital. This led the population of Karachi to rise from 450,000 to 1.137 million between 1947 and 1951 [7].

As the newly created state of Pakistan was unable to cater to the refugee influx, people belonging to destitute backgrounds squatted on all available open spaces, grounds and parks in and around the old town and some areas of Saddar. This resulted in the degradation of the infrastructure and emergence of inner city slums.

Upper class areas around Saddar were mostly occupied by civil servants, intellectuals and businessmen who added to its cultural and social life and Karachi's political and economic power. New schools, colleges, a university, many religious and cultural institutions sprung up to cater to this new multi cultural rich and middle class migrants.

By 1952, the city centre had expanded to its limits and new suburbs developed to the north of it. A Swedish planning company MRV was commissioned to design the first Master Plan for Karachi[8] to determine the growth patterns and future developments of the city.

DEGRADATION OF THE CITY CENTRE: In 1958, the first martial law administrator Ayub Khan shifted the administrative capital to Islamabad. This followed a decision to resettle the refugees living in Saddar, as labour force in the newly planned industrial satellite towns.

To prepare this plan known as the 'Greater Karachi Resettlement Plan' (GKRP) Greek planner Doxiades was hired. The plan was not successful as industrialisation was slow to develop and people could not afford to live away from the city. This forced them back to form slums in the city centre.

The other problem created by GKRP was that a large majority of resettled population had to travel to their jobs across the city to areas like; the Sindh Industrial Trading Estate (SITE), the port, the Central Business District (CBD) and the old town wholesale markets. As there were no alternative roads available, the entire movement was through Saddar [8] (Map – 2).
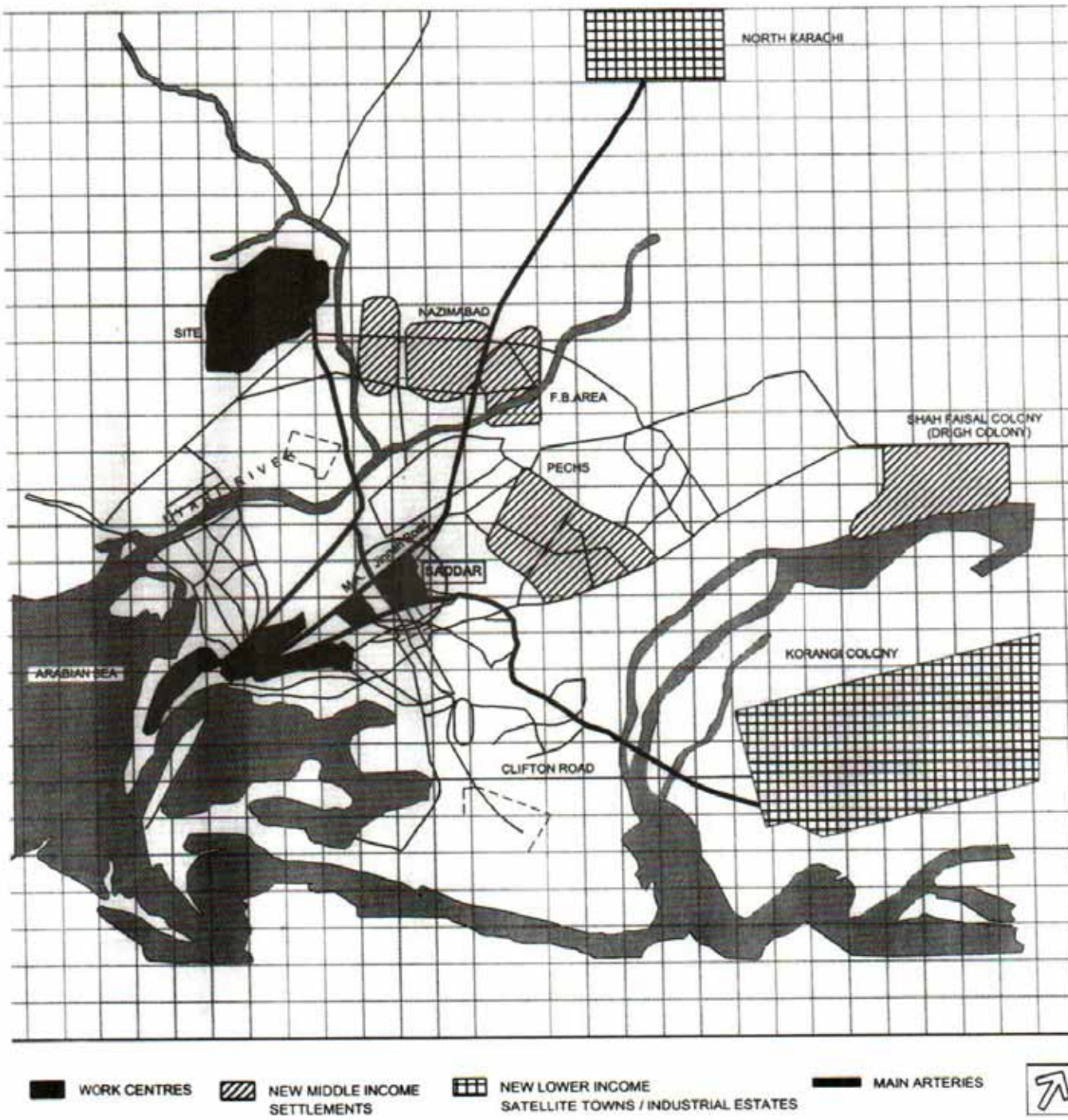
This transformed Saddar into an unplanned transit zone and transport terminal, encouraging transport related infrastructure, wholesaling, storage and traffic to develop in the area. This resulted in noise and air pollution, difficult accessibility, lack of parking, exodus of elite and a social and physical degradation of the area (Figure 4). The middle class filled in the physical and cultural void left by the elite, keeping Saddar alive.

This situation changed in the 1970's as the construction boom generated by gulf money led to an emergence of high-density high-rise apartment buildings and commercial centres forcing the middle class out[9]. Consequently, the area was taken over by real estate speculators, labourers and encroachments catering to the growing transport and construction sectors in Saddar. 1980's and Zia's Islamisation saw the last of the bars, billiard rooms and cinemas of Saddar[10].

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8   According to Arif Hasan, in his book, Understanding Karachi, Planning and Reforms for the Future, "The MRV plan proposed a federal secretariat, legislative buildings and a university around a large independence square to the north of the city. A mass transit system and resettlement scheme for the inner city slums was also proposed".

9   In the 1970's, the government encouraged the construction of high rise buildings by making new building bye-laws.

10 During the 11-year long Martial Law regime of ZiaulHaq, a major drive for Islamisation was undertaken in the country to generate a popular vote bank. These led to a cultural degradation both spatially and socially, as all places of entertainment and gathering were banned.

WORK CENTRES **NEW MIDDLE INCOME SETTLEMENTS** **NEW LOWER INCOME SATELLITE TOWNS / INDUSTRIAL ESTATES** **MAIN ARTERIES**

Map - 2: Krachi-1960
Source: Arif hasan and Associates, Feb. 1999.

Figure 4: Traffic Congestion at the Adhoc Bus Terminal in Saddar.

NEED TO REHABILITATE THE CITY CENTRE: After discussing Karachi's development patterns and resultant structure, it becomes obvious that the city has grown multiple centres serving their respective catchment areas. However, these centres are isolated and incomplete in their social, cultural and commercial facilities, with no common places or spaces of interaction between the elite and the masses.

Saddar due to its nearness to the port, the Central Business District (CBD), wholesale markets and direct transportation link to the two industrial estates; Landhi-Korangi Industrial Estate (LITE) and Sindh Industrial and Technical Estate (SITE), forms the economic centre of the city. In addition, being accessible by public transport and having some of the remaining rich architectural and cultural heritage, makes it a frequently visited and de facto cultural centre of the city.

Saddar may be an active commercial zone of the city during daytime catering to thousands of vehicles and commuting transit population, but in the evenings when the traffic dissipates and the related activities die out it becomes void of any cultural or social activity.

Traffic generated degradation has lead to grave

environmental problems which are not only damaging to human health but are also harmful to the architectural and cultural heritage of Saddar.

To safeguard the city centre from further degradation, it is important to analyse the inherent informal and formal processes of change and propose a rehabilitation scheme, which addresses them.

3 - TRANSFORMATION OF THE CITY CENTRE: CAUSES AND EFFECTS

A - Land use in Saddar: (Map – 3)

- RESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY: Saddar has lost its charm as a pedestrian 'neighbourhood'. Most of the residential buildings are converted into commercial ones, with retailing on the ground floors and wholesale markets, godowns, warehouses, storage and low income, single men dormitories on the upper floors.

Some of the buildings still have families residing in them, who do so either out of family tradition, habit or convenience. They complain of noise and air pollution, solid waste debris, encroachments, hawkers and vehicular congestion, factors which
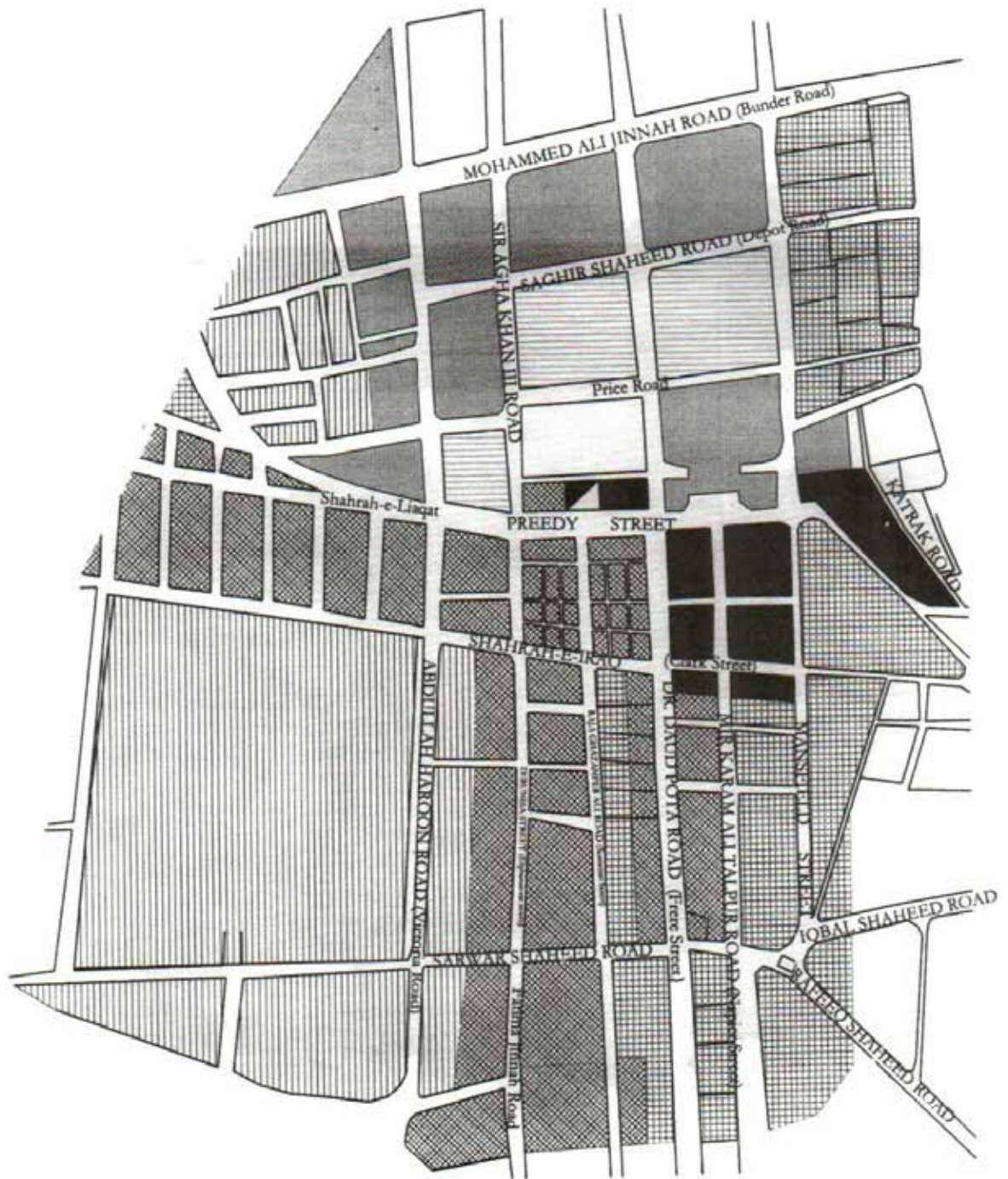
ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITY

INSTITUTIONAL ACTIVITY

RESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

SHOPPING (RETAIL) / HOTELS

SPECIALIZED MARKETS

TRANSIT ACTIVITY

Map - 3: Landuse-Saddar
Source: Arif Hassan and Partners, 2002

Figure 5: Hawkers and Public Transport Blocking a Residential Street..

force them, especially, their women, to remain indoors.

These social changes have altered the character of the streets in Saddar, from lively down town shopping and residential areas to deserted and unfriendly spaces in the evenings (Figure 5).

▪ OPEN SPACES, INSTITUTIONAL AND CULTURAL FACILITIES: The only large public open space available in Saddar is Jehangir Park. It is fairly developed with trees and paved areas, but part of it is being encroached upon by a mosque and related facilities. Physically pleasing, the current social environment of the park is not conducive for attracting families, children or older people, as it is mostly in the use of single men, encroachers, loiterers and drug addicts.

Cultural facilities including cinemas, bars, billiard rooms, restaurants, libraries, bookshops and community halls are almost finished, as most of them are being converted into multi-storeyed shopping malls, warehouses or apartment blocks by the developers lobby.

Almost half of the old institutional buildings including schools, colleges, hospitals, municipal offices, auditoriums, religious buildings and socio-cultural facilities, have also moved out due to a lack of parking, difficult accessibility and noise and air pollution [9].

▪ COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY: Saddar lost its charm as a retail centre for shoppers belonging to

the upper and middle-income groups due to; One, the emergence of new commercial centres in their local suburbs Two, the increase in traffic congestion and its resultant degradation in Saddar.

Majority of retail shops in Saddar are catering to transport related activities like mechanic workshops, spare parts shops, small hotels, tea stalls and outlets selling cheap consumer goods to the lower income commuters, drivers and conductors. Yet, despite these changes, shopping for specialised items like marriage clothing, jewellery and electronics is still associated with Saddar by the rich and the poor alike.

Shoppers constitute only 14 percent of the population coming to Saddar, the remaining 86 percent are in transit and are catered by the hawkers and vendors, while sitting in or changing buses (Figure 6).
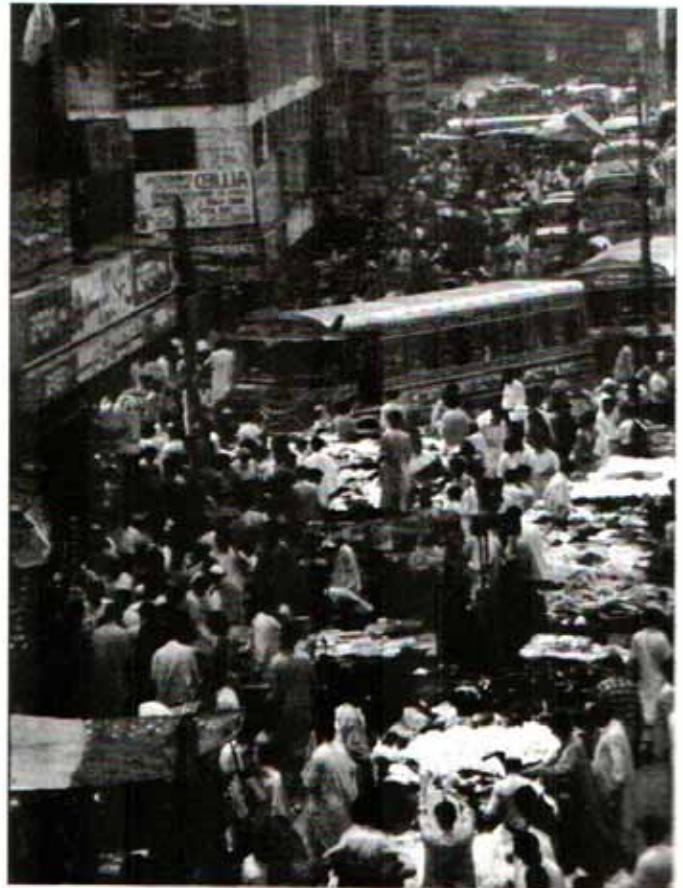
Figure 6: Traffic, Hawker and Vendors Creating Congestion in Saddar.

In fact, a trip to Saddar has become synonymous with shopping on streets from hawkers and vendors who sell all sorts of consumer goods at cheap prices. They also act as outdoor salespersons for shops, selling the merchandise at a cheaper rate due to lower overheads and are given a cut in the profit.

Shoppers of all income groups term hawkers and vendors as a part of the experience of shopping in Sadda; something which may not be the main purpose to visit Saddar but definitely adds value to the trip.

B - New Land Use Trends in Saddar: In the past 30 years, land uses such as hawkers, vendors and leased markets have gained de-facto status in the area. Hawkers and vendors are mostly illegal, whereas leased markets are legal and built by the city government (former KMC) or Cantonment Board. However, these also form a type of encroachment as they mostly occupy open land such as, the gardens adjoining Empress Market (Figure 7).

Hawkers and vendors of Saddar are of various types, including permanent and collapsible stalls and *thellas*[11], selling merchandise ranging from food, clothes and household items to cheap imported items like watches, radios and toys. They also include masons, painters, beggars and fortune-tellers, all together adding to the commercial and cultural life of Saddar. They appropriate space on footpaths, roadsides, overhead bridges, cross sections and any available open plot.

Due to Saddar's new type of transit clientele, there is a genuine demand for hawkers[12] and encroachers, which promotes their growth and interest in the area. They can make a sizeable income of up to Rs.400 per day in Saddar and form an important part of the employment pattern of the city [10].

Hawkers, vendors and leased markets are also a cultural need for the middle and lower income
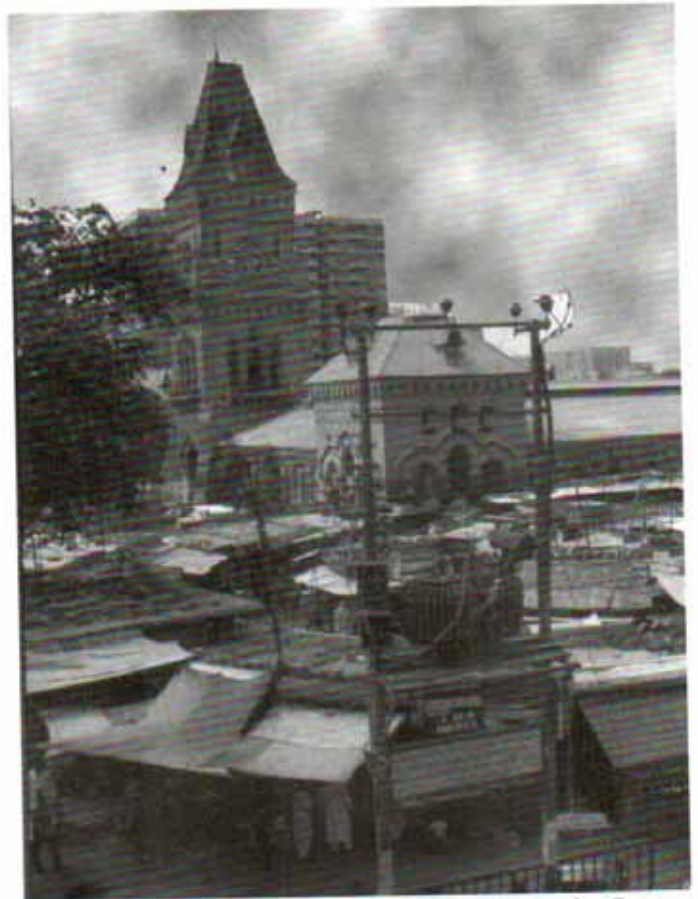
Figure 7: A Leased Market Encroaching upon the Open Garden Adjoining Empress Market in Saddar.

groups visiting Saddar as they provide services as well as amusement to the transit and shopping population. The cultural aspect of wandering and browsing through merchandise, leafing through a newspaper, sitting with a palmist, having the shoes polished, etc., add flavour to the trip made by a regular visitor. The labourers, shopkeepers and office employees working in Saddar also use the eateries available with the hawkers for their daily meals.

They also cater to transport and transporters' needs by selling and repairing tires, providing mechanic services and cleaning the vehicles. The mobile vendors (pushcarts) usually sell drinking water and provide money exchange (from bank notes to coins) required by commuters and conductors.

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11 'Thellas' is a local term used for four wheeled push carts used by vendors.

12 An average hawker, encroacher and leased shop keeper in Saddar makes up to Rs 9,000 per month which in the given economic recession is a considerable sum and a much sought after opportunity for regular income generation.

Due to this demand there are approximately 3,000 semi-permanent cabins, hawkers and vendors and 2018 leased shops present in Saddar[13] [11]. The number of hawkers and vendors can double during special occasions and festivities in the city.

These encroachers have become fairly organised over the years and have registered associations. These associations take care of their social welfare, solid waste management, storage and security requirements for merchandise and pushcarts and provide funds for rehabilitation in case of evictions.

Successive city administrations have attempted to remove these encroachments by force. This has proven to be of no avail as they all operate under the protection and sometimes collaboration of the corrupt government officials, who extort bribes or 'bhatta'[14] from them [12].

The hawkers, encroachers and shopkeepers of leased market, although, tired of these periodic evictions are unable to have a dialogue with the government as their unions are not technically equipped to make alternative plans for rehabilitation and or negotiate.

Keeping in view, the close relationship hawkers and vendors enjoy with the commercial and cultural life of Saddar. Any proposal for the revitalization of Saddar should include a rehabilitation scheme for them to make it realistic and successful.

C - Transport and Traffic in Saddar: As a result of the traffic network of the city, approximately 3, 50,000 buses, mini-buses and cars are entering Saddar daily [13]. The increase in traffic intensity has been unavoidable and irreversible as the number of buses and cars going through Saddar have increased by an alarming 40.7 percent in the last 6 years[15] [14].

The reasons for this high numbers of mini buses and buses plying through Saddar and their resultant congestion are that:

• There is no government provided public transport system available in Karachi. Almost all the buses in Karachi are owned and operated by the private sector or what is commonly known as the 'Transporters Mafia'. The government has very little control over the illegal routes and large number of buses plying in Saddar as the transporters can and do call for a strike, immobilizing the city. Being in a strong position to monopolise and buy off officials they do not only control but also interfere in the planning of the routes[16] [15].

• Almost all the bus stops and terminal facilities in Saddar are ad-hoc and illegal. Bus stops are usually at intersections where buses stay for unlimited time causing delays and congestion. These are operated through a system of bribing the traffic police, police and the related department's officials.

• There is a conflict between vehicular and pedestrian traffic, as there are 5, 49,843[17] vehicular

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[13] There are no official counts available on the number of hawkers in Saddar as they are considered an illegal entity.

[14] The hawkers, encroachers and shopkeepers pay bribes (bhatta) or beat, as it is known in Saddar to middlemen, known as 'beaters'. These beaters are in touch with the hawkers' associations and daily collect the beat (bhatta) @ Rs 30 to Rs 150-200/ encroacher per day depending on the nature and size of their business.

[15] Calculations made on the basis of the counts for 1994 provided in, "Saddar, Traffic Management Scheme, A Plan for the Future" by TEB, 1996.

[16] The numerous transporters' associations in Karachi provide illegal protection to their members for any "inconvenience" that might occur during their daily work. For this purpose they pay bribes to the traffic police, police and city government to turn a blind eye to illegal acts committed by the bus drivers. Operators plying through Saddar pay an average of Rs.3,000 per month so that they can continue to violate traffic rules and regulations.

[17] Calculations made on the basis of the counts for 1994 provided in, "Saddar, Traffic Management Scheme; A Plan for theFuture" by TEB, 1996.

trips going through Saddar daily, coupled with 1,00,000[18] pedestrians. The absence of a pedestrian network incorporating footpaths, signals, and vehicle free zones adds to the problem.

- There is a conflict between local and through traffic. 84 percent of the buses and mini-buses of Karachi are using Saddar as a thoroughfare and hinder the local traffic by blocking the roads and parking spaces.

- There are thousands of ill-managed encroachments on pavements and roads catering to and blocking the traffic.

- There is no traffic management due to the corruption and inefficiency of the concerned authorities and lack of negotiations with the transporters lobby

NEW TRAFFIC TRENDS: There is a spatial interdependence amongst the vehicular, pedestrian traffic and the hawkers, vendors and leased markets of Saddar. Hawker's and leased shop's businesses depend on pedestrian movement, as commuters who get down in Saddar to change buses or walk towards their businesses and homes, shop along the way to conserve time and money. Vendors on the other hand approach the transit population for service provision and merchandise, as they do not have the time to get down and shop.

The ad-hoc bus terminal near Empress Market plus all the ad-hoc bus stops in Saddar and their surrounding hawkers, vendors and leased shops, are such examples. Cross sections, footpaths along roads and open plots are attractive locations for hawkers, vendors and leased markets; as these are in the hub of bus routes and pedestrian flow and are visible, accessible and appropriate for a quick wind up in case of police action and evictions.

This strong spatial and economic relationship existing between vehicular and pedestrian traffic and land use changes has not been understood and addressed by the state planners and relevant agencies, resulting in non responsive plans and continuous degradation.

CONCLUSION

For a rehabilitation scheme in Saddar to be successful, the concerns of all actors have to be addressed and made a part of the plan through a process of negotiations. This plan than has to be implemented with the joint efforts of planners of relevant agencies, stakeholders in Saddar and a neutral body like a committee of concerned professionals and or a development NGO, which would be neutral and instrumental in resolving any issues which may arise.

A revitalization plan for Saddar primarily requires re-organization of traffic, in keeping with the rehabilitation of hawkers, vendors and leased markets. For this, at city scale a rationalization of routes through a revised transportation plan is needed, in order to reduce the number of vehicles going through Saddar. In addition, the major mass transit schemes in Karachi should be tied up with an area level transportation plan to relieve the load of the through traffic. Within Saddar segregation of local and through traffic, vehicles and pedestrians, relocation and planned resettlement of hawkers, vendors and leased markets and the construction of a bus terminal are needed to relieve the situation.

Being the nerve centre of the city, housing many interest groups and strong lobbies, it is not easy to initiate a project in Saddar. Therefore, above all a political commitment and good will is required from all concerned■

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18 Calculations made on the basis of the counts for 1994 provided in, "Saddar, Traffic Management Scheme; a Plan for the future" by TEB, 1996.

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SYDNEY'S 'TOASTER' BUILDING – AN INTRUDER IN DISTINGUISHED COMPANY

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ABSTRACT

A city's skyscape is defined by structures that often acquire the status of icons and landmarks. While these icons generally provide a sense of place to the community helping it to identify with the built environment, certain additions to the skyline may be unpopular and may take away from this sense of place and belonging. Most Sydneysiders believed that the 'Toaster' would visually "intrude" into the city's skyline, partially block out public access to some cherished views and interfere with the visual space of the familiar icons that form the city's skyscape. Having followed proper and appropriate development approval process, however, the developer could successfully withstand a lengthy community protest and negative media campaign aimed at blocking the development. However, the community opinion created its own pressures in the shape of options and imperatives for the various actors involved in the planning and development control process and brought to light various short-comings of the planning system that allowed an unpopular development to proceed.

The following paper touches upon some of the major issues related to this saga and presents facts in a case-study fashion. It is hoped the case-study will shed light on the nature of the community's response that is generated against negatively perceived development and the potential impact of community sentiment on the planning process. It is also hoped to learn some useful lessons from the Sydney experience so that we may better utilize the community sentiment as a resource in shaping our cities for the better.

INTRODUCTION

This paper sets out to describe the East Circular Quay development controversy that remained a hot topic for discussion and public anger for most of the last decade. For Sydneysiders the topic kept on resurfacing in the media and from time to time the community was mobilized to express their concerns. The importance of the site's location could not be exaggerated. East Circular Quay, lies not only within the CBD, it is located at the very heart of Sydney, surrounded by the city's (and indeed national) icons such as the Sydney Harbour Bridge and the Opera House and the Royal Botanic Gardens (Map - 1).
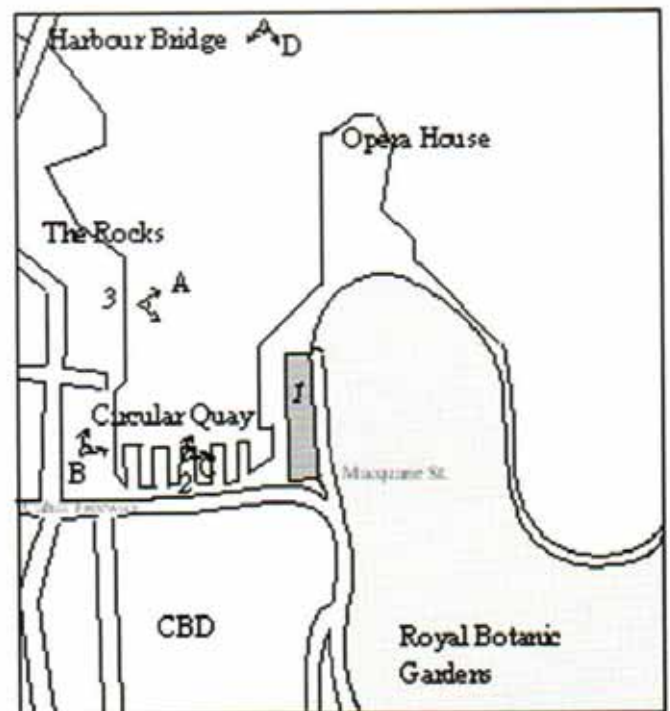
Map - 1: Location Plan   Not on Scale

It is easy to understand, therefore, the widespread concern and intense passion the development aroused within the urban community.

Sydneysiders were quick to dub the building that eventuated from the controversial development a 'toaster' and 'an eyesore' and personified the building as 'a bad conversationalist' because it is neither restrained nor polite to "ensure that the Opera House maintained its star role by dominating the conversation"[1]. Add to this a general feeling of mistrust of the planning system and some suspicion that the city planning authorities may have been caught napping, and you have the ingredients for a fiery media campaign.

This paper takes a quick look at some aspects of the controversy and tries to draw some conclusions from the experience. The controversy has had many twists and turns and there are numerous aspects and interpretations of the events and facts. This paper, by no means, attempts at providing a comprehensive analysis.

1 - THE CONTEXT

HISTORY OF THE SITE: The actual controversial development of Bennelong Apartments, dubbed the 'Toaster', is sited on the eastern flank of the Circular Quay. It is situated within a stone's throw of the Rocks area, the site of the very first buildings of the white settlers in Australia; nowadays a popular shopping area for the tourists.

The name of the area to the east of Circular Quay and of this particular development eventually marks the fact that a hut was constructed there for Bennelong, an Aborigine befriended by Governor Philip. This hut is believed to be the first European building erected on the site where cattle from the 'First Fleet' had landed two years earlier.

The site acquired a high status when Governor Macquarie set out to incorporate this area into the "Governor's domain" and between 1813 and 1816 his wife Elizabeth supervised the landscaping of the foreshores up to Bennelong Point. Amenities were included in the area for the use of 'proper' people. A fort, more symbolic than functional, was also added to the area by 1821.

In the years to follow, i.e. during 1830's, the commercial importance of the location led to the construction of the Government House and the 'Semi Circular Quay'. During the 1840's, East Circular Quay roadway was also completed. But due to the colonial economy's recession, development activities in the area did not quite take off for the next ninety years or so and wool stores and warehouses remained predominant in the area of East Circular Quay.

By the turn of the century, Circular Quay was mostly handling commuter ferries rather than ships. A tram depot replaced the old fort at the site in 1902. In 1909 there was renewed concern with the state of the area as the wool establishments moved their headquarters out of the area, leaving behind the warehouse functions.

By the 1950's and 1960's the area's role as a transport node for the city was firmly established with the Circular Quay train station completed in 1936 and the Cahill Expressway opened. This saw the replacement of the old wool warehouses by a new generation of buildings as part of an 'explosive' growth in building activity in the area.

In 1959 the tram depot was demolished to make way for the world famous Sydney Opera House which was opened in 1973.

HEIGHT RESTRICTIONS: The city's first steel-frame skyscraper, the Culwalla Chambers, set the height restriction of 45m. for Sydney, back in 1912, which remained unchanged until 1957. The removal of height restrictions in 1957 allowed and encouraged the Sydney skyline to grow upwards. The Sydney skyline could boast of the 136m high, 45-storey, Park Regis Apartments and the 170m high Australia Square Tower, back in 1968. By 1977, however, MLC Centre set the height limit and at present the highest building is the 300m AMP Centrepoint Tower.

The obsession with height of buildings was reflected in the fact that developers would often resort to attaching spires, etc., to gain further height for their buildings. The AWA Tower, for example, has a height of 55m with an additional 9m plant room top structure and a 46m 'eiffel tower mast'[2].

It was against this background that "the City introduced a Height Control Plan (BL23) in 1967. Under this plan, heights varied across the city, but for East Circular Quay there were no restrictions at all"[3]. This fact was to later add to the controversy surrounding the design proposals for the Bennelong Apartments development.

SLACK DEVELOPMENT CONTROLS: The rush of the redevelopment activity during the 1960's spurred to a degree by slackened development controls, such as relaxed height restrictions, which also saw the loss of many old buildings in the CBD area of Sydney. A growing community concern at the loss of built heritage led to an organized community resistance and an eventual outcome in Wooloomooloo, perceived as a victory of the working class community over the middle class developers. The 'green bans'[1] [4] (work bans on construction sites) of the late 1960's woke up the city administrators and planners to the reality of community's concerns against the loss of built heritage. Although the 'green bans' never grew into an established political movement, it taught the community to express their opinion and be heard. The 'green bans' also contributed to the imposition of height restrictions over the city in 1967.

As height limits were put in place in different parts of the city, one would have expected vigilance from planners and proper preventive development control put in place for sites of commercial and heritage significance such as the Circular Quay area. Despite the history, however, as no height controls were specified for the East Circular Quay, developers could get approval for development applications for heights of around 70 metres at Bennelong Point.

2 - DEVELOPMENT CONSENT AUTHORITY

In Australia, local government is a creature of the State Government and does not have constitutional powers other than those granted to it by the State. Where the Council does not comply with the State Government policies, the Minister has the right to appoint a Planning Commission to take over the Council's function.

The consent authority responsible for this site has changed a number of times. Sydney City Council has had a turbulent history, with the Council dissolved and replaced by Planning Commissioners appointed by the State Minister between 1977 to 1989. This meant that local government comprising of elected local Councilors and headed by the Lord Mayor of Sydney did not have the final say in approving or rejecting a development proposal during this period. The consent authority was shifted to Planning Commissioners appointed by the State Minister for Planning. In 1989 the authority was transferred again to the newly formed Central Sydney Planning Commission (CSPC). All the three original Development Applications (DAs) submitted for the various portions of the site between 1986 and 1988 were approved by Planning Commissioners and not by the Council.

Since 1989 the CSPC has been operating as the consent authority for regional or State significant development. The CSPC includes the Council Mayor as well as the State Minister's staff.

The Central Sydney Planning Committee was charged with assessing development applications for sites and projects of regional significance. Soon after its setting up, the Planning Commission

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[1] The term 'green bans' has its roots in workers' strike calls to show solidarity with the working class residents of Wooloomooloo whose homes were threatened with demolition due to planned up-market redevelopment. The workers of the building and construction industry were urged not to demolish other fellow workers' homes and prevent the developers from proceeding with their plans. Initially referred to as 'black bans', they were seen as the workers' struggle in a 'class war' against the capitalists (investors/ developers). With time as this struggle received broader community support, its objective broadened to include environmental protection and conservation of Sydney's cultural and natural heritage. By this time the term 'green bans' came to be used to refer to community protest actions aimed at protecting the natural and cultural heritage of Sydney from the pressures of over-development. The 'green bans' not only serve as a milestone in Sydney's planning history in terms of community empowerment and its role in heritage conservation, it also marks a milestone in the integration of community consultation in the planning process being the first instance when an Advocacy Planner was employed by the government.

set about to establish urban design guidelines for the East Circular Quay site as it was already generating a growing community interest.

3 - THE EVENTS

DEVELOPMENT PROPOSALS BY CML: An insurance company, Colonial Mutual Life (CML) set about consolidating its holdings along the site and by 1989 it had acquired all five properties on the strip of land running north-south, bounded by the promenade of East Circular Quay and Macquarie Street. Between 1986 and 1988 CML had obtained consent for its development applications for each of the three sites in its possession from the two successive State Ministers for Planning. Development applications for the site were approved with an allowable height of 68.4 metres while the site to the south of the strip (known as the Mirvac site) was approved a height of 71.1 metres.

In 1989, CML produced a design proposal for the entire site which grossly violated the design guidelines. The proposal consisted of a 30-storey block reaching a height of 85m and had excessive floor area. This design was, however, not submitted for approval.

In 1991, CML lodged a development application (DA) for Bennelong Centre, having a 17-storey office block with retail ground floor, having a total height of 71.7 m. This proposed development stretched northward out from the high skyline of the CBD and reached out towards the Opera House. In so doing, it threatened to cut off visual access to the Royal Botanic Gardens from the ferry wharves, and the train station of the Circular Quay and promenade around it, as well as from the Rocks area.

Around this time the newly formed Central Sydney Planning Commission (CSPC) which had assumed the role of the consent authority started promoting design guidelines for the site. It proposed a sloping height restriction starting from 57m at the Opera House end rising up to 71.7m at the far end. It thus found the development application in violation of the guidelines.

This created a unique situation. The developer was under pressure as the original DA approvals for a portion of the site were likely to lapse if construction was not initiated within 5 years of approval. The CSPC was under pressure to develop design guidelines that could do justice to the site and could be acceptable to the community as well as the developer.

At this juncture, around the end of 1991, the Mayor and the State Minister intervened and announced an 'ideas quest' to review the design guidelines for the site. By early 1992 over 200 submissions were received and revised design guidelines were formulated by August 1992. The sloping height restrictions were replaced by a string of buildings of similar height and with an emphasis on improved physical access to the public around the site.

THE QUEST FOR IDEAS: A host of ideas and design suggestions were presented by Architects and members of the general community, at the ideas quest, that ranged from leaving the site vacant to allowing high towering buildings on the site. The majority of ideas and suggestions received during the ideas quest and that were picked up by the media could be roughly classified into two types. The first type were those which envisioned the development comprising of a low height structure of up to 3 storeys extending from the Opera House end and a tower rising up to about 85 metres at the far (southern) end (Figure 1). The focus of these design concepts was to provide sufficient air space and a clear skyline to the Opera House. The three-storey limit reflected the height of the Opera House's podium and that of the sandstone outcrop of the botanic garden. As a compensation for the lost potential to the developer due to limiting the development height at the northern end, it was suggested to allow a greater height at the southern end of the site. A high structure at this far end from the Opera House could be justified as it would merge into the main CBD which boasts of the tallest skyline in the city. This was a fair compromise providing the required deference to the Opera House and recognizing the developer's need to recover the rent gap.

Another suggestion included a series of buildings on the site. Again the idea showed a concern with building heights. It was suggested that the buildings
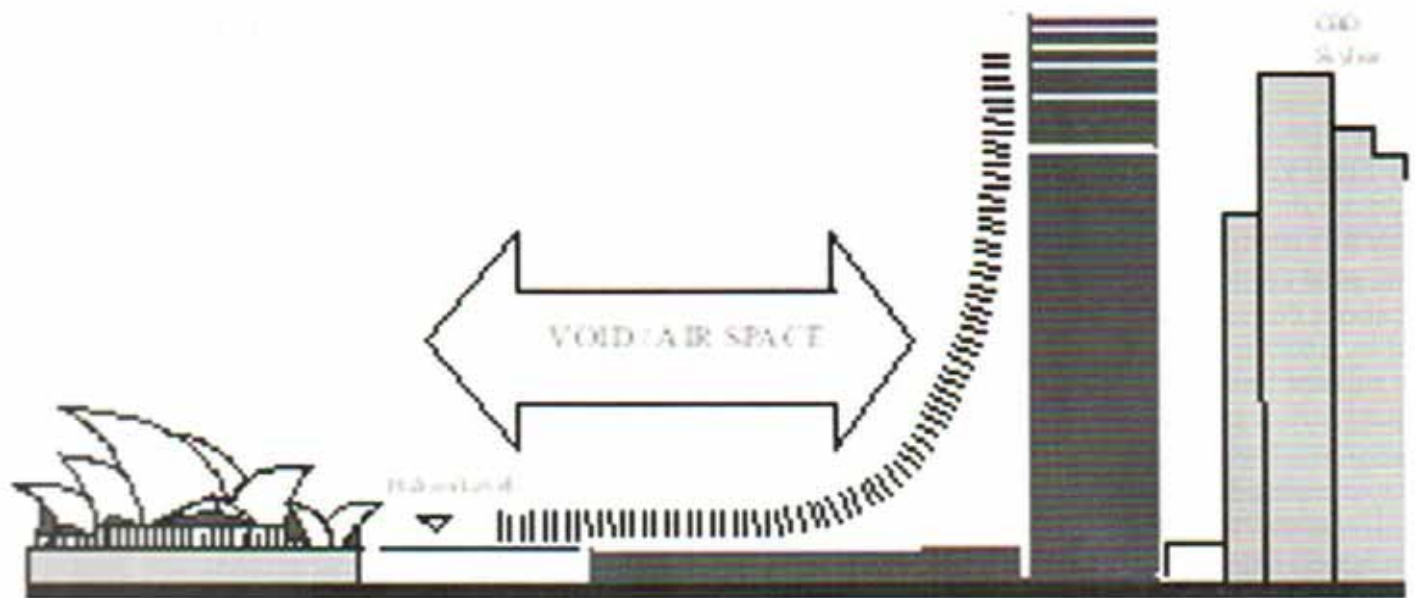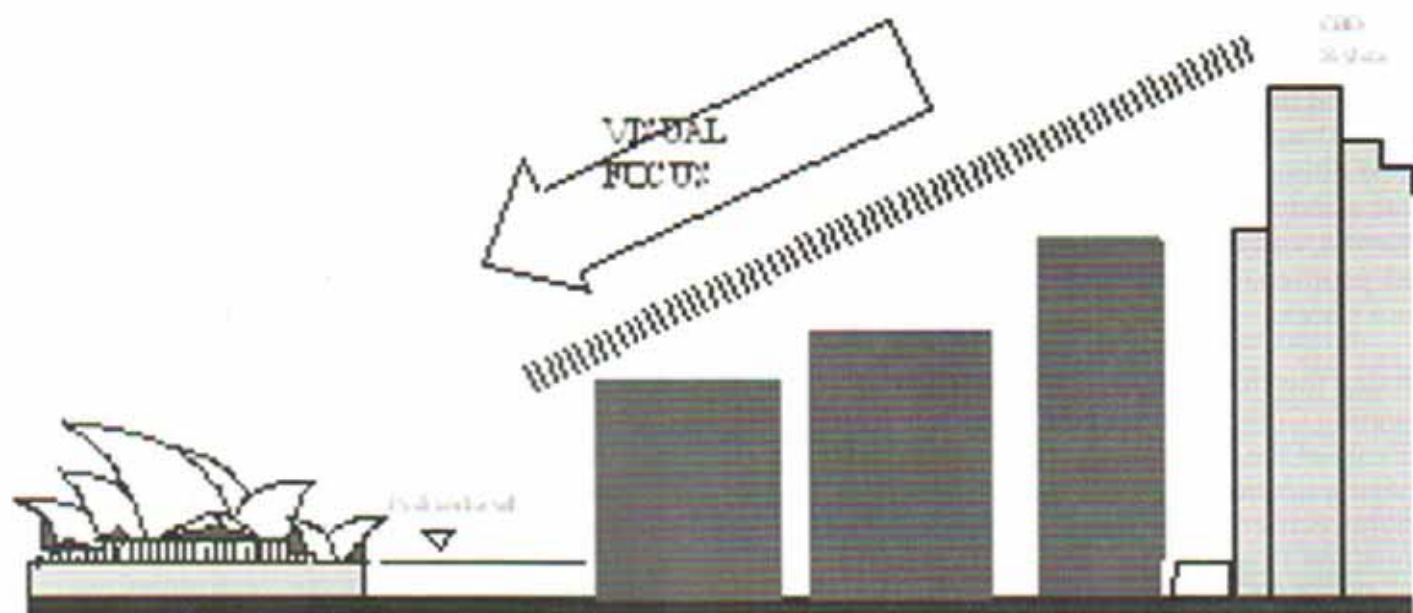
Figure 1: Design Guideline-A High Tower towards the Cahill Freeway/ CBD.

closest to the Opera House end (north) would be low. The building heights would gradually increase in steps in the south direction towards the CBD skyline (Figure 2). Some suggestions also included leaving a huge void in the building to serve as a visual window to the botanic gardens behind.

In 1992 an agreement was signed between the developers and the City Council, whereby the City had a limited role of looking after the height of the buildings, colonnade design, and the details and finishes of public access areas.

MOVING FORWARD: In September 1994 the CSPC granted consent to the DA allowing a height of 45 metres. The proposal included a 12- to 15-storey structure with a hotel and residential units.

Figure 2: Design Guideline-A Sloping Height Cap Lowering towards the Opera House.

It also featured a large 'sky window' that punctured through the building to allow views through to the botanic gardens.

But the controversy was still far from over. The period that followed was concerned with refining the proposal. A building application (BA) was lodged in 1995 which included a hotel. A revised design was later submitted and approved in 1996 without the hotel. Yet again, the developer proposed to include a hotel later that year in a new pre-DA and along with it the developer (CML) lobbied for increased height allowance for the building. Around this time CML divested 95 percent of its interests in the site to the Hong Kong Shanghai Hotels Group Ltd., while retaining only 5 percent control.

In September 1977 the idea of a hotel was once more abandoned and the community's disgust made the newspaper headlines. The Sydney Morning Herald (11/9/97) carried an article titled "*Anger as Quay Developer Scraps Hotel for Flats*", which warned that turning the development into "just another block of flats" would kill any remnant of support the project may have had in the community.

THE BUY-OUT OPTION: Around the end of 1997, with construction on the site well underway, the Mayor requested a review of the built and unbuilt portions of the development. This was the time when buy-out option was most forcefully promoted by the community.

The community campaign brought forth the suggestion that the State government should buy out the site along with the development and demolish the structure. This idea gained significant momentum in the media. The cost of such a venture that would be agreeable to the developer (who by this stage was mostly represented by an overseas investor) was reported varyingly in the press to be between $700m and $830m. The State Minister showed an inclination to support such a move in principle but would not commit the government to such a payout. The Mayor pledged to contribute $15m from city funds if the State would organize the rest of $250m to buy out a part of the site.

There were other voices within the community that found such a payout outrageous and argued that there were far more pressing demands for which such money could be used. A newspaper article appeared that listed the number of facilities such as primary schools and hospital beds that the amount could pay for.

Around this time in 1991, the Sydney City Council resolved to ask the State government for a land swap deal. Suggestions for a land swap deal had been surfacing during the media campaign. One such suggestion included the relocation of the controversial development from East Circular Quay across to the West Circular Quay. This involved the demolition of the International Ferry Terminal on the western side of the quay to accommodate the new development, thereby freeing up the Eastern Circular Quay site to be developed into a public open space.

CREATIVE PLANNING TECHNIQUES: Due to the keen interest taken by architects and planners, a range of creative planning techniques was brought into the discussion. An architect who worked on an earlier proposal for the site was quoted in the media as suggesting that the floorspace could be transferred to other sites in the city so as to allow the tower to be much lower in height and allow for an interesting design [5].

Another suggestion that was floated in the media during this time was for the council to sell the East Circular Quay roadway to the developer. The site of the controversial development is flanked by a promenade on the west which provides a pedestrian access from the Circular Quay station to the Opera House and the Royal Botanic Garden. On the east it is flanked by Macquarie Street that leads to the Opera House. This length of Macquarie Street has minimal utilization except for serving as a vehicular access to the Opera House itself as well as to its underground carpark. There have been suggestions that the width of the Macquarie street could be included in the site to allow a greater floor area so as to pre-empt the developers' motivation to resort to building too high.

A creative proposal was presented by the developer along these lines. It was felt, however, that it provided insufficient protection against the site's overdevelopment in the future. If it went through,

"the airspace rights over the roadway would belong to the council for 60 years on payment of one dollar. But in 60 years' time, again on payment of a dollar, the rights could go to the owners of the roadway. That risked later overdevelopment of at least part of the overall site"[6]. The proposal rang alarm bells and was rejected in favour of retaining in perpetuity airspace rights over the roadway by the council.

4 - THE ACTORS

PLANNERS CAUGHT NAPPING: The growing importance of the location as a transport hub with the coming of the train station and as a tourist stop with the addition of the Opera House, was bound to create a significant land rent gap that remained unrealized due to the presence of warehouses. These forces were bound to lead to intense redevelopment and so it would be reasonable to expect the Planners to foresee the possibilities and put in place appropriate development controls before hand.

The fact that DAs were approved for development that did not respect the context of the site could be explained as the result of a pro-development mentality. But then clearly the planners seemed to have underestimated the community interest that the redevelopment on the site would generate. The thrust of the planner's efforts revolved around responding to developers and the community's demands rather than designing preventive development controls.

THE ROLE OF CML: Having acquired a property on the site, and sensing the gap in the land rent potential of the area, CML set about to assemble a consolidated block of land for a major development. It is reported to have cost CML the sum of $300M to acquire the five properties stretching from the Moore Stairs northwards towards the Opera House. Clearly, CML wished to maximize the floor area and sought height relaxation. The first design proposal was clearly excessive in terms of floor space area violations. While the design was made public, it was never submitted for approval. It was most probably

intended to serve as a feeler to gauge the reaction of the authorities and test the limits to which the site could be exploited. If that was the case, the strategy may have backfired by alerting the community to the issues involved.

Once the DA was approved in 1994, CML continuously lobbied for increased height allowance. But it was also during this time that CML divested all but 5 percent of its interests in the development to an overseas developer.

THE PROFESSIONAL COMMUNITY: The Institute of Architects has publicly advocated the development and improvement of the area around the Opera House and the Circular Quay, from as far back as 1983. During the time the controversy raged over the East Circular Quay development, it maintained that development was the only option to achieve "an active edge" to the Quay. Among other things, it cited security of patrons of the Opera House making way to the Circular Quay station a major consideration.

The Architects' community was clearly more interested in the developments around the East Circular Quay. They were more aware of the site's potential as well as the unfolding developments. As such they offered many alternative options for consideration. The prestige associated with the site was only too well understood by the professionals. As one daily commented "International fame awaits the one who can win over the public, developers and city-fathers with the right design. The successful architect's work will have the distinction of sitting side-by-side with Joren Utzon's masterpiece, the Sydney Opera House"[7].

In responding to the architectural design proposal for the controversial site, the Institute voiced its concerns around the proportions of height with respect to the promenade and colonnade. The President of NSW Branch of the Institute of Architects was quoted as saying that the "proposed scheme .. appears too bulky, and this excessive bulk will detract from the desired aim of providing a place for the people and, in particular, will affect views to and from the Opera House"[8].

CONCLUSION

FACTS BEHIND THE CONTROVERSY: The underlying fact in this controversy is that the approval process followed by the developer has been proper and appropriate. The CML had legitimately acquired the site and obtained consent to the DAs as far back as 1988. The CSPC had come into being later on and then tried to put in development controls in retrospect. Indeed it used the community pressure to its advantage and used it to good leverage. However, it is difficult to justify to developers that they should either abandon or demolish development that is legally sound. The question boils down to the costs of such an option. Clearly the developer is not at fault. If the planners have changed their mind and the community supports the move the costs should come out of the public purse. The costs involved not only include the cost of the land and the structure but also opportunity costs to the developers/ investors. Politicians then have to decide whether that is feasible and a practical option. Clearly not everyone sees aesthetics and a concern with the urban form as crucial as more essential services like education, health and social welfare.

COMMUNITY RESPONSE: While the professional community sounded the alarm at a relatively early stage, it took much longer for the community opinion to form and for a campaign to be mobilized. Throughout the entire controversy the community had mobilized 'Save the East Quay' support rallies and sustained a media campaign. There seems to have been, however, two surges in the level of community reaction in the prolonged controversy. The first surge coincided with the demolition of the existing structures on the site and the second surge followed the actual construction of the new development.

The demolition of the existing buildings provided vistas that did not exist before. It presented a temporary window in time of unobstructed visual access to the Royal Botanic Gardens from the Circular Quay. Such visual access may not have been a priority when the early structures were first erected on the East Circular Quay. But at this time a rare glimpse of vegetation from the quay, led to a community demand to maintain the visual access.

The proposed development was thus seen as a blocking out of the view that really did not exist before.

THE ROLE OF THE POLITICS: Throughout the controversy, the various levels of government have engaged in strategies of playing it safe and occasionally of point-scoring. The tussle between the Sydney City Council and the State government continued through 1977 to 1989. It may be argued that the outcome of the DAs may have been different if they were lodged with the Council. It is generally believed that in Australia the Council (local government) being the closest to the community is more sensitive and sympathetic to their concerns and demands.

A consent authority detached from the community can tend to become over-enthusiastic in approving development, in order to present an image of development. It may be argued that the State government is more inclined to support development as it sees Sydney as the growth engine for the overall State. On the other hand, the City government is more accessible by and accountable to the local residents

This fact may have allowed the Council to take up the community cause with clean hands when heading the CSPC later on. The CSPC especially seemed to emphasize that its hands were tied due to the decisions made previously by the State government.

While the State Minister expressed support in principle to the buy-out option, he was reluctant to commit any funds for the same. At one stage the Mayor announced the Council's willingness to contribute $15M if the State or Federal government would contribute the remainder of the $250M tab. This could very well be a token gesture more for political point-scoring.

With a change in government, the State Minister for Planning and the Mayor, both belonging to the Labour Party, attempted to involve the Liberal Federal Government by asking it to help in buying out the whole or part of the on-going development. The State Minister and the Council Mayor requested to meet with the Prime Minister to request the Federal Government to donate $200M

out of the $1 billion Heritage Fund. While the Prime Minister announced his willingness to meet with them he made it clear that this was a State and not a Federal government issue. With rival party governments in place at the State and Federal levels, the outcome of the initiative was a foregone conclusion.

WINNERS AND LOSERS: In this process have there been winners and losers? It is obvious that the community lost when we face the reality that the controversial development did go through. The 'Toaster' building is a snub to all those who opposed it for whatever reasons. But some members of the community have been able to move into these apartments. The community has got an art cinema house along with some quality retail outlets. The surroundings of the Opera House have become presumably safer due to businesses on the East Circular Quay. The city's economy has benefited from the development activity.

The conservationists were concerned mainly with the blocking out of visual access to the major attractions of the area, namely the Opera House and the Royal Botanic Gardens to the public accessing the site from the Circular Quay train and ferry station. They found the proposed development to be too high – obscuring the Botanic Gardens view, too wide – obscuring the Opera House view. They believe that the 'Toaster' has destroyed a splendid view that could have been made available to the public. Some maintain that the potential public view has been sold off as private views for the rich.

The negative sentiments were heightened mainly by the discovery of the dramatic view that was presented with the demolition of the Unilever Building in 1986. Had this temporal 'window' of visual access not been provided, the community reaction would have been far less. The concern may have been limited to providing sufficient 'breathing/ air space' to the Opera House.

One would assume that the developers were the winners because the development eventually went through. However, the lengthy controversy, the series of development applications, compromise design solutions and community reaction must have taken a lot out of the win.

The real loser seems to be the CML, who reportedly absorbed a significant financial loss in selling over 95 percent of its rights to another party. Either the CML miscalculated the real estate potential of the amalgamated site or the cost of amalgamating the site or it had underestimated the community response.

The Professionals' community may feel that a great opportunity for creating something spectacular has been wasted by allowing a non-descript structure on to the site of sights.

LESSONS LEARNED: Does community reaction bear results? From this case, we can derive a range of conclusions. In essence, sustained community reaction could not prevent the controversial development from going ahead. However, it may have been responsible for a number of developments. The decision of CML to sell off 95 percent of its control over the assembled site could have largely been due to the threat it perceived of negative sentiments from its shareholders and clientele. The development may have become too controversial for the insurance company to risk its community credentials. It is reported that while it cost the CML around $300M to assemble the site, it got rid of the site by selling it off to the Peninsula Group for $200M. There are claims, however, that the reasons could have more to do with financial risks associated with the development.

MAKING SENSE OF THE COMMUNITY: It is difficult to predict how the community will react and behave to any development. A common problem with redevelopment projects involving significant demolition work over extended periods is that it creates conditions that are temporary and transient. These conditions often cause inconvenience but can sometimes provide rare opportunities in terms of noise relief due to lack of traffic or public access to splendid views. This is an issue that is tricky and difficult to anticipate or plan for in designing development control plans for the area.

The other issue relates to a late surge in passions within the community. As we saw in this case, it

was not until the actual construction work began and the project actually started taking shape in bricks and mortar that widespread community reaction materialized. Many people get motivated against a development only after its negative aspects become tangible. This highlights the fact that it is often difficult for the lay person to actually anticipate and visualize the impact of an imminent development while it is still on paper.

There is a need to overcome this drawback in community campaigns. This could be easily done by employing graphic techniques such as 3-D graphic simulation techniques and virtual reality. While it may be difficult for the community to sufficiently mobilize the required resources to do so, the professional community or the Planning agencies could take up this role. The 'ideas quest' that the Planning Commission organized could have benefited from the application of such technology. The organizers could easily have allocated the resources to produce easy to comprehend visuals of the community ideas as well as those of the developer's proposals. The resulting discussion could have been more meaningful.

TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE: A case for involving the community earlier in the process is clearly made. The 'Idea Quest' would have been much more meaningful if it had been timely. The objective of the idea quest was to provide a basis for design guidelines which could lead to a project design that would have popular appeal. The idea quest, however, would have been more meaningful if it had been organized to facilitate the designing of development control for the site and before any DAs had been approved. Design guidelines as well as planning controls need to be in place before the process of development application assessment is initiated.

As the community becomes increasingly aware of its rights and power, governments increasingly tend to take heed of opinion polls while setting policy directions at cost to party ideology. While politicians are influenced by the community reaction, beyond a certain level financial realities over-ride these concerns. When the community thought of the buy-out option, it required the staggering amount of $700M or $830M. The magnitude of the sum involved, killed the option, but the carcass was nevertheless carried around for months by politicians mainly for political mileage. If a government would approve spending such a large amount on funds on aesthetic concerns, it would be criticized for diverting potential funding from more real social, health and environmental problems.

Again, this suggestion came forth very late after construction had commenced on site. The dilemma


The View of the Quay from the Sea: This frontal view shows it all – from the left to the right, the Opera House, the Royal Botanic Gardens, the 'Toaster' and the CBD skyline. Unfortunately, this view of the Botanic Garden is restricted from the sea.

was that on the one hand, community support increased as more brick and mortar appeared, while on the other hand, the cost of compensation required to be paid out increased dramatically as more construction occurred.

THE FUTURE: Are we better prepared to deal with similar cases in the future? Planners need to be more vigilant when dealing with planning and development controls around landmarks and city icons. They need to make it their job to look at any hidden potential of sites that are likely to come up for redevelopment. They need to constantly review and update planning guidelines to control the skyline as new developments pop up. It may be well worth the effort to inform the community of imminent development. Planning agencies could set up on their web-sites 3-D images and virtual reality simulations to better communicate with the community about developments that are likely to take place. It has to be a dynamic process. Otherwise they may be caught napping■

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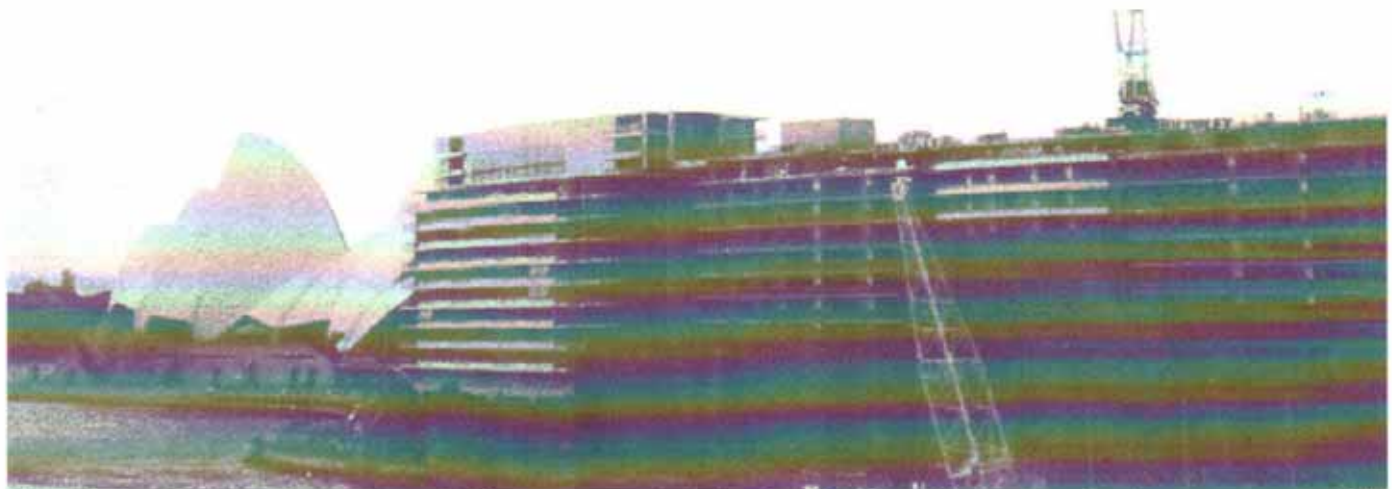
The 'Toaster' during coinstruction: Public resentment peaked as the full effect of the construction became concrete. With the 'Toaster' appearing on the scene, the view of the Opera House from anywhere around the station side is at least half obscured. It is totally obscured as one moves towards East Circular Quay (on which the 'Toaster' stands) on way to the Opera House itself.

The 'Toaster' nearing completion: As the 'Toaster' neared completion, there was still talk that the Federal Government may dip into the $1 billion Heritage Fund to buy out the site and the building and clear the site.

The Final Outcome: This photo shows the Opera House and the 'Toaster' on East Circular Quay. While the view of the Royal Botanic Gardens is obscured by the "toaster" – the gaps between the buildings provides a compensatory glimpse.

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INVITATION FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Journal of Research in Architecture and Planning is an initiative taken by the Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University of Engineering and Technology, to provide a medium for communicating the research and the critique in the broader domain of architecture and planning in Pakistan and beyond. This annual publication shall focus on a specific theme in each of its issues.

For our forthcoming issues of the Journal, the editorial board invites contributions from researchers, scholars, architects and planners. The papers can be based on ongoing researches or analytical/ hypothetical concepts related to relevant fields.

Format of contribution

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- Photographs should be original and preferably black and white.
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Abstract:
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June 2003
Conservation and Cultural Heritage, *2004 issue.*

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