

[limited access] or the open city?

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Chair: Bob Tavernor

Professor Tavernor

Good evening, my name is Bob Tavernor, I'm Professor of Architecture and Urban Design and Director of the Cities Programme. This is the second public lecture the Cities Programme has hosted this term, the first one was the Stirling Lecture, which had A L Weisman talking about urban planning with a military edge to it and he talked very much and very compellingly about how certain developments in the Middle East are being corralled by new walls and how existing buildings and villages are being penetrated through military action and it was a stunning lecture.

The lecture this evening takes not quite the same theme but there is definitely a connection in terms of the title which is [limited access] or the open city and it is going to be given by Professor Kees Christiaanse, who is Professor of Architecture and Urban Design at the ETH in Zurich but he is also a very prominent urban planner and master planner involved in many major European cities. He seems to be flying at the moment between Hamburg and Dublin and London to his base in Zurich because he heads an outfit called KCAP, which he founded a number of years ago and KCAP have built up a reputation for a particular approach to thinking about cities. Because of this he has become a key member of the Mayor's Advisory Group looking at London at the moment and in that role he is also therefore commenting on many of the major changes that are taking place within London but in addition to that through KCAP he is working on several major sites, not least Bishopsgate Goods Yard immediately to the north of the city centre but also he has won a major competition in the more easterly outreaches of Thames Gateway. So it's a great thrill to have Kees Christiaanse come and talk this evening and not least because he is now visiting professor to the Cities Programme. Anyway Kees Christiaanse.

Professor Christiaanse

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. This lecture has two titles, Bob just named the first title, the underlying title is the City is not a Tree, The City Becomes a Tree. Maybe some of you read books and know that this City is not a Tree was written in 1965 and I think that we could say that what was stated then, it will come later in this lecture, is a very actual item at the moment especially in relation to urban design and especially in relation to how to create today a sustainable society.

This is Klaus Toepfer, he is the former Minister of Building of the German Federal Republic and after that he became the UN Commissioner for Development of Third World Cities and he thought that he would not be able to know how to deal with that when he moved to the Third World and therefore he moved to Kenya, to Nairobi, and lived there for 9 years, and worked very strongly on the development of cities on sustainable concept for the development of Third World cities and one of his now...he's now Professor in Shanghai, one of his sayings is 'The battle for a sustainable society is won or lost in the city' and that is a very, maybe a very banal remark but it's a very true remark and it means the city in relation to innovation is extremely important, the density especially. We now know that about two-thirds of the population in the world is going to be living in cities and not simply in suburban

developments or in half-rules cities but especially in very dense cities and dense cities are also places of urban innovation.

If you look at this left picture you see Chinatown, which is typically a development of an open closed community in a dense city because in the three grid of an American city a community of Chinese is forming lets say a town inside the city and this town inside the city at the same time is a closed community in the sense that takes care of itself but at the same time it is also an open community because it communicates in a very strong way by means of shops, restaurants etc. with the rest of the city and it overlaps with other communities so in that respect the density as a kind of concentrated place where a lot of cultures are coming together leads to the interaction of cultures and to the establishment of new social circuits and innovation. This was written by Henri Lefevre, Rem Koolhaas, by Saskia Sassen, by Richard Florida.

So in the meantime there is a whole body of social scientist material that proves that and contrary to, for instance, anti-urbanists or anti-urban utopists like Frank Lloyd-Wright, in his Broadacre City, who says there are always people who think that there is a kind of utopia of comfort and balance between nature and countryside and city. The innovation of culture and of human science takes place in density and that's quite an important thing so we have to maybe site that we want to make very sustainable, attractive and liveable dense cities but at the same time these dense cities are the producers of enormous amounts of waste and pollution and misuse and this is for instance the smog cloud above Beijing, which is enormous, and sometimes people suffocate in the city and even very draconic measurements against car use will not prevent the degeneration of this smog because of the different site conditions that are happening there and the same is applicable to the use of water. For instance in the area of Beijing the ground level of the ground water has been sunken so much that they almost can't find them anymore and they have almost arrived at very serious geological problems, not only of dark problems but also of geological problems.

We have very difficult conditions in terms of waste and processing of waste. People in Lagos live almost completely in garbage. We have enormous differences between rich and poor. This is what maybe one of the key pictures, you all know this picture very well because it is on the internet all over the place, it's one of the best pictures ever taken about the relation between density and the generation of a closed society. There is an enormous difference between rich and poor and these communities block each other off and remarkably the structures that the rich produce for themselves are mono-functional, modernist, segregated structures. The structures that the poor people make for themselves are more or less, in terms of urban environment, are potentially developable, sustainable structures. So it is a very interesting way of looking at that context in terms of density and we know of course that Los Angeles is almost suffocating by the freedom of sprawl which has no real tradition of public transport and leads to a kind of tree like development of suburbs like the title of this lecture showed you in which no public transport is and everything has to be done by car, moving people from one mono-functional area to another mono-functional area. So if we say the density is the place where we should look for a sustainable innovation and at the same time the conclusion is it's a very critical balance at the moment, or it is not even a balance and it is a very important task to deal with this.

Then the city, Toepfer says, is also exhausting the countryside. It takes the cheap labour, it takes its resources, it takes its food, it takes its everything and it gives back to the countryside crime and waste and pollution. These are workers in Bangladesh, Bangladeshi workers who

work in Dubai on extremely mono-functional compounds like this sports city that is six football stadiums in the middle of the desert that are being designed simply to attract events from all over the world by aeroplane, which are temporary events, and are changing this place into a kind of market that is only connected to the rest of the world by air and these people from the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi countryside arrive at this place but of course this remark of Toepfer is a little bit rhetorical. One could say because we cannot say anymore that the earth consists of these nice pictures. Even when this farmer works on his rice paddy in Indonesia in this beautiful countryside we know that immediately he is by 100 factors interconnected to the dense city and there is an inevitable connection between the two.

If we talk about trying to establish a sustainable community we of course also have the paradoxical difference between the First World and the Third World for instance. The First World has a sustainable condition of comfort within hand reach whilst simultaneously energy use and emission increase. This is for instance an ecological quarter of social housing in the Netherlands, in Amsterdam, that we built, which has a density of 100 dwellings per hectare and at the same time has most front doors of all apartments on ground level in order to produce social cohesion and at the same time does not produce a collective park but cuts up the public space into allotments in order to get the inhabitants to have a maximum of involvement with the maintenance of their public space. This place is very successful. It is very ecological. It is almost a zero energy neighbourhood in terms of heating and in terms of water management but at the same time the specific people who live there are continuously increasing their consumption and their energy emission pro capita in a country like the Netherlands is not sustainable at all.

So it is a very paradox situation in relation to the Third World because these people here do not live sustainable at all, they live on waste, they burn wood, they do whatever is not according to the books of sustainable development but they produce however only a fragment of emissions that we do and of course we are arriving at a very paternalistical situation in the sense that we, by innovation and development of technology, are able to tell them to employ certain methods of management, of urban management, or of town planning, or of grouping social behaviour in their urban situations and we of course do not like very much to step down from our own way of life and at the same time they think that when we say we are arrogant and they more or less have the ambition to live like us which is apparently to scientific reports impossible because the earth will go down when everybody lives like we.

For instance this project here is an illustration of the fact that it in some or other way it must be possible to help East European countries, developing countries, also ourselves with derelict neighbourhoods like Liverpool to use low tech quality technology to produce very simple effective results. This is one, for instance a dome out of a special fabric. This dome becomes very hot. This fabric is very heat absorbing and what you can do is you can let see what go down into a pit under the dome and then it will evaporate and then on the cloth it will commendate and then it will come down and it will be turning into drinking water. So this is an invention that we of course have been doing after maybe 90 years of development compression engine and about 50 years of developing the jet engine. We arrive at a kind of state of efficiency that we can turn our technology to things like that.

It shows that there is an enormous pallet of possibilities and it also, this discussion leads also again to a paradoxical attitude because people like George Bush use these developments as an argument to say that sustainability can only be arrived at by voluntariness and they say we have to put people together in the city. If you say that the dense city is the place where

innovation takes place we have to let free enterprise flow because then the internet will be developed and the jet engine will be developed and it will be optimised by reducing sound and energy use etc. and so I will not sign the Kyoto protocol, these red countries are the countries that didn't sign the Kyoto protocol.

But of course it's a question of mentality and if we want to deal with such an attitude we have to comply self limitation but of course people like Bush say okay, we've built this biggest dome in the world at the moment, under construction, at a big ski resort also in Dubai, and of course we have invented the refrigerator and it's not so difficult to use the principle of the refrigerator to turn the heat of the desert into cold and by means of this machine here we could probably arrive in 10 years at a sustainable cooling of skyscrapers in Dubai in a zero energy condition. This of course is maybe is very adventurous but not the way to have an attitude to what is the development of an open, sustainable society based on an urban culture.

Now if we talk about what we can do as architects and urban designers we can of course involve ourselves in sustainable technology. We can make buildings that are energy reducing etc. but I think if we work on the level of urban design there is one aspect which is more important which is urban social sustainability and maybe you can say the sustainable effect of quality is being reached by the combination of sustainable technology, which is energy reduction etc., and urban and social sustainability. What is urban and social sustainability? If you take the city of Tokyo, you know that the city is extremely dense and the people in Tokyo they live in very narrow streets traditionally and they also live per capita on a very small amount of square metres which leads to the situation that of all developed cities Tokyo is the most dense city, more or less, that you can imagine whereas at the same time, until 10 years ago, relatively low rise and it is extremely difficult at all to use a car. So car use is therefore also politically restricted. You can only have a car when you have a parking place and you can only have a parking place when you have almost more money than an apartment because a parking place is about the same size as an apartment and it is also the same price as an apartment, which leads to the fact together with the situation that Tokyo has a very narrow street pattern, that car use for a normal person is almost impossible and it is reflected in that diagram, this red line down is the average car ownership in these countries, Australia, Canada, France etc. and you see that overall Japan has a very low car ownership performance and you must reckon that even the countryside is part of this diagram so that means in the city it is even less.

It automatically has resulted into the development of extremely high sophisticated system of public transport in the past 35 years and you see that this public transport is used more or less virtually by everybody everyday, much more than even in London, and there is a strong correlation between the increase of density and the amount of people that use public transport as you can in that diagram from US cities. On the left hand side you see New York and on the right hand side you see Jacksonville that is very sprawled and very empty. So Tokyo as a result has an ecological footprint. Because of its compact footprint in relation to the amount of people and the car ownership that Tokyo has it has an ecological footprint on this level that is considerably lower than other western cities and this means that if we are able to influence the form of the city, if we can influence as urban designers, as politicians for instance factors like density or factors like functional differentiation then we may be able to arrive at an enormous toolkit that can influence a sustainable, innovative, living condition in cities partly by planning and politics.

And of course there is a lot of fatalism in urban design. People say well, look at Tokyo, look at London, it's all shit, it's just a kind of growing cancer that is only partly under control but this is not true. If you look at social democratic societies and you look at the growth of cities then you see that first of all these cities are a reflection of the development within these social democratic societies first of all and secondly you see that by a certain collective ambitions and ideals the city is being shaped and you can see this very clearly in Japan. This is the waterfront of Tokyo, Yokohama and it is almost entirely man made and it is being developed and has been the result of a more or less liberal social democratic society which means that the degree of intervention in this field is possible. A simple illustration here is the Olympic village. Whatever you think about the Olympic Games in London it is a big intervention. It is being planned by the combination of politics and social democracy which is a very interesting phenomena.

If I talk about this social sustainability then I should maybe say or tell you what for us as designers are the most important points from this social sustainability aspect and here you see what, in our opinion, in our work, are the most important criteria to use when we plan parts of cities. First of all transformation strategies from status quo, we do not make urban designs that are fixed visions. We do not make fixed urban designs that are being drawn and then being implemented. We are taking the status quo, the context, extremely seriously, more or less maybe ridiculously serious, because we think that a lot of traces in this status quo are very important, not only traces in the terms of qualitative buildings or structures or beautiful elements from the past but also in terms of activities on site. If they are low budget activities or high budget activities or whatever that does not matter. We take the existing condition, we declare it more or less as an urban design, from then we start different developments and scenarios from this status quo that leads to certain developments and concentrations, which also links to the second point, always take care that a scheme should react to unforeseen events, because if Ken Livingstone goes next year, there is another mayor coming in and he wants the west of London to be developed instead of the east, it is a bit overdone, but the political cycle of 4 years or 5 years in social democracy has such remarkable changes in city development as a visual that you always must take care that you make a kind of robust framework in which you can react to unforeseen events in your design.

Identity of a place is very important. Trace is very important. Density like I told you is very important, efficient land use. Mixed use is very important, create condition for mixed use because by confronting cultures and functions there is a certain friction being developed and out of this friction urbanity is being generated. Create activating zones in grade level and mezzanine areas so that your townscape is possibly transparent and creates self-generating transitions between public and private in which private people colonise public space and vice versa and a kind of fuzzy transition between public and private is being generated.

Think very strongly about mobility concept and think about the car as the most important aspect to think about, not because we want the car, but because the car is the most problematic part of urban design at this moment so you have to have an automobile concept for every urban design, which is very good, unless every urban design goes down the drain and this is very strongly connected to the system of public spaces, the public space network, because the network of public spaces, which I want to talk about from now on, is the communicator of cities and is the interface of interaction, is the creator of urbanity, and therefore the network of public space, also especially with earlier relationship to car use is extremely important.

Now I told you the city is becoming a tree and if we don't have cities anymore but urbanised landscape maybe we could say the urbanised landscape becomes a forest and this is a very serious situation. If we look at an arbitrary part of a city on the left side you would have public space up to the middle of the 19th century functioning like the left diagram. Every human activity and human interface took place in public space between the buildings in the city, transport, post. There was no telephone, there was no electronic connection. Everything had its interface in public space so let's say it was the most important hub of information, goods transportation and communication between city and that's why also the trade, the exchange of knowledge etc. took place.

Today it's the same a little bit. If we take the same city, like many old cities like London or Amsterdam, that more or less stay constant in a physical way up to a certain extent, but they change completely in terms of their content. If you take for instance the right diagram you see that the complete diagram of interface has changed. If this red thing is a shopping street, there is one big red line, people going to and fro and these people are just one type of people, they are not any more the diverse, interacting differentiated people who use public space formally but these people are the fun shopper, the commuter who wants to catch his subway train etc. and in their heads there are clouds of their social networks that are being far away by internet, an uncle in Cambridge etc. People have various networks in their heads and are only partly concentrated on public space and public space is only used for pedestrian transport or maybe a little bit more and commercial exchange into compounds that are increasingly internalised.

Formerly everything happened outside in an open condition and today everything happens much more internalised. You can compare between this pedestrian part of Hong Kong where the whole shop front area is open and the Chinatown creates a kind of a positive ghetto of community and at the same time these communities close themselves completely like for instance here, this is Sadar City by Doxiadis in Baghdad. Doxiadis was a pupil of Le Corbusier. He designed Sadar City, a very beautiful urban design of housing, mainly in <?? – 31.46> typology and this is also an area colonised by such a social group but you could call it a negative community because within the city it works as a closed community and it works as a no go area.

So what we see in the city, we would like of course to see the old city or the city that we all dream of which is a grid of streets and squares and places in which social communities and social networks in different colours are meeting themselves, they are interacting, they are overlapping, but what happens instead is a city as a tree where there is a limited system of access in which islands of seclusiveness are connected only by one or two access points and prevent an intercommunication between parts of the city. You see an example of a shopping centre in the centre of Rotterdam, which could be anywhere, and which has two or three points of access and these two points of access they do not link really into a streetscape like this. This is also a shopping centre in the Netherlands, in the city of Groningen, but it has colonised medieval buildings and the traffic system has, under the influence of a conscious urban design, has not been separated into different kinds like pedestrian, cars and bicycles, they are integrated in a subtle way in the middle of the street and they create a connectivity and a communication potential with the same programme which is completely different than this shopping centre in Rotterdam.

This is a map from the book *Ladders* by Albert Pope, a very nice book, it costs about 300 Euros with Amazon now. It's a little book because it's out of print and everybody wants to read it. It shows the map of Houston, in white the traditional street pattern of street blocks

and in black the growing system of covered shopping malls that are interconnected and create a kind of secondary closed and limited access space on top of the city which leads to a fact that the streets themselves are reduced to merely car street destroying the centre of Houston.

It is more or less a situation which you also see between two blocks, the difference between two blocks in Hong Kong. In some blocks you still have an enormous active street life and on other blocks the difference between the first level and interconnected public amenities and shopping and on ground level the transport by individual car is completely separated destroying the city to a certain extent.

Now these are very placative models but there are many, let's say hiding models of this tendency, the left diagram here is the hospital cluster in the middle of Rotterdam, which is increasingly controlled by cameras, has increasingly limited access to certain users and is in the middle of the city, an academic environment, which changes gradually into a compound rather than into an open filtering urban area and on the right hand side here you see a map of the area around Times Square in New York, which is a beautiful part of the city, and if you go to Times Square and you are a little bit naïve or not experienced with urban design and with the parts of Times Square you will think that you are in the normal part of town but everybody knows that this contour is the contour of property, a consortium under the leadership of Disneyland has bought, and you are more or less into a fake version of the real version itself in the real version at the same time, which is a very alarming condition that is being generated in many parts in modern cities and of course it was the result of an open thought because we must not forget that these tendencies are not the result of mean politicians or mean capitalists that only think about controlling society and that only want to have a clean, orderly town without any cultural problems etc, on the contrary this condition is being developed by the open society and by the open city itself.

The tendency to have free trade and land use, to have free trade of real estate, to have an entrepreneur being free to develop what he wants leads to these kind of situations, which is a very important notion when we talk about proceeding with urban design, because Buckminster Fuller's dome across the same area in New York that Disneyland has bought is more or less a physical gesture out of the 1960s, which was at that time a very legitimate thought in the situation of society and would now be considered as something completely killing and the same is applicable for the utopia of superstudio, out of the same period, 1968, where people were suggested to take off their clothes and become naked and walk across a well tempered plane of condition, technology condition, and feel free to live anywhere and to eat anywhere and to sleep anywhere and to entertain itself anywhere in the world. These things have partly become true but in a different type of vesture. These people are boring, they are bought like you see and they are definitely not taking off their clothes and they are definitely not doing interesting things with each other.

This is a real problem, this generation by the free city of non-free space, and it is quite interestingly depicted by these two diagrams out of the same book by Albert Pope, which on the left side shows street patterns that are anti-hierarchical, that have no difference between a highway and a pedestrian way, that have building blocks that are multidirectional, that have the possibility to move from one arbitrary spot in a townscape to another arbitrary spot in a townscape by at least five or ten different ways, which means that the amount of touching length of an individual in the city is maximised and it creates the possibility to activate the city whereas the tendency of nowadays, both in city shopping malls as well as the

development of suburbs or the implementation of university campuses or business parks or airport cities, create a landscape of what Pope calls "ladders".

Now it also becomes clear what he means with ladders, which is a very strong analogy with the "tree" of Christopher Alexander in his article "The City is not a Tree" in 1965, and you can also very clearly see that this city, apart from nostalgic thoughts, is a city in which polyvalence, multivalence is reigning, in which there are potentials, in which there are possibilities of niches, of differences, and this city is a city where there is only probably one or two ways of transport to arrive from one place to the other and there is only one or two points of access to get from the one compound to the other reducing the communication potential of the city in an enormous way and that's what Alexander told us already in 1965, as also a criticism to modernism.

But of course he wasn't at that time conscious of the fact that this was a product of modernist urbanism, but this would be a product of a natural generation of the open city, because also modern urbanism at its time was extremely legitimate I would say and is not a period which some people try to say of mistakes and of narrow mindedness, of course not, the people who have created modernist urbanism are lucid thinkers. They were geniuses for their time and the conditions of that time have legitimated these kind of proposals which doesn't mean that they are right now but at that time they were but now we see that the principle Alexander went for is a kind of self-destructing property of the free city.

Is that really so? Yes, it is really so. This is the north ring road of Zurich, you see here the ring road and you see left top the airport, you see all kinds of sprawl settlements. In this context you see a big shopping centre. Along the highway you see business parks etc. You see a generic part of transition between a city and countryside which could be more or less everywhere. If you analyse the street pattern of that area, these are pictures that we do as student research in our institute, if you analyse the street pattern you will see that it's not so bad because it's not a simple tree or ladder configuration, it still has a character of a web, but at the same time you see there are strong tendencies of turning into branches but if you at the settlements that are depicted on this network then you see what really happens. You see almost exclusively not networked parts of urban fragment, you see that most of them are cul de sacs and most of them are only connected to each other by this highway or by the railway system and you can forget about any pedestrian quality of such part of town except for very local positions.

So this leads of course, if we think about the consequences, what is the most extreme thing, we could think that the most extreme result of that would be something like this. This is a diagram that our mayor made of the city of Dubai and it shows the mosaic of private property in relation to public space. Now the only three parts of public space in this diagram is the ochre, which is the desert, the sea, which is the white, and this kind of little purple strip, almost less than 1% of the total surface of Dubai, and the rest is connectivity based on boarders. It is a kind of artistic relationship of introverted compounds against each other and that maybe the consequence of urban development. If we do not consciously work on a public space network system in relation to the aspect of speed, the aspect of public and the individual, large scale transport, if we do not tackle this in our cities then we do not arrive at a sustainable city.

You can also say that the city that I just showed you that is the global city and the global city of Saskia Sassen, which is this city, is maybe also a global city because it is a very specific

place, it is a very beautiful place, it is a very dense place, it is topographically attractive and therefore it attracts global actors but one could say at the same time argue that this is the global city because this global city is more or less generated everywhere. We still have specific differences between the centre of London, between the centre of Amsterdam, the financial district of New York, they're global cities but they are highly specific locally developed attractive urban ambiances but the anti-model global city that I'm talking about is this.

It is a mid-sized town somewhere in the countryside. This mid-sized town is in the neighbourhood of a big town so there is an enormous amount of planning of suburban peripheral development going on. You see here on the left you see new streets in the form of closed systems, ladders or trees being laid out. You see that they have a perfect way of drawing a zoning plan all over the world. The zoning plan consists of different colours where housing is, where amenities are, where recreation green is and where water is. It has a certain coding for the depicting of how roads should be designed etc. They have the same billboards in which they explain how they are going to construct this type of city and some of them have special features. For instance this one has its treelike access road being laid down into a park which makes the dragon much more attractive than in reality. They all have the same typology of residential development but it doesn't matter if I would show you schools, they would also have the same typology, the same kind of public space. In some places where wages are low the public space is better maintained than in places where the wages are high.

They are all made by senior architects on the one hand and then sometimes promising young architects with an architectural signature that is remarkable and suddenly brings a certain colour to a city suburb. These architectural offices look the same from Moscow to London to Shanghai to Rotterdam and you can go there with your students on an excursion. They build this global city being part of this global city themselves. They use even the same style for their models in the same way and sometimes such a mid-sized town has a similar centre as everywhere else, where there are gondolas moving tourists from one place to another, and they have of course the reconsidered shopping mall, which is a human shopping mall combining all the new, combining pedestrian and small scale shopping with large scale cinemas and housing above and in these pedestrian areas the same bored youths, as anywhere, are sitting on the street furniture that is being designed by any architect in any shape which looks the same all over the globe and sometimes the police drives Cadillac's like in this mid-sized town and sometimes they drive Volkswagen's but in a way they are being exactly the same.

I think it is very important to work on this global city, to recreate the notion of density, and the notion of public space network in relation to the scale of transport, to re-define the idea of mixed use in these areas because if we do not do that then will have the segregated city in the end because this global city, which is just showed you, it was King Pu, 100km from Shanghai, also exists in very mean versions like this one. This is a Jewish settlement in Jerusalem, near Jerusalem, and we also did research there, and this is a map that one of my assistants and his students made of that area and you see in blue, you see on the left, you see this global city as a ladder, as a mono-functional compound where the same type of suburban families, with the same type of exchangeable children live that go to same type of exchangeable schools, but of course here is something else. There is really only one road and this one road is guarded by people with guns and there is also a residue of previous settlements by Palestinian people who used the typography in relation to their agriculture and this confrontation is very dramatic and also shows that spaces of conflict, this is from a book

that we made, spaces of conflict are very extreme in these kind of conditions but the spaces of conflict in normal suburban conditions are sometimes also similar but of course there is no violence, there is no hunger and there is no threat, it is all very much softer.

This for instance is [Gurkturk] and [Gurkturk] is the biggest gated community in the vicinity of Istanbul. It's a community settled on the right hand side here into a previous village and was completely realised illegal because it's a drink water resource area and it was a natural forest area. The motorway to Istanbul is even illegal and the people of this gated community even have discos in the centre of Istanbul and they have jeeps, landrovers, where they drive their adolescent kids on a Friday night to these discos by chauffeur where they can freak out in the middle of the centre of Istanbul and being driven back in their landrovers on the illegal motorway to the illegal gated community where they live. It's a very, very, provocative, shocking example, not as shocking as Jerusalem but still shocking.

But on the other hand there is also hope maybe for our suburbs because if you look at the map of this village you see the shopping park which is the red, the red lines are the trees and the ladders that are sometimes completely paralysed separates to the official streets of the village but you see pictures of copies of that area that more or less make up 90% of the built environment of that area now but here you see, the gated communities are all blue, you see that these coloured spots are settlements partly within the old village, partly squatted, partly built overnight, these are the so called gated condos and partly yaptat apartments which are apartments that have been built later to replace one of these gated condos, urbanise an area.

These spots are being invaded by immigrants from Eastern Turkey, who have no money, who settle on the side of the walls like poor farmers in medieval cities in London and Cambridge, and they start to create urban activities in the form of...they start to repair tyres for people's cars, they start to bake bread, they start to do anything and there is a kind of gradual free city being settled between those gated communities that also organise, like in the beginning I showed you this Chinatown, they are organising communities. You have people from Puristan, you have people from Anatolia, they all more or less settle in their own communities and open interaction with each other and they create these kind of environments and in the end stadium of lets say of development of such a suburb there is an urbanised centre which is not planned, which has been generated spontaneously, which more or less neutralises the effect of these hard gated communities, also opens them up because these people offer services that can be used by these people and you get these contrasts as very beautiful pictures that we would rather love to see in our own suburbs somewhere here.

Now we have partly been planning part of this new town of [Leizerhein], which is the Milton Keynes but only 10 years old in the Netherlands and of course we are confronted with the ingredients that I just showed you. So we have a kind of Lego building kit, 500 houses of 4 bedrooms, 1 family with 10 metres garden and a car port in front of it, 1 primary school, 1 grammar school, medical cluster, motorway exit, free bus way that will be turned into a tramtrack later etc., etc. and how to deal with that if you know about these things.

So we did something illegal here. You see this big access road running through the north. This big access road is normally a road which runs free through the meadows in our country but because the sound regulations and the emission regulations are so strong that it is impossible to build in that vicinity, the only way you can build these access streets who are vital urbanisers when you can use them right, is by means of a noise wall or by means of a

dyke in which you don't see the settlements any more. So to make an integrated urban design ID for such an area that will use the access road as an urbanising element instead of a separating element which lies in its genes, is incorporated in its genes already, to do that you have to do something illegal but what we did we placed all the buildings alongside this, we put this road in the middle of the settlement and then put all the buildings alongside this road and we made big living spaces and workshop spaces along this road but these spaces are officially corridor of a house. So officially they are non-rooms and by means of declaring these officially non-rooms we were allowed to build them and immediately this road starts to urbanise so you get a kind of re-invention of an urbanised country road between two mid-sized towns where farms gradually turn into urbanised areas where there are tank stations and whatever. Of course, here you see the initial construction of it, of course this is only an attempt, but it shows in its attempt by the way of urban design and implementing urban design it is at least 50% failure but you know that if you look at cities. By employing this attempt we get, step by step we get a little bit more into the possibility of creating more dense mixed environments again.

Maybe one of the last projects I show you is the harbour city in Hamburg, because I think that in the harbour city in Hamburg we are arriving at something unplanned, which is something that you would call maybe urban memory and how to design urban memory. The harbour city in Hamburg is a free harbour, which was completely given over to the city and the city decided to extend her centre there. Formerly it used to be one of the most important harbours in Hamburg but now it is obsolete and we did the competition for this waterfront area. It's an enormous area, it's about the size of the Royal Docks area around London City airport, between Canary Wharf and London City airport, and it will contain in the end something like 3 million square metres of built volume, there are some nice traces there, and we designed a scheme that is mostly characterised by this picture. It is not a zoning plan as you see but it is also not a specific physical design. It is something in between which fixes very strongly public space. It fixes very strongly the public space network. It also determines very strongly the relationship between car use and slow traffic use and it also establishes very strongly the relationship between recreational space and public transport.

Then building fields are being left open and these building fields are developed according to a building code which defines the density, the characteristics, the degree of mixture in every plan but this is a kind of open process which gradually changes during the development of the scheme. So this is a very early picture of the urban design according to which building blocks and buildings could be infiltrated there. You see for instance on this south <?? – 1.01.46> you see these dark red towers standing on blocks. We had a kind of system of standard perimeter block that could be changing into character from place to place.

Now this picture is completely obsolete, it is completely past, because on the basis of the previous drawing and on the basis of the friction between the different stakeholders, politics, the city architect, us, investors, protesting inhabitants, water management problems, etc., etc., the German railway company, the whole scheme was tested until its limits. It was tested to such an extent that you could sometimes not speak of the scheme any more and at the moment it looks like this and you see that although it was tested to its limits the real buildings are more or less wrestling in a kind of a relationship between contextual and being very strongly individually developed. It is sometimes completely ugly. You can't believe how ugly it is in some quarters but sometimes it's also very beautiful but the interesting thing is that even in the spots where it is extremely you notice that it doesn't matter because the overall structure of connectivity, of networking, of scale, of relation public/private, is perfectly in

order although there is a very strong unpredictability of how politicians and architects are dealing with the scheme and that makes it very interesting.

And I really can say, for instance for that centre part, that in a way we are creating a kind of urban memory <?? – 1.03.59> because of course to say that you are creating urban memory is extremely arrogant. Memory is something that Rome has or Vienna. It is centuries that create different layers of perception that create an ID of how the city is transformed, an enormous depth you can call memory, in which you can also read much more than the superficial connotation of buildings and spaces but in a way this place gradually develops something like that, something as an initiation to that because it is not dependent on one individual. It is also not an arbitrary chaos. It is a kind of set of consensus, attitudes, because most of the rules that we laid down are bases but the non-written rules about behaviour between the different stakeholders in this scheme, maybe even important as the drawn and written rules that we make, develops into a very interesting environment, and for instance this is the centre part.

The centre part is about the same size as the Potsdamer Platz in complex in Berlin and the same developers, the same competitors as developers wanted to build this place and most of these developers covered, and I come back to Buckminster Fuller and Times Square, they covered the whole area in glass. They made a ground level of shopping, they made entrance lobbies of glass for offices that were above and you could get out of the subway system without getting wet. You could park your car without getting wet. You even had a hard time to try to get wet in this city and we selected the developer that did not do that. There was one developer, which was by chance a Dutch developer, who said I am going to cover, I will not go to cover any street I promise you. I will make ground level shop fronts but I will take care that there are also public amenities and there will also be public/private activities on a small scale. I will put at least 25% or 30% residential between the blocks in the shopping areas and therefore he more or less stated to create a certain mixed use townscape in which the network of public spaces as part of the centre, part of this harbour city, would be open.

Here you see the entrance coming from the centre of Hamburg going into that area, very diverse architecture will be realised. Here you see still the shapes of that entrance. Here you see a building that doesn't fit at all, which is the new cruise terminal, with hotel and bus parking by Maximilian [Name], of course an architect who has more or less self-centred on his plot, but the strength of the urban design allows these kind of excesses to happen. You see the rhythm of residential towers along the quay under construction. You see the old warehouse on the tip which will have a philharmonic building by Herzog and de Meuron on top of it and there will be a public square in the slit between the old warehouse and this cloudy philharmony and here you see the tissue in between that is being generated, it's a real tissue, with a very careful dealing with public space elements and traces, but we were obliged to raise the whole area 2½ metres because of flooding problems in the future and we didn't want that because we wanted to keep all the old quay walls intact. So you see here what the solution was, we raised the whole area where the buildings are, also put the parking in that podium, but left a kind of 6 metre wide fence of the old level intact, where public space along the water has been generated, incorporating also the old key constructions that create a special historical aspect, a kind of identity generating like you see here between old and new, which is extremely important.

It is getting quite successful even so that you see I'm here explaining it to our future king of the Netherlands, Wilhelm Alexander, and my conclusion is that we should not strive, we should not have a naïve idea of open system and sustainability in a dense city that can be

realised throughout everywhere. The most important lesson I think of this kind of practical activities is that there's a balance between the secluded and the open and that an open city consists of the right equilibrium between an open system and also very many closed, smaller and larger closed systems, but that have a certain method of communication in between. So now you may say, whether we can say in 200 years there was a closed city until 1820, then the city opened up and around 2080 it closed again and this was a very remarkable period in the history of humanity. Thank you very much.

Professor Tavernor

Thank you very much, very powerful lecture. This is an opportunity obviously for you to ask some questions and I am not going to try and summarise such a complex lecture before opening it up to the floor but I think it's important to just pick on one aspect or it's the privilege I suppose of chairing something like this that I can ask the first question but you talked about in each era the visionaries, be they Buckminster Fuller or Christopher Alexander, who were working within the system of their time and you have talked about the importance of spatial connectivity and the way it responds to and current technological and other social changes but what also seems to be a constant through any period is ownership, who owns the land, when a street can be truly public or when it's actually controlled by a management committee who prohibits how people enjoy or interact freely within that type of environment and you talked about it with Hamburg, how you had an enlightened developer, who happened to be Dutch, who allowed certain things to happen. I mean the real problem in many cities, and particularly in London at the moment is that no matter how powerful the architect in the end the developer and the needs of finances apparently dictate that there isn't the freedom to produce true public realm.

Professor Christiaanse

Yes, I think you are perfectly right. I didn't elaborate on property aspects of land use in this lecture on purpose because you can have a complete lecture about this aspect on its own but it is true that in this whole quest, the quest for a qualitative urban real, the question of property and especially the question of scale of property is extremely important and especially also the question of the fluctuation of land prices and this is...I think we are now on a moment that we have to maybe re-discuss this very strongly on a political level in relation to potential legislation and it also happens in some places. For instance the Dutch government just has announced, I don't know if they will succeed in it, that they will tax houses that are more, that have a value of more than 1 million Euros quite extremely in order to prevent certain types of speculation.

I think that you can see in the example of London that there is something really asking about the condition of prices because the whole centre of London is changing in foreign hands. One of the reasons is that, which is very strange in the European Union, that foreigners that are going to live in London do not have to pay any tax when they do not earn their money in the UK, which means that if I would work in Rotterdam and I would live in London I wouldn't pay any tax and of course a set of these kind of conditions together with the global city aspect of London attracts a party of people that more or less conquers the city leaving no space for an effort, also not even in the elitist part of local population, to be part of the trade of real estate and that leads to such alarming situations.

I would say that there is a moment and I don't know how, it's also an item that we do not, as urban designers do not like to go into because we do not know enough about it and we are afraid of it but I think there is an inevitable moment in which, there should be done

something about that by legislation in modern cities and what is also the case is that most of the developments that are quite successful in recent times, are most of the time revitalisation projects, and these revitalisation projects are most of the time public property land that is being gradually changed into private land or being leased or being treated in another way.

So I definitely agree with you that in my discourse that's a kind of lack which I didn't build in but I also didn't build it in because it is so complicated and so loaded that maybe we should have a symposium on it especially.

Professor Tavernor

It wasn't meant as a criticism but anyway, yes please.

Question

[Inaudible – no microphone]

Professor Christiaanse

Well I think identity is very much generated by community, like the city is a reflection of society, identity is also a reflection of society and one of the interesting things is that, I showed you this example of Turkey, in which the identity of the place is more generated by the interference of squatters and poor immigrants, that interfere with this kind of perfect society than by the perfect society itself. For instance what I think is very hopeful and interesting thing is that in this Dutch suburb that I showed you normally there would be, formerly would be living there preferably white, middle class families with two children and an Opel Rekord in front of their carport, more or less they could exchange husbands, nobody would even notice, but recently in the cities of Aalmeer, for instance, which is a kind of similar suburb in the neighbourhood of Amsterdam, there are Hindustan streets being generated or there are Moroccan quarters being generated in these quality suburbs creating an enormous sense of identity because these people have such a strong anti-behaviour or anti-culture in relation to their American dream. On the one hand they comply fully with it but on the other hand they have such strong traditions from other continents that that creates a very interesting condition.

So the aspect of identity lays for a very strong part in the gene loci of the area and the quality of the typography, the history of the place etc. but it is very strongly possible to generate identity by community in certain typological environments and I think that is very interesting. For instance the effect that in cities like...the city of Toronto is quite interesting, even more interesting in that respect than Los Angeles, if you go to Toronto around West Queen Street it's a complete suburban district but it has the urbanity of Greenwich Village in New York. So there is a density and a culture invaded in an only two storey high urban quarter, which has no precedent, so in that respect I agree with you. One should of course be very careful in creating with physical design means and with the gene loci, quality, identity environments modulating with mixed use and with density etc, but the invasion of the communities and those very strongly related to the condition of society are generating the most important covenant of identity I would say.

Question

[Inaudible]

Professor Christiaanse

No, no. I mean social justice is so very strongly depending on political conditions. You see that all over the world and in those terms it is very hard to say that, I mean certainly you could not say that by design you can heal certain injustices, it's not possible, but you can certainly design a breeding ground for a certain quality, a certain exchange of mentality that would not happen in other designs may be. I must also say we are not theorists, we are designers from origin, so this list is also not complete. It's a kind of pragmatical checklist, a first pragmatical checklist that we employ when we design quarters.

Question

[Inaudible]

Professor Christiaanse

No, you can't. No, because lets say if you even look at a generic neighbourhood then most of the time there is by some participants, by some dominating participants in the community, has been exerted quite a strong design act even if they don't know that they have done that and we can, as professional designers, we can extrapolate certain principles out of it.

Question

[Inaudible]

Professor Tavernor

How to educate letting agents.

Professor Christiaanse

I think that some investors, especially in the former harbour industrial cities, have become quite conscious of what makes their real estate value increase. For instance we have the experience in Amsterdam that certain investors they would formerly make condominiums in kind of one type and shopping and a congress centre in the foot but these people now allow temporary rehearsal rooms for bands to stay there. They let galleries repair their own warehouses which they don't tear down any more. They also do not gentrify it immediately but they leave it for a while and they know that by strategically playing with different temporary and permanent, more successful, more stable, and more bourgeois, and more avant garde groups that therefore on the right spots, I mean this is only applicable in certain attractive areas, that the area could develop itself to a kind of meeting point, urban meeting point, and by coming such an urban meeting point eventually their real estate in the long run increases in value much more than they would have reached at when they would have made upper/middle class condominiums. That's a very interesting development. You must not underestimate the amount of 35 year old engaged architects that have become investors or developers, that are fooling around in former harbour areas all over Europe and America!

Professor Tavernor

That sounds like a very good point to leave it. Thank you very much Kees Christiaanse.