Quo Vadis Architectura? 7

Nils Erik Wickberg lectures

Mixing the Private and the Public in the City

A? Aalto University

Mixing the Private and the Public in the City

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Nils Erik Wickberg

Brev till Aulis Blomstedt
A letter to Aulis Blomstedt

skrivet i Ravello / written in Ravello
10–16.9.1953

Först tog jag mig till Trevi. Konstaterade igen, att den bör ses just på kvällen, då det sitter mycket folk på trapporna och trattoriorna i de omgivande husen är upplysta. Då kommer också den starkt plastiska fasaden till Ss. Vincenzo ed Anastasio bäst till sin rätt. Trevi är ett instrument: människorösterna, sången, vattenmassornas plask hör oskiljaktigt ihop med den arkitektoniska helheten. Fortsatte till Scala di Spagna och Piazza Navona. Hur förträffligt folk trivs i dessa barockens friluftssalar, på dessa trappor, på bänkarna runt dessa fontäner! Det är sant funktionalistisk byggnadskonst i ordets humanaste bemärkelse.

First, I made my way to Trevi. I observed that it should be seen exactly in the evening, when there are so many people sitting on the stairs and the trattorias in the surrounding buildings are lit up. Then also the facade of Santi Vincenzo e Anastasio, with its strong plasticity, is at its best. Trevi is an instrument: the human voices, the singing, and the splashing of the water cascades are inseparable parts of the architectural whole. I continued to Scala di Spagna and Piazza Navona. How splendidly the people enjoy these baroque open-air salons, on these steps, on the benches around these fountains! It is truly a functionalist architecture in the most humane sense of the word.

Source: Nils Erik Wickberg, *Städer, byggnader…*, Söderström, Helsingfors 1989.

Nils Erik Wickberg in 1959.
Photo Kalle-Heikki Narinen

Aino Niskanen

Foreword

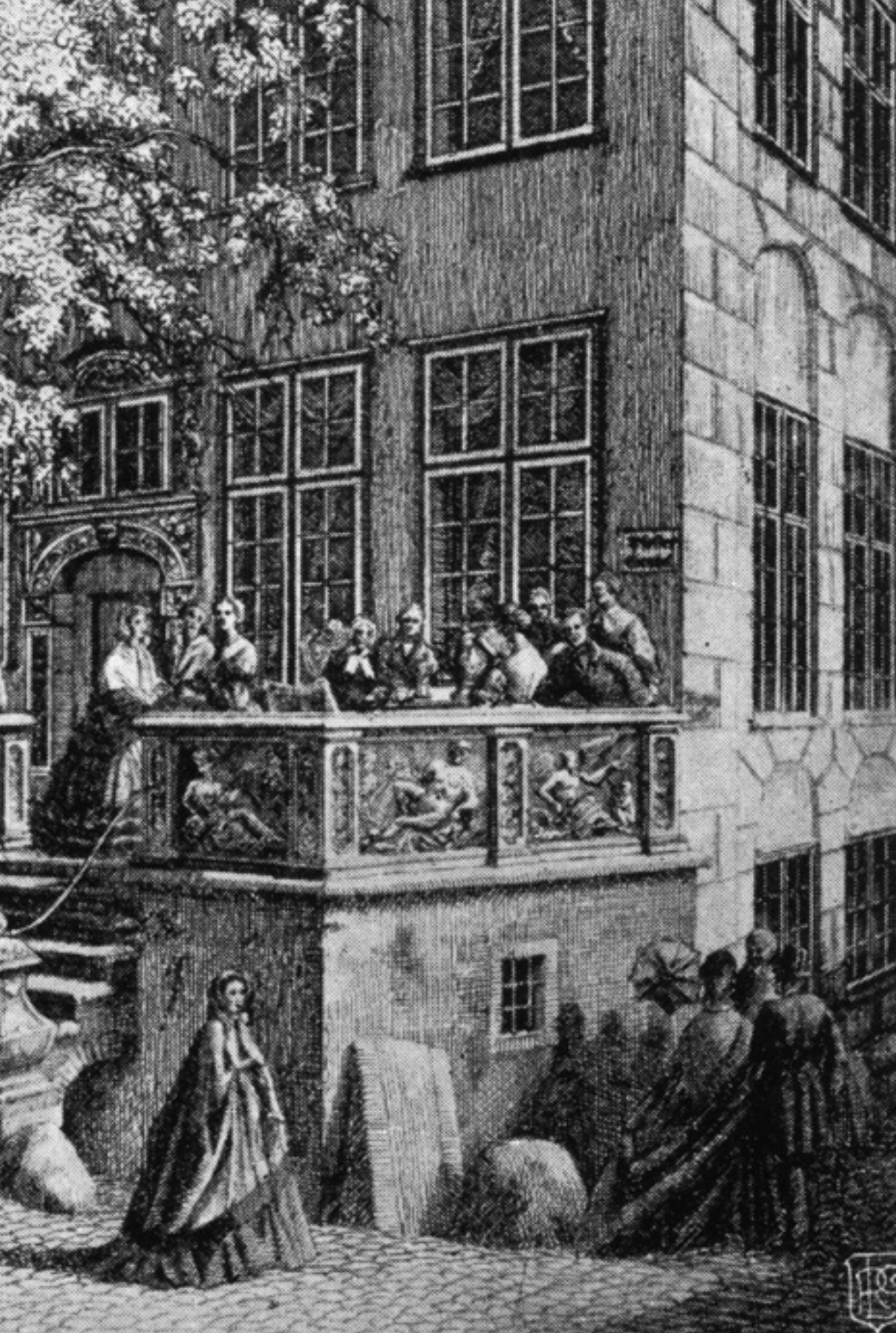
Professor Nils Erik Wickberg was an architect, an architectural historian, and a quietly brilliant polymath. His bequest to the university has made it possible to hold an annual seminar on a special topic with invited speakers. The thirteenth Wickberg seminar focused on the mixing of the private and the public in city life.

The distinction between the public and the private is deeply engrained in the modern experience. We use the term 'public' to mean *the communal, shared, joint, and universal*, but also what is *popular, general and common*. We describe libraries as public, parks as public, and many other buildings as public. Public places are not exclusive or restricted; they should be accessible, free and accessible to all.

The boundaries of public and private have constantly changed during history, and they continue to change. Modernism brought a separation of work and living and advanced social differentiation through zoning principles that emaciated urban life, making the city centres too one-sided in terms of functions. Nowadays we feel a need to again discover the inherent liveliness of cities through our senses and social life. The idea of mixing functions has returned to building design. The different lectures are concerned with the boundaries between public and private in the history of architecture, housing and in urban and regional planning. Is today´s technology a limitation or enabler of new possibilities? Can the sharing economy extend itself in the use of spaces?

The organizers of the seminar were the chairs of the History of Architecture, Housing, and Urban and Regional Planning.

Otaniemi
Aino Niskanen, Professor Emerita, History of Architecture



Aino Niskanen

Introduction: The fluid boundaries of the private and the public

In modern Western societies the *private* often referred to the spaces of domestic or intimate relations. The gender lens has led us to question why the domestic, private sphere became associated with women and the public sphere with men. Later, the notion of the *private* also came to refer to businesses owned by private individuals, while the notion of the *public* has mostly referred to open spaces and specific building types when speaking of architecture or built environment.

The rigid dichotomy between the public and the private is seldom clear when we look at historical examples. For example, the description of a Roman upper-class house, *domus* or villa, used to be that it had a public area, the atrium, as the owner's official business space, while on the side and the back was the private family area. According to recent research, the boundaries between the public and the private were certainly more fluid than we have realised; for example, small-scale court cases could be handled in private houses. Looking at households from the Middle Ages up until the Baroque era, life inside the house was, in fact, quite public. Work and family life occurred side by side: children were nursed and raised, meals were taken, and business partners entered in one room with little space for intimacy. Both birth and death occurred at home, while neighbours and relatives walked in and out, for a birth was at least for women a communal experience. In medieval cities, the few official events took place outdoors and in practice all the city's citizens participated.

A building provides the most obvious way of shutting off a private area from a public space and preventing access. A gateway, colonnade, entrance foyer or entrance canopy act as mediating spaces between the exterior and the interior, thus allowing public access

or some sort of contact with the interior; an ambiguous zone is hence created between the public and the private. In north German merchants' houses, from the Middle Ages until the Baroque era, a person ascended from the street up towards the entrance via stairs and an external terrace bounded by benches, the so-called *Beischlag*, that is, a stoop, which offered the residents contact to the street and a place where a person could wait before entering. The core of these houses was the so-called *Diele*: a two-storey stone-floored reception hall. A staircase led upstairs from the hall, which in the houses of the Baroque era overlooked the ground floor through glass windows; in other words, even in the interior the *Diele* was surrounded by a facade.

Intermediate zones have been used for conducting business at different times in history. Andrea Palladio's client Girolamo Chiericati intended to build a palace in Vicenza on land that he owned, a long but narrow plot adjacent to a piazza that had been cleared for cattle trading. On the initiative of his architect, Chiericati requested permission in 1551 to build a colonnade flanking the building. The colonnade of Palazzo Chiericati was built, in Palladio's words, for his ´greater comfort and the comfort and ornament of the whole city´. The *sala* and loggias on the first floor could thus be built on top of the colonnade, extending 13 feet (approx. 4 metres) out into the public space. Correspondingly, the piazza received an impressive terminus and those conducting business on the piazza received a space that sheltered them from the elements.

The owner's request for privacy or ownership of an intermediary zone that is partly perceived as common can lead to conflicts with the neighbours and the wider community. Both of the articles look at the cultural and societal transformations that occurred during the 17th and 18th centuries. Emily Cockayne examines the conflicts between the private and the public in England between 1670 and 1730. In turn, Panu Savolainen looks at the concept of *common space* in 18th century Sweden and, for instance, the maintenance of urban space.

The transformation of society in the 18th century finally enabled the subject to appear as something other than what he or she is. New nominally ´public´ spaces emerged with the theatre and the café. By the 19th century, cities developed still newer public spaces with the grand boulevards and commercial shopping arcades, made famous, for instance, by the *flâneurs* in the passages of Paris. As is well known, the grand public parks were designed for the promenades and leisure of men and women of all classes. Indeed, in these new urban public spaces one could spend an entire day walking more or less anonymously; a liberation for many, no doubt! Metropolitan city life was born with mixture of functions – housing, shopping, leisure and circulation – until modernism separated them into zones. For the citizen, life in the public open spaces could offer a liberating anonymity but also loneliness. Today we have to again rethink the public and the private. How can we build a sense of community, and create more opportunities for sharing in our lives as city dwellers and citizens?

Emily Cockayne

Petitions, neighbours, and civic planning in England, 1670–1730

Historians of English town planning have long been preoccupied with large-scale projects and overarching policies of the pre-modern era; by planned cities or the purposeful development of large, well-defined urban areas. Much attention has been paid to reconstruction after fire, or the grand expansion of regions such as London's West End squares.[1] Conversely, scant attention has been paid to the history of local development control, by which I mean the regulation of land use by local government officers charged with the management of planning. In modern times planning officers consult a local plan – with input from national legislative guidelines – to confirm whether plans submitted by individual householders can be reconciled to those guidelines. If they can be, and neighbours have raised no significant objections, then the plans are approved. Such controls are enshrined in various town and country planning acts and have naturally informed how urban planning in the past has been conceived. A focus on national legislation has led to the assumption there was a planning free-for-all before the Town & Country Planning Act of 1947. That is entirely false.

Introduction: British Development Control

The history of development control before 1947 'remains largely unwritten' but the regulation of civic land is as old as private property.[2] Comprehensive and systematic development control was not a phenomenon novel to the twentieth century: civic authorities, town assemblies and corporations developed local systems of development control over a number of centuries. Planned development and the crafting and enforcement of material practices is evident in the early

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modern period. In England of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the spaces which lay immediately beyond private properties were owned and managed by civic assemblies, corporations and councils – each of which had duties and interests in what one might call planning control. Householders wanting to extend their properties over city land (often called wastes), or those wanting to enclose spaces beneath overhanging portions of buildings, needed to seek permission from the civic officials. This was usually by petition to the mayor, aldermen and councillors.

On top of this, civic authorities also concerned themselves with the various ways in which private properties were *used*. Sometimes clamp-downs on certain types of land use were spurred by local tragedies: bakehouses and stacks of flammable materials were singled out for improvement in the wake of conflagration. Zones were established, often only semi-officially, to protect desirable residences from certain kinds of industrial activity – businesses that were smoky, smelly or noisy. Sometimes these zones were created not by the civic authorities, but by landowners and property owners themselves,

Fig.1 Timber-framed buildings in Chester, UK.
Nigel Jarvis/Shutterstock.com.

through protective clauses in leases which made some activities *verboten*. Henceforth, private individuals policed some public spaces. In other words, control over the use of land – as opposed to the physical development of land – also had public and private dimensions.[3]

Development control was not systematic and was never determined by a single consideration. There was room for negotiation and participation – processes that included not only the land-owners, but tenants and neighbours. Local officers went by various titles: in London, those charged with planning control were called *viewers*, because they went to view properties before arbitrating, and they were sworn to perform their duties by oath. These officials enjoyed a certain degree of discretion in the enforcement of local rules.[4] Pre-modern processes depended on input from the citizens: they responded to requests from owners with ambitions to develop or extend their properties, and they also received petitions from neighbours unhappy with particular building developments and uses. Petitions were 'a fundamental feature of urban politics at this time.[5]

By using legal protections (including laws against nuisances) and by enforcing local bylaws, civic authorities attended to guttering; privies; party walls; the location of certain trades such as butchery, iron founding and tallow chandling; fire hazards; the right to light; trespass; maintaining the King's highway; imposing building lines; ensuring no private property encroached on civic land; street widths; and building heights. Local agents and officials were charged with the regulation of development. In London, various public health acts of the Victorian period supplemented controls in the Building Acts of 1667 (following the fire of 1666) and a later Act of 1774. However, these only added extra layers onto pre-existing local controls – controls which had helped to maintain a mostly workable balance between private rights of ownership and public space and free passage. From the late seventeenth century, many cities also began to weigh up decisions by factoring in aesthetic concerns, in addition to their economic, safety and sanitation priorities. The 'earliest forms

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of control were very largely about the regulation of disputes between neighbours', about which I have written previously. Those disputes generally centred on drainage sanitation, and sensory nuisances and physical annoyances.[6]

Context: The City of Chester

To explore some controls and negotiations in more detail, I have selected petitions concerning just one street in one English city. This microhistorical focus will permit a close examination of architectural and civic developments between 1670 and 1730 – a time often considered to be without any system of development control at all. The street in question is Bridge Street in Chester, a city to the North West of England. Many of the petitions to be considered sought permission to make building frontages flush with the rest of the street, removing the overhanging jetties which were a throwback from the medieval period: filling in the gaps beneath.

Fig.2 Bridge Street in Chester.
Caron Badkin/Shutterstock.com.

This necessitated building on the city waste: if granted permission to develop, the petitioners needed to take out a lease on the ground they absorbed, and often pay a fee. In Chester, permission was not always granted. There was no planning free-for-all. Indeed, different streets, and even different parts of the same street, were treated differently. Along Bridge Street, the owners of properties on the southern portion were more likely to be granted the freedom to build over the city waste than were their neighbours to the north. The southern part of the street was occupied by richer residents, and there were fewer commercial properties there. In the north, part of the commercial heart of Chester, the residents were generally slightly less wealthy. Petitioners often stressed the ways that the city environment would be improved through their development – by removing dunghills, fencing off dangers, or strengthening walls. The city corporations benefitted from these developments in two ways: economically by securing fees, fines and rentals; and aesthetically by encouraging property owners to perform improvements: a kind of early 'civic gain'.

Reconstruction in Chester following Civil War damage was combined with gradual population increase, from 7,160 in 1665 to 8,120 in 1725, necessitating more houses and commercial properties.[7] Bridge Street was an odd street. Many of its buildings had (indeed, they still have) covered walkways at the first-floor level overhanging the street. These were called 'Rows', and they were described in 1662 as 'a property of building peculiar to the City called *the Rows,* being *Galleries,* wherein *Passengers* go dry without coming into the *Streets,* having *Shops* on both sides and underneath.'[8] Rows were part of the common soil, and therefore public spaces, despite being encompassed by privately owned structures; effectively they were public passageways through private spaces. Consequently, Row developments required approval from the Assembly, the body comprising the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen and councillors, plus former mayors.[9] The street-level spaces were frequently owned or occupied separately from the properties above them. A single walkway could run through a series

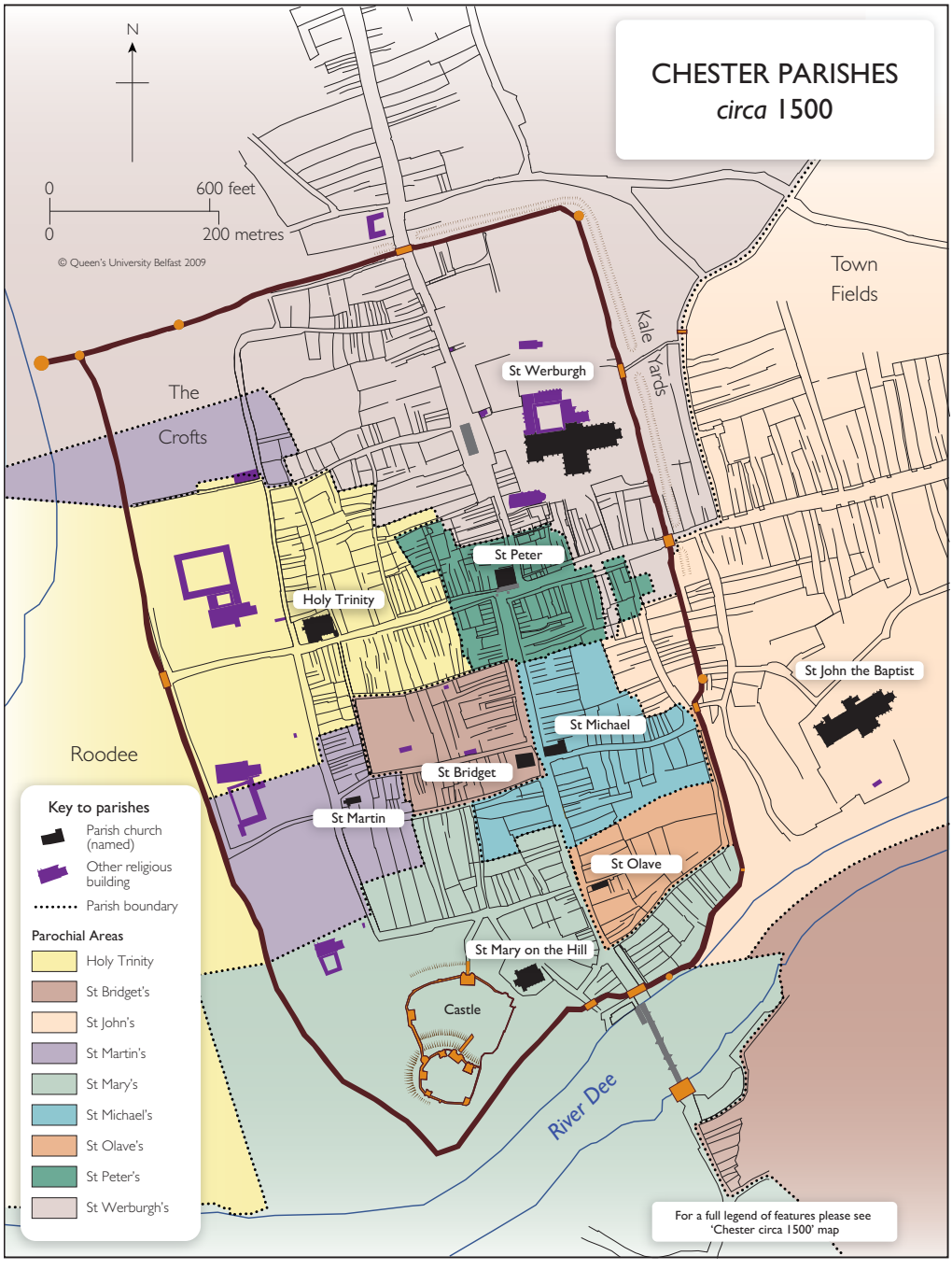

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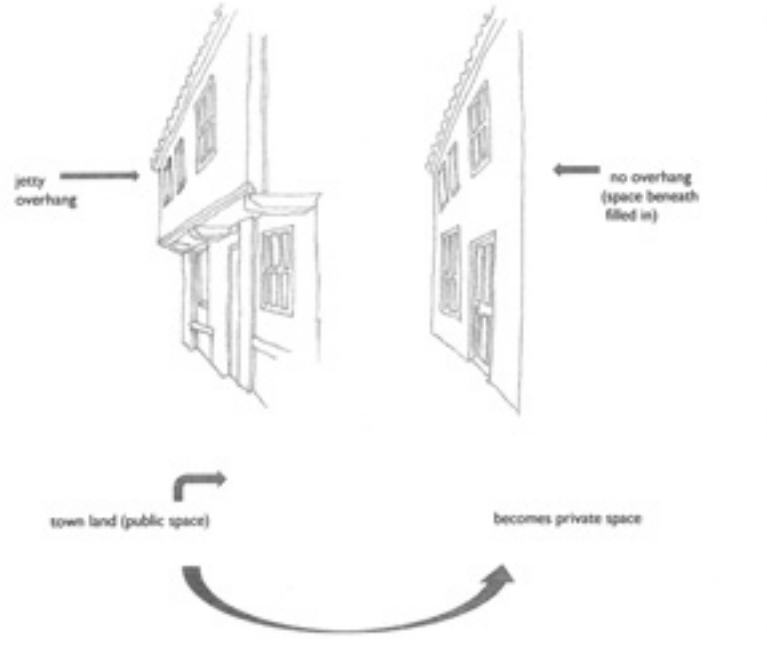
Fig.3 Map of Chester parishes circa 1500.
Mapping Medieval Chester Project.



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of neighbouring properties in multiple occupations. This complicated rebuilding, since any construction carried out to the upper levels that threatened access to the Row would have antagonised neighbours.[10] Neighbours in the domestic spaces behind the shops at the Rows level could bump into each other as they walked along the Row: such spaces were accessed at either end of the walkway by 'divers fair staires to go up or down into the street'.[11] The construction and maintenance of stairs were also overseen by the Assembly, although undertaken by property owners. If stairs (which were privately owned and maintained) leading up to the publicly accessible Rows were inadequately railed, they could pose a hazard to life and limb, and so the Assembly agitated for improvements.[12]

Encroachments were not unique to Chester, but Row enclosures were. The Assembly Books detail the decisions made in respect of encroachments and the enclosure of the Rows. They disclose how the Assembly policed neighbour relationships: these could be corroded by inconsiderate declarations of intent, or by actual construction. Many requests suggest that owners wanted to extend their own properties

Fig.4 An example of jetty infill, showing how public space got absorbed into private space. *Emily Cockayne*

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to keep up with a building line formed already by other neighbours. It was frequently claimed that 'catching up' in this way would unify and therefore improve the street.[13] This would make the streets more aesthetically pleasing, removing awkward nooks and crannies into which dirt and dust had gathered.

Fig.5 Lithograph of the Rows.
Wellcome Collection.

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Case 1: Petitioners against Lamb Row 1671

The property was once occupied by Randle Holme I, the grandfather of Randle Holme III, an antiquary, painter, and herald. Randle Holme III's family, and later his son's family, lived in a property eventually called Lamb Row, which was further up Bridge Street. Built by Randle Holme II, it was extended in the early 1670s, and stood where a ring road now divides Bridge Street from Lower Bridge Street (the distinction was not made before the eighteenth century).[14] Had the sign forbidding the committing of nuisance been present in the late seventeenth century, Holme may well have ignored it. A protrusion onto the street was the main feature of his property: 'the Jetting over the upright of a Building with another Building; thus Balconies project into the Street; and one story in a House projects that below it.'[15] Holme's erection projected too far for some. In August 1671 three neighbours had petitioned the Chester Assembly demanding that the City Treasurer enforce an order issued in May to remove the structure. Martha Hurleston, Alice Birkenhead, and William

Fig.6 'Commit no nuisance' sign on a property which formerly belonged to the Holme family, Bridge Street, Chester.
Emily Cockayne

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Dicas described Lamb Row as standing 'to the Great annoyance of [Holme's] neighbours in hindering theire prospect from theire houses' and expressed their anger that, despite the order, 'the said nusance is not reformed but continued in contempt thereof'.[16]

Later images and comments suggest that the concerns described in the petition were well founded. The two upper storeys of this building jutted far out into the street apparently held up by only the most rudimentary of abutments. In 1821 a description held that the upper rooms were 'supported by strong uncouth looking brackets ... [its] frightful projection over its perpendicular, constantly threatening its own destruction'. The building sat forwards of St Bridget's Church next door, which itself was described as pooching out 'several feet' beyond the building line; an early-nineteenth-century image clearly shows Lamb Row projecting even further.[17] At the start of 1672, Randle Holme was fined for 'his contempt to the Mayor in proceeding with the building in Bridge street', but his property remained standing as an eyesore for the petitioning neighbours.[18]

Fig.7 George Cuitts' etching from the Lamb Row, 1810.
Cheshire Archives and Local Services

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In 1643, Sir Richard Grosvenor requested permission to enclose a large portion of the Row adjacent to his property on the west side of Bridge Street – a double-gabled frontage house, later known as The Falcon. Framing his request as though this would benefit the public, Grosvenor claimed that he was acting 'by reason of the nastiness currently there' and justified his need by stating that his employment with the garrison necessitated that he lived in a house too small for his family. Grosvenor's request was granted: he was allowed to build on the land and to erect a pair of stairs up to his house. By the end of the seventeenth century more neighbours had followed the precedent set by the Grosvenor enclosure. Their petitions were considered by committees of aldermen and other city officials.[19]

Case 2: Bridge Street planning petitions

Hurleston, Birkenhead, and Dicas had used their petition to encourage the Assembly to act against one of their neighbours. There is also a further type of petition evident on Bridge Street at this time; those made by individuals hoping to alter the structure of their

Fig.8 Lamb Row behind St Bridget's Church, *interpreted by Yvonne Cockayne*

properties – to enclose or encroach, as the Grosvenors had done with The Falcon. In June 1686 the Assembly had unanimously agreed to allow an apothecary to enclose the Row across the length of his house. At the same meeting, a joiner was given permission to extend beyond the old foundation, and in the process to enclose the ´ancient Roe. The Bridge Street building line inched forwards. A few months later, another neighbour asked permission to rebuild his property, and 'to come out with his building street ward'.[20]

Some details from Norwich in the same period show that these developments were not unique to Chester. Petitioners there requested that the Mayoral Assembly grant them license to extend walls into the highway, just as in Chester. In May 1688, a brewer requested licence to extend his side walls to make them 'even with the overhanging jetty'.[21] In September that same year, two neighbours sought grants to build over waste land, both stressing security fears, and hoping for space to build a fence. Eleven years later, a worsted weaver living on Pig Lane asked permission to build over a portion of the street, intending to pull down an old building and build anew: 'but since the walls are very uneven he cannot do so without taking in some part of the lane.'[22] In the same year, elsewhere in Norwich, a similar tack was taken when a tailor requested some city land, arguing that 'he cannot erect this intended new building in a straight line without taking in some of the street'. Others requested that their new buildings might 'range even' with other properties.[23] In 1700, a petitioner sought a lease of waste ground – turning public space into private – because that land was 'at present used only as a receptacle for dung and other filth'. A cottage for a poor man was presented as a much better alternative for the whole city.[24]

Back in Chester, Bridge Street had become a street of two halves by the late-seventeenth century, as the more southerly part was stripped of most of the Rows which formerly lined it. There were fewer commercial premises and more grand dwellings, including The Old King's Head (an erstwhile Holme family property).[25] In 1676,

on taking occupation of her house on (lower) Bridge Street, Lady Calverley petitioned the Assembly, requesting permission 'to rebuild the same roe as may bee a grace and ornament to the citty'. The sanctioned rebuild saw the removal of nineteen yards of Row. In 1678 a curving pair of stairs were installed, bringing visitors up to the first floor. At the same time, Calverley's neighbour was granted permission to extend his property by one foot into the street, matching the Calverley building line.[26] The houses crept out onto the street. Once a precedent had been set by one resident, their neighbours would seek to extend their properties to match or exceed that new building line.[27] The rhetoric of the petitions stressed the benefit to the public experience, even as the space in which that experience could be had was shrunk.

The Assembly was not always persuaded that such extensions were in the public interest. In 1698, after being threatened with indictment 'for an Encroachment', Randle Holme III paid a five shilling lease for a parcel of land on either side of stairs opposite Lamb Row.[28] This was not the first time that the Assembly had threatened Bridge Street encroachers with an appearance at the Quarter Sessions; seven years previously they had used the same tactic against a bookseller, John Minshull, who had 'lately by him erected' a small shop in the Bridge Street Row 'over against the shop of Mr Henry Lloyd'. The Treasurers agreed a fine of five pounds and set a lease at five shillings per year. Minshull had been threatened with demolition if he refused to pay. The issue of Minshull's shop had dragged on until the end of 1694, when the bookseller negotiated a reduced fine. That year, the Assembly represented this strategy as official policy, issuing a general order stating that those who had encroached on the city's lands would be indicted, and urging the treasurers to root out people committing long-standing nuisance and obstructions in the Rows. By the late-seventeenth century the Assembly was apparently less interested in preventing encroachment but was keen to 'ensure that the city received its dues'.[29] What we have here is a subtle melding of

concerns and responsibilities – was the Assembly protecting public space, or was it only interested in the health of public finances?

Enclosing the Rows by new building hindered access to the remaining Rows, rendering some of them useless and making it in turn easier to argue for their abolition: petitioners worded their requests to enclose adjacent properties by mentioning such problems.[30] Once the buildings had consumed their Rows, there was less need for neighbours to negotiate, less juggling of private and public interests. Bridge Street properties continued to creep forwards together into the eighteenth century. Petitioners were keen to point out that the civic environment would not thereby suffer: work would 'be done without any Inconvenience to the City in General'.[31] Over the space of a century all of the Rows along the west side of (lower) Bridge Street were enclosed, and most of those on the opposite side were enclosed. By the eighteenth-century, the Rows stopped being seen as a fashionable place to live. Wealthier citizens moved out of the commercial centre of Chester.

In 1717, a group of households owning a cluster of properties on the west side of (lower) Bridge Street entered a joint petition to enclose the Rows and to make their houses level with another property, further forwards of their properties.[32] John Dicas was given permission to extend his barber shop, on the east side of (lower) Bridge Street, by creeping a foot and a half into the street in the early 1720s. A few years later, clearly after consultation with two neighbours, Dicas petitioned to have the 'useless' Row before his house enclosed. The Row stopped at Dicas's property, as the one associated with the Red Lion next door had been enclosed in 1703. By petitioning at the same time, Dicas, Barnston and Gaulter must have hoped they would had better chances with the Assembly, but their requests were denied. John Dewsbury owned the property seven down from Dicas: a tavern occupied by a bricklayer, William Hickman. Hickman's next-door neighbour, together with the next two neighbours along, all submitted similar petitions in 1725 to enclose the

Row associated with their properties. Dewsbury countered their request, arguing that it would hinder access to his property, thus reducing the rents he could charge. Here, a quartet of private interests were countered by an opposing petition.[33]

The characters of the northern and the southern parts of Bridge Street continued to become differentiated in the eighteenth century. Building work on (lower) Bridge Street saw the establishment of entirely domestic properties, in contrast to those found further north, which still comprised a mix of commercial, domestic and commercial-domestic properties. The only property on the north side of Bridge Street to absorb its Row was owned by an alderman, Francis Skellerne, who had been granted permission to enclose the Row in 1697 (on the west side, just a few properties away from Lamb Row). This property had stairs that Skellerne described as 'very narrow and dangerous' and 'of little or no use to the Cittizens of this Citty'; he replaced them with more 'commodious & convenient' steps. A yearly sum was fixed for this land, which was about four yards in length.[34]

Holme died in March 1700, and Lamb Row eventually became home to his son, Randle Holme IV. Margaret, the daughter-in-law of Randle Holme III, remained in Lamb Row after her husband's death in 1707, filling parts of the property with lodgers. Lamb Row – located at the midway point between the parts of the street – reflected the bifurcation in the policies applied to the northern and southern sides of the street. In 1715 the Row on the southern end of the building (by then home to a widow, Mary Griffiths) was enclosed, whilst an enclosure application for the northerly Row (in the occupation of a saddler called John Thomas) was rejected. At this time, a plan to rebuild the main building was mooted (this came to nothing), and the Assembly put it on record that any rebuilding should not overhang the street as previously. In October 1718 Margaret Holme was permitted to erect pales before the property, 'jutting in the said street even with the Balcony of the Row before the said house'. Around this time, the property housed an inn, The Lamb, which eventually gave the Row its name.[35]

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Case 3: Petitions against John Dewsbury's chandlery, 1715

In the post-Restoration period the most polluting establishments – such as leather makers, felt hat makers, tanneries, soap-makers and chandlers, who made candles – were located outside the centre of Chester. By the eighteenth century, many cities were tightening up rules on butchery, previously a city-centre trade. Cellars of the Bridge Street Rows were often occupied by butchers. In 1706 two butchers occupied a shop in the Row on the east side of Bridge Street. Along with eleven other butchers, they were called to appear before the Quarter Sessions for causing 'foul smells' and creating a common nuisance by slaughtering animals in the streets.

Tallow chandlers, who made candles from animal fat, were also targeted. John Calcott set his sights on a property next to St Michaels' Church, opposite Lamb Row. He rebuilt and extended it, and provision was made to rehouse a tallow chandler whose family had lived on the site for most of the seventeenth century. A dirty trade had been moved on for more salubrious residential living. Tallow chandlers were particularly disliked because of the odours emitted and the risk of

Fig.9 Isaac de Caus´ woodcut depicting a fire engine, 1659.
Wellcome Collection

Fig.10 Engraving depicting tallow chandling.
Wellcome Collection.

fire: it was prohibited from particular areas of some cities.[36] The tallow chandlery of John Dewsbury (down Pierpoint Lane, just north of Lamb Row) provoked humming and hawing in 1715. The Assembly agreed with petitioning neighbours that the establishment was a health-hazard and a fire-risk.[37] Eighteen neighbours, half of whom were women, complained that Dewsbury's trade affected their wealth (if they let property) or their health (if they lived nearby), and noted that Pierpoint Lane 'is too narrow to admit a fire engine to come up to do any service'. They were worried that Dewsbury's apprentice was occasionally left to man the fire through the 'dead tyme of night'. The neighbours asked the Assembly to make a bylaw 'restraining Tallow Chandlers from keeping their workhouses within the principall streets' of Chester. The Assembly decided that, although they were of the 'Opinion that the same is a publick Nuisance', there was no precedent for them to take action against Dewsbury.[38] Clearly, this petition was not the start of the conversation amongst these neighbours, but rather the result of a failure of neighbourly negotiation; they appealed to the Assembly to arbitrate for them. They were lobbying in their private interest as a group of property owners, but they claimed to have the public interest in mind when making their appeal.

Conclusion

The petition of 1671 against Holme's property was the work of three unsatisfied neighbours, upset that an ugly building spoiled their view. This group petition was similar to the later one against Dewsbury's establishment, except that the latter petition drew on a wider group of signatories and expressed more general nuisances, experienced more widely. Both expressed concern about the behaviour of one neighbour, and the impact this had on those living near him. In each case, the assembly was shown to be rather toothless in its powers to provide redress. When faced with individual petitions requesting rights to rebuild, extend or encroach, the Assembly appeared on a surer footing, and appeared to follow a fairly consistent plan. Development control

of all forms is 'underpinned by the understanding that there is a public interest which is distinct from private interests' of property and land owners.[39] This was clear in the late-seventeenth century, a time when sworn viewers and local officials were about to share powers with private surveyors, and publicly financed surveyors. Along the path which led to the development of professional town planners there were always issues around discretionary powers and accountability. There were multiple interests in civic land, and in some cases past or current enjoyment – the 1671 petitioners' right to a nice prospect, or the 1715 petitioners right to avoid being burned – were weighed up against future interests – the rights of tradesmen to create jobs and make essential items, such as candles. The various petitions reveal negotiation and co-operation amongst the neighbours. They came to workable solutions, sometimes prompted by the Assembly, sometimes to persuade the committee members to let them make mutually beneficial changes. The Chester cases reveal that even before the state showed a systematic interest in land development, various features of development control had been long in existence, including authority oversight, negotiation, and involvement of neighbours. In their assessment of each case, the officers working on behalf of the civic authorities considered both their control of public space and also the civic coffers. These officials enjoyed a degree of discretion, and there is evidence of bias towards richer and better-connected citizens when forming decisions.

By the early-nineteenth century Lamb Row was regarded not just as a nuisance, but also 'the greatest blot and eye-sore in the city'. In one city guide it was described as having 'long stood nodding over the street to the terror of passengers'.[40] Randle Holme's top-heavy property had been considered 'an object of curiosity and fear' – but it had remained intact. That all changed one Friday afternoon in May 1821, when the upper part of the structure on the south and east sides collapsed. Newspapers reported that 'a tolerably loud crack was heard', as the walls tumbled into the street.[41] The private became public again.

1. The best examples are from the 1940s: Reddaway, T.F., *Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire*, Jonathan Cape, London 1940; Summerson, John, *Georgian London*, Pleiades Books, London 1945.

2. Dawkins, Jeremy, 'The role of discretion in the history of development control', *University of Western Australia Law Review*, No. 3 1985, pp. 296–301.

3. Cockayne, Emily, *Hubbub. Filth, Noise & Stench in England*, Yale University Press, London 2007,
pp. 206–217, 232–243; Booth, Philip, *Planning by Consent*, Routledge, London 2003, p. 11.

4. See, for example, Cockayne, Emily, 'Who Did Let the Dogs Out? – Nuisance Dogs in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', in Laura D. Gelfand (ed.), *Our Dogs, Our Selves: Dogs in Medieval and Early Modern Art, Literature, and Society*, Brill, Leiden 2016, pp. 41–67.

5. Friedrichs, Christopher R., *Urban Politics in Early Modern Europe*, Routledge, London 2000, p. 38.

6. Cockayne, Emily, *Cheek by Jowl*, Bodley Head, London 2012. See also Booth 2003, p. 26.

7. Chalklin, Christopher, *The Rise of the English Town 1650–1850*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001, p. 77; Lewis, C.P. and Thacker, A.T. (eds.), *History of the County of Chester (VCH Chester)*, *Volume V, Part 1. The City of Chester*, Boydell & Brewer, Woodbridge 2003, pp. 96–97.

8. Fuller, Thomas, *The Worthies of England,* Thomas Williams, London 1662, p. 228.

9. *VCH*, *Chester,* V:I, 2003, pp. 97–98.

10. Brown, Andrew (ed.), *The Rows of Chester*, English Heritage Archaeological Report 16, 1999, p. 77.

11. Smith, William, *The vale-royall of England, or, The county palatine of Chester*, Daniel King, London 1656, p. 40.

12. Brown 1999, p. 79.

13. Brown 1999, p. 81; Stobart, Jon, 'The Shopping Streets of Provincial England: 1650–1840', in Furnée, Jan Hein and Lesger, Clé (eds.), *Landscape of Consumption*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2014, p. 21. On encroachments, see Cockayne 2007, pp. 217–220.

14. The parts of Bridge Street to become Lower Bridge Street are identified as '(lower) Bridge Street' here.

15. Coulthurst, S.L. and Lawson, P.H., 'The Lodge of Randle Holme at Chester', in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum. Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge number 2076*, 1932, pp. 74, 77, 79–80; 'Randle Holme's Home', *Cheshire Sheaf*, new series, 1925, pp. 1–4.

16. Cheshire Archives and Local Studies (CALS), ZA F/40c/38, Assembly Files, 1671; ZA/B/2 Chester Assembly Book 2, fol. 171v.

17. Batenham, George, *The Stranger's Companion in Chester*, London 1821, pp. 10–11; Hanshall, J.H., *The History of the County Palatine of Chester*, Chester 1817, p. 335.

18. CALS, ZA/B/2, fol. 173v.

19. CALS, ZA/B/2, fol. 64; ZA/F/26/7, Assembly Files, 1643; ZCHD/2/27, Corporation Deeds, Bridge Street, 1643; Brown 1999, p. 96; *VCH*, *Chester,* V:1, 2003, p. 135.

20. CALS, ZA/B/3, Chester Assembly Book 3, fols. 6, 7, 10.

21. Norfolk Record Office (NRO), Norwich City Court (NCR) Case 12d.25 (cat ref 24 – 3 May 1688). I wish to express my thanks to Robert Smith for alerting me to these Norwich cases.

22. NRO, NCR Case 12e.2.21, 3 May 1699.

23. NRO, NCR Case 12e.2.22 – 21 September 1699; NCR Case 12e.2.26, 1699.

24. NRO, NCR Case 12d.25 (61, 6 December 1700); NCR Case 12d.25, cases 63–66.

25. Brown 1999, p. 77.

26. CALS, ZA/B/2, fol. 188v; Brown 1999, p. 95.

27. See, for example, CALS, ZA/B/3, fol. 33; CALS, ZA/F/41f/18, Assembly Files 1681.

28. CALS, ZA/B/3, fol. 63v, see also fols. 76v–77; Brown 1999, Appendix C, p. 153.

29. CALS, ZA/B/3, fols. 33, 34, 41, 44v, 46v; Brown 1999, p. 82.

30. CALS, ZAF/47c/8, Assembly Files, 1699; ZA/B/3, fols. 31–31v, 76v; Brown 1999, pp. 95–99, 113.

31. CALS, ZA/F/49a/28; ZA/F/49d/64, Assembly Files, 1709 and 1612; ZCR 69/3/25–27, Aldersey, Chester, Deeds of premises of Laurence Gother of Chester, ironmonger, in Bridge Street, 1690—1704; WS Randle Holme 1707; CALS, ZA/B/3, fol. 199v; Earwaker, J.P., *The History of the Church and Parish of St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester*, Love & Wyman, London 1898, p. 146.

32. CALS, ZA/B/3, fols. 236, 247v, 256v; Brown 1999, p. 99.

33. CALS, ZA/B/3, fols. 258, 259; ZA/B/4, fols. 3v–4, 12–12v, 13v–14, 16, 17v–18; Brown 1999, p. 99.

34. CALS, ZA/F/46d/ 16, Assembly Files, 1697; Brown 1999, p. 151.

35. CALS, P 20/1/1–2, Registers of St Mary, March 1700, January 1722, March 1732; ZA/B/3, fol. 226V, 246v–247, 248v; ZA/F/40g, Assembly Files, 1715.

36. Cockayne 2012, pp. 27, 51–54; Cockayne 2007, pp. 211–214.

37. CALS, CR 310/40–41, Bridge Street Conveyance, 1687; CR 301/46, Bridge Street Copy Release, October 1714; ZA/B/2, fol. 189; ZA/B/3, fol. 64v; P15/2, Register of St Bridget, November 1714.

38. CALS, ZA/B/3, fols. 224–224v, 226v; ZA/B/4, fol. 12v; ZA/F/49g/45, 56, Assembly Files, 1715.

39. Booth 2003, p. 28.

40. Letter from 'Viaggiatore', *Chester Chronicle*, 7 November 1806, p. 4; Hemingway, Joseph, *Panorama of the City of Chester*, Chester 1836, p. 67.

41. 'The Lamb Row', *Chester Courant*, 29 May 1821, p. 3.

Panu Savolainen

The private, the common and the public: the street and concepts of urban space in 18th-century Sweden

Introduction: urban space and conceptual history

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the streetscapes of European towns witnessed a profound cultural transformation. Over the course of a century and a half, the streets of hundreds of towns became illuminated with lanterns, more attention was paid to the streetside facades, the pavements and the urban infrastructure, and new regulations and means of surveillance were established to keep the streets available for traffic and commerce.[1] On the metaphorical level, the streets were given bodily symbolism: they were described as the 'arteries' of the city, having a strong impact on the welfare of the urban 'political corpse'.[2]

The evolution was simultaneous with the emergence of the 'public sphere', the subject of the exhaustive and influential theory of *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, which was developed by Jürgen Habermas from 1962 and has since been criticised. In his seminal treatise, Habermas postulated that a comprehensive transformation of culture and society had taken place during the 17th and 18th centuries, in which new social, technology and communication practices had generated a modern 'public sphere'. This was crucial for the emergence of, for example, newspapers and coffee houses, and, above all, for the origins of modern civil society.[3]

The concepts of *public* and *private* are essential in Habermas' treatise. Following this, and especially since the French (1978) and English (1989) translations were published, the relation between the public and private spheres has been studied from the angles of urban space and spatial culture. The 'spatial turn' in social sciences, and, later,

in history, has evoked numerous studies on early-modern urban space and its linkages to the public–private dichotomy.[4]

In architectural history and historical studies on social and physical space, the distinction between public and private, and its presence in times past, has often been taken for granted. In other words, the modern meaning of the dichotomy is understood as a universal category, and historical circumstances are interpreted in a presentist manner, discerning the historical *public* and *private* through a modern understanding of these conceptual counterparts.[5] In recent studies this approach has been strongly criticised. For example, Michael McKeon and Lena Cowen Orlin have highlighted the importance of the temporal change to the concepts of public and private.[6] However, in historical studies that are sensitive to the cultural alterations of spatial experience and the social production of space, the early-modern urban space is often interpreted as fuzzy and undefined, lacking clear and meaningful spatial thresholds and boundaries.[7]

In this essay, I propose a different, conceptual-historical approach to the question of early-modern urban space and the public–private dichotomy. I apply the methodological tools of *Conceptual history* to analyse the spatial language and concepts of the 18th century. I examine what kinds of concepts the contemporary texts reveal in the context of urban space. Conceptual history has its strongest roots in the German-speaking *Begriffsgeschichte*, which was, and still is, strongly delimited to political concepts and the evolution of political thought in 18th- and 19th-century Germany.[8] Here I mainly draw on analytical tools from the works of Quentin Skinner and Ian Hampsher-Monk, the leading figures in British and Dutch conceptual history. Skinner wrote a treatise and developed ideas about case-specific uses and the adaptation of concepts to novel meanings in micro-scale speech acts and contexts. This offers a fruitful perspective from which to unveil how urban space was conceptualised, with existing notions that were given new spatial meanings.[9] The Dutch conceptual history, which has dealt with images and cultural concepts,

opens up opportunities to understand how conceptual history can be applied to the examination of urban space.[10]

The article starts with an overview of the spatial concepts of various texts in 18th-century Sweden. I ask what kinds of concepts were related to urban space and what kinds of dichotomies and categorisations they reveal with regard to the modern public–private dichotomy. The empirical part of the article focuses on a case study of the *streets* of the Swedish provincial town of Turku (Åbo in Swedish). This unveils how the street was used, understood and perceived in the light of the 18th-century spatial concepts. Finally, I contemplate the emergence of the concept of 'public space' and the first tacit signals of the public–private dichotomy of urban space in 18th-century Sweden.

Concepts of urban space in 18th-century Swedish

Urban space is present in a variety of Swedish textual records from the 18th century. The sources analysed in the following passage include laws, court minutes, administration documents, newspapers and building surveys. The variety of sources gives a manifold picture of how urban space was represented according to the varying contexts underlying the purposes of the documents.

Swea Rikets Lag 1734 [The Law of The Kingdom of Sweden 1734], deals with urban space and especially streets in numerous sections. The most prevalent spatial concept, and the only one at a general level, in the law is 'common' (*allmän*), which refers mainly to streets.[11] The concept of 'common' intended to underline the nature of the street as a commonly owned and used space. Insults and disturbances that happened in the street led to stricter punishments; unnecessary crying and loudness were also prohibited in the street.[12] Besides the streets, the law lists other 'common' places, such as taverns, roads and squares – or simply 'places' (*platser*). Another concept denoting 'public' [space] in modern Swedish, *offentlig*, is used in the 18th-century texts only to describe open ceremonies, and, as an adverbial, practices of acting and speaking publicly; its first uses

1.

in the sense of 'public place' occur in the newspapers of Stockholm in the 1790s.[13] In 18th-century Swedish, the concept 'public' (*publik, publique*) meant places, buildings and structures owned by public authorities. The modern Swedish concept 'public' (*offentlig*) only began to refer to a place that is open and accessible to everyone in the early 1800s.[14]

In building surveys and newspapers, more nuanced concepts of space are exposed; for example, in the case of wells. A building survey from 1790s Turku mentions 'private' (*privat*), 'common' (*allmän*) and 'public' (*publik*) wells.[15] This tripartite division of material property relating to the water supply illustrates how the difference between 'common' and 'public' was understood. Common wells were used and maintained by the neighbouring communities and, in principle, all the townspeople. These differed from 'public' wells, which were maintained by the administration of the town. In 1782, a newspaper described the wells of the town as 'particular' (*enskild*) or 'common' (*allmän*), where six of the 'common' wells were under 'public maintenance'.[16] In 1801 in Helsingör in southern Sweden, the wells of the

Fig.1 Elias Martins´ painting from Drottningsgatan Street in Stockholm, 1808. *Stockholms stadsmuseum.*

2.

town were described as 'public' or 'private'.[17] The example of wells shows us how the different concepts were used in a complementary and case-specific manner; they designated somewhat similar underlying meanings, but they were exhibited in local and changing wording. Two conceptual counterparts, the older 'common–particular' (*allmän–enskild*) and the newer 'public–private' (*publik–privat*) were both frequently used in 18th-century perceptions and definitions of urban space and materiality.[18]

The analysis of contemporary texts reveals the absence of any clear public–private understandings of urban space. The concepts used to describe urban space reveal divergent categories; above all, the importance of the notion of 'common' referred to the common charge, accessibility and openness of certain urban spaces and places. In the following passages I will illustrate how the material and social urban space represents the micro-level production of 'common', 'private' and 'public' space in the light of the streets of one provincial town in Sweden, Turku.

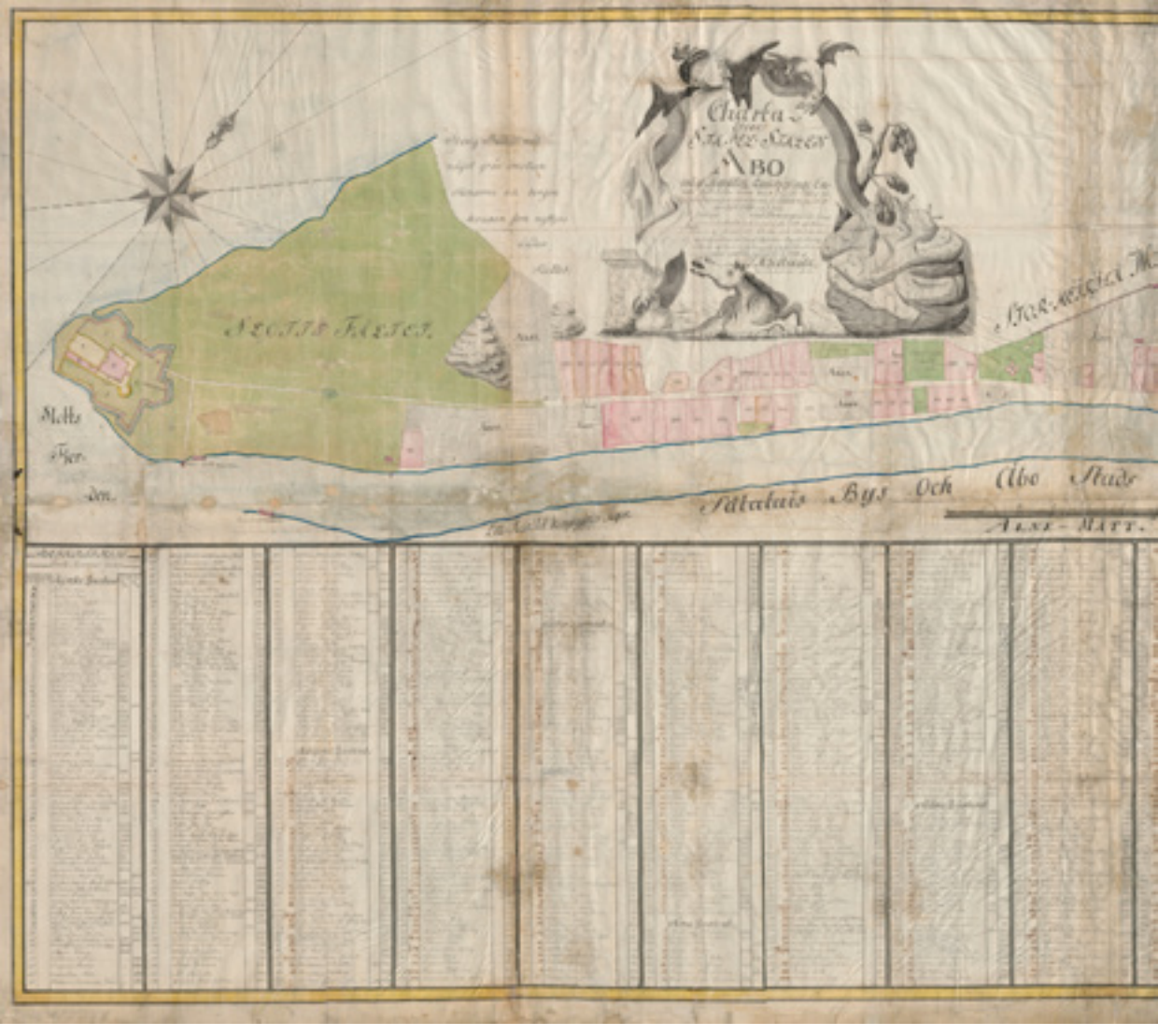
Fig.2 Louis Bélangers´ etching depicting Turku along the River Aura, 1798. *Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.*

The streets of Turku as estate in land: a private, common and public resource

Today, Turku is located in Finland, which in the 18th century was the eastern part of the Kingdom of Sweden. At the time, Turku was one of the few university towns of Sweden and the administrational and commercial centre of Swedish-ruled Finland, the so-called 'Eastern Land' (Österland).[19] The population was constantly growing, and it doubled from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants during the second half of the 18th century. On the European scale, Turku was a small or middle-sized town, but in the Swedish context it was one of the largest towns in the kingdom.[20]

Before urban infrastructures in Swedish towns began to be publicly maintained, which took place during the 19th century, the street pavements, lanterns and sewers were maintained by private land-owners. There were a few exceptions, such as bridges, squares and certain wells that were under the remit of the city magistrate. However, the maintenance of the streetscape was a constant struggle between the public authorities – the city magistrate and the governor – and the private homeowners who were responsible for the common infrastructure.[21]

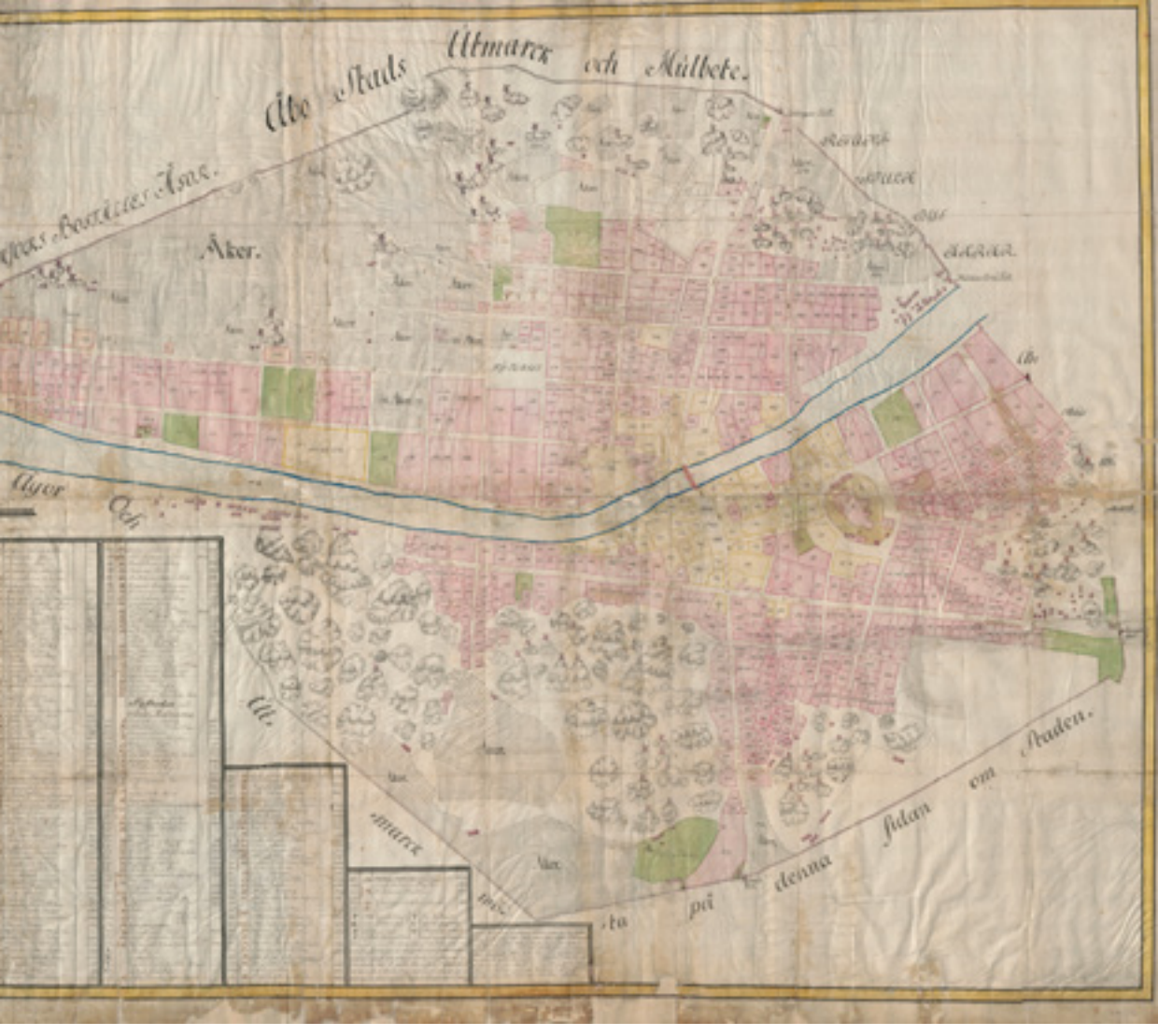
The urban fabric of 18th-century Turku was a mélange of temporal layers; this stratification consisted of a variety of street spaces, from narrow alleys built in the 14th century to the spacious promenades of the 18th century. The task of controlling the cleanliness and maintenance was case-specific. Some of the narrowest medieval streets were almost impassable in winter due to snow falling from roofs.[22] In contrast, the wide streets that were built according to new ideas about town planning meant much more work for the private homeowners, who had to pave the portions of the street in front of their plots. The spatial variety of the streetscape forms an interesting setting for an examination of how the city administration kept (or, at least, tried to keep) the maintenance of the streets under control.



3.

The second half of the 18th century was a remarkable period of transition in terms of the condition and maintenance of the urban space of Turku. The governor, the local representative of the Crown, and the city magistrate paid increasing attention to embellishing streets and keeping them passable during the office of Governor Jeremias Wallén (1757–1769). New regulations were ordered for the street facades, trees were planted along the main streets and the waterfront of the River Aura, and a comprehensive project was launched to improve the city's pavements.[23]

Fig.3 The 1756 town plan shows the variety of streets in the central quarters of Turku. *National Archives of Finland.*



The minutes of the city magistrate include almost one thousand hearings and resolutions related to street maintenance from 1750 to 1810. In addition, the newspapers from 1789 to 1810 contain a remarkable number of announcements and claims about keeping the streets passable and free from private belongings. The documents reveal that street maintenance involved a constant struggle between the magistrate (and the governor) and the private homeowners. The most serious cases were related to the closure of common alleys, which had been taken into possession by adjacent private houses and sometimes even fenced off. In 1763, the magistrate forced the

merchant Lindegren to reopen an alley that he had annexed to his plot and restore it as a 'common passage'.[24] Another, much more commonplace, problem was the use of streets for storage. According to the newspapers and the minutes of the city magistrate, problems were constantly being caused by piles of firewood, building materials (such as log piles), dungheaps, boats that had been lifted onto the streets and rolled over for winter storage, and, of course, animals.[25] Snow was a constant problem in the winter, especially when there was a lot of it, as the townspeople found it difficult to remove the snow and clean the streets. After snowfall, there was often only a narrow pathway in the middle of the street, flanked by banks of snow.[26] In spring and in autumn, the magistrate's drummers would patrol the streets to announce to the townspeople that they had to clean the streets in front of their houses.[27]

Controlling the paving duties was even more difficult than keeping the streets clean or removing snow. The townspeople were not allowed to pave the street themselves; instead, they were forced to hire professional street pavers to perform the work.[28] This caused friction between the magistrate and private homeowners. More importantly, longer streets were paved unevenly, because it was impossible to force the numerous private homeowners living along the same street to have their sections paved at the same time or in the same way.

In addition to street maintenance, the maintenance of street lighting, which was installed on the streets of Turku in 1805, followed the principle of privately maintained common infrastructure. The homeowners were required to purchase, maintain and light daily (from September to April) oil or candle lanterns in front of their houses.[29] From a continental perspective, this arrangement was old-fashioned. However, it dominated in 18th- and 19th-century Sweden until the establishment of gas lighting, which was publicly maintained. As the duty also included the surveillance of the lanterns, and fines were imposed on homeowners who allowed their lanterns to burn out, the arrangement altered the nature of the nocturnal street

4.

space. Before the installation of the lanterns, the streets had been dark and households closed their window shutters, but from that time on the townspeople had to control not only their lanterns but also the street.[30] An arrangement where hundreds of ordinary town dwellers were harnessed to maintaining and monitoring the lighting made the aspects of collective control and common street space even more tangible than they would have been if there had been a public institution with roaming wardens. Interestingly, the collective, private arrangement for lighting the streets also reflects the emergence of public goods and the public infrastructure, which took various forms in the early-modern world.

In both a material and a spatial sense, the street was a battlefield between public, common and private interests. It was maintained by private individuals and with private resources; it was a shared necessity for traffic and the scene of communal gatherings; and it was an object of ideals for the public authorities. The street 'as an interface between the public and the private', as described by architectural

Fig.4 An 18th-century pavement was discovered in archaeological excavations in Turku in 1992.
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historian Spiro Kostof, simplifies the character of the early-modern street, which, at least in Northern Europe, was a 'common' urban space under private maintenance.[31]

The use of the street

In 18th-century English towns, the *Improvement* was bound up with the increasing regulation of street life. The material transformation of the streetscape also involved tighter control over communal festivities and social activities, such as games, social gatherings, sport and music. The public authorities regarded the street as a public space, where the most important functions were surveillance, traffic and commercial activity.[32]

In Turku, the most important social events on the streets were the markets, which took place between two and four times a year. Thousands of people from the nearby parishes gathered in the town, and the event was also important for the townspeople of Turku. Not only the commercial activities but also the games, performances, drinking and other activities were a vital aspect of the market.[33] The streets of the town became a public backdrop for a liminal space where the community would live for a couple of days.

Beyond providing a space for the markets and an artery for traffic, the streets were a 'common' urban space in the sense of

Fig.5 A painting from Stora Kyrkogatan Street in Turku, 1814. *Archives of the Turku Museum Centre.*

Fig.6 Johan Gustaf Sandbergs´ painting *Svensk Allmoge kring Gustav I:s stod*, 1829. *Stockholms stadsmuseum.*

communal life. The streets were used for social gatherings and communal celebrations. However, strong signals of restrictions on the informal use of streets can be observed in the records from the late 18th century. In 1798 the Turku newspaper *Åbo Tidningar* reported that the city magistrate lamented the habit among 'older and younger men as well as youngsters' of gathering in the streets, in the squares and along the banks of the river to play games, chatter and generally disturb the peace of the streets.[34] This is the first record from Turku where the streets are called 'public places' (*publique ställen*), which reflects the transformation of the streetscape. At the same time, an anonymous writer complained about the troubles in the town's streets, highlighting that the street ideals, such as 'utility´, 'peace', 'liberty', 'honour' and 'comfort', were being compromised.[35] The writer did not seem to be evoking new problems with the streetscape; instead, he or she was influenced by novel continental ideals of street life and was critical of the deep-rooted local traditions of using the streets for communal and informal gatherings.[36]

The increasing volume of traffic also transformed the streetscape. The number of people and carriages on the streets, and the problems that resulted, are visible in the court records of Turku from towards the end of the century. The increasing frequency of mentions of traffic accidents and sentences for speeding ('galloping on the streets') reflects the increase in traffic in the rapidly growing city.[37] These 'modernities' – traffic jams and commercialising the urban space – occurred simultaneously with the first mentions of 'public places' in the Swedish newspapers.

Concepts and space: the emergence of a 'public space'?

The first mention of the phrase 'public place' (*publique ställen*) occurred in the Turku newspaper *Åbo Tidningar* in 1798, referring to streets, squares and riverfronts.[38] In the same year, the newspaper *Götheborgs Allehanda*, in the opposite corner of the kingdom, used the same wording the first time. However, there the definition was

different. There, *publique ställen* meant only bridges and other structures or estates on land owned by the municipality.[39] The difference in meaning between the two examples is a good illustration of the most important problem relating to the historical examination of the public–private dichotomies of urban space. Our modern concepts, in addition to the understandings that existed in the past, are historical: produced and constantly altered in time and space.

Instead of general and large-scale historical explanations (such as the anachronistic disposal of the public–private dichotomy in the early-modern world), the examination of local use of concepts at the micro level can tell us how manifold and case-specific the concepts of urban space were in the early-modern world. Rather than only public or private, there is a variety of concepts, and the most important of these is the 'common'. The conceptual-historical approach to 18th-century Sweden and a glimpse of the streets of Turku do not reveal a fuzzy or undefined interface between public and private. There were clearly defined but strongly debated physical and conceptual boundaries: only the concepts used to describe the urban space were different.

Instead of viewing the transformation of the urban space in the 17th and 18th centuries as a straightforward division between private and public space, architectural historians should perhaps turn to the grass roots of early-modern texts. Multifaceted, local and short-lived ways of categorising, experiencing and verbalising the urban space are abundant in the 18th-century texts. Furthermore, categories that have almost vanished, such as 'common', are crucial to the understanding of the later emergence, in the 19th century, of the public–private dichotomy in urban space.

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MILE CITY

Hannu Huttunen

Introduction: How to renew the castle of housing?

The old proverb ´a man's home is his castle´ (in Finnish *kotini on linnani*) is a worn metaphor, but in today's changing world it contains interesting perspectives for further reflection. The phrase brings to mind the notion that home is a territory of absolute privacy. Like a castle, also a home surrounded by walls, built of concrete and intended to remain unchanged for a long time. The walls mark the border between private and public. These boundaries are strict, permanent and unchangeable, restricting the communication and interaction between the inside and the outside. When homes are built in this way, they turn their backs on public life, but this is how we are used to design them.

Today, the notion of a home as a castle is contested by many changes inside its walls: the population is ageing, and increasingly many need help in their everyday lives, many of us live alone and loneliness is a common problem, climate change and limited energy resources require collective solutions also in respect to living, globalisation challenges our conventional habits, emerging technologies and digitalisation affect our lives and privacy in numerous ways.

The question thus raises, what would be an appropriate metaphor for a modern or future home? Housing prices rise in large cities, but it appears thus far our response has been to strengthen the walls by creating smaller dwellings and temporary housing. One could ask, whether this development is sustainable, or would it be possible to open up new paths: to lower the wall between public and private space, to open new entryways in this wall, to make the wall movable and to offer alternative boundaries, to build new homes that provide

more opportunities for interaction and communication – and possibilities for change in general?

The articles in this section provide interesting approaches to housing design, the interfaces between private and public, and places where the privacy of homes meets the urban life. In his article Peter Barber defends small-scale housing typologies and dense urban structure as ways to create lively neighbourhoods with diverse social activities. He has also introduced urban strategies to offer solutions for the increasingly difficult housing shortage in the London metropolitan area. Karin Krokfors´ contribution is based on her doctoral dissertation *Time for Space. Typologically flexible and resilient buildings and the emergence of the creative dweller*. She provides a critical analysis of the paradigm of housing production and outlines theoretical perspectives to introduce new potentials for flexibility and resilience.

Peter Barber

100-Mile City and Other Stories

There are numerous ways to approach the design of housing, lots of hats that we can and should wear – abstract and analytical, political, sensual, social, artistic, pragmatic even. We need to be sociologist, geographer, architect and urbanist – old-style master planner and situationist both.

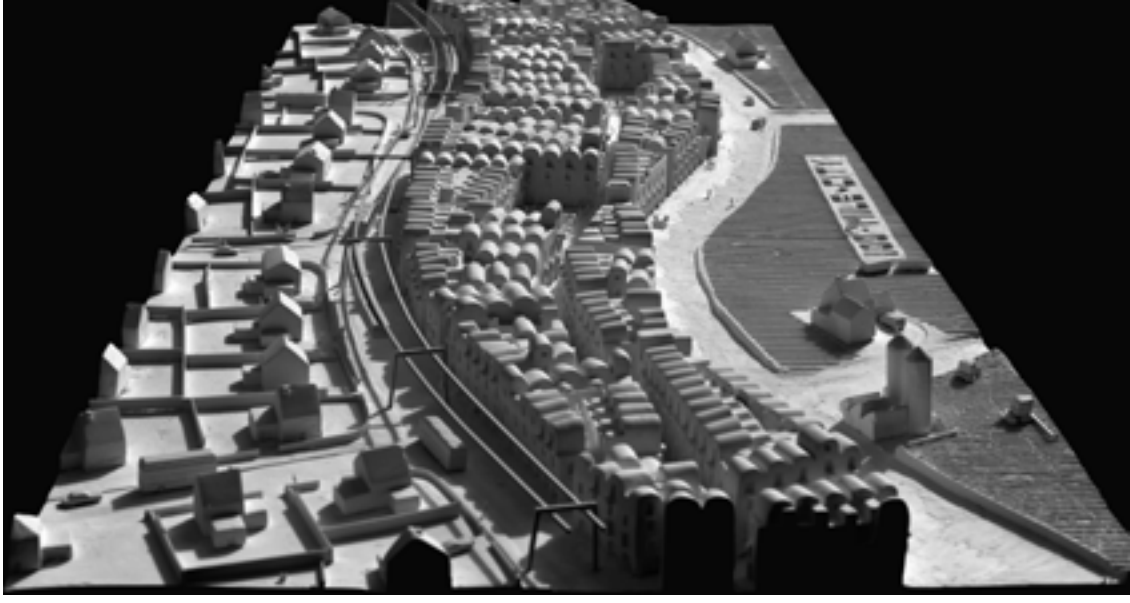
I'd like to start with a series of preambles that aim to tease out the ideological and political context for our work. These quotes, images and observations capture the atmosphere and ethos of what we do and, in a sense, provide a moral compass for our design process. I'll then move on to describe how these ideas find expression in three of our built projects and in '100-Mile City', our theoretical proposal for a street-based linear city encircling London.

Preambles

ONE

Perhaps the most democratic achievement of elected government in the twentieth century was the building of council housing to let at rent that the workers could afford. The endeavour was the essence of social democracy. It was socialist because it favoured the poor and it was democratic because the landlord was the elected authority responsible to the tenant. – Paul Foot, *The Vote*, 2005.

The UK was broke in the aftermath of the Second World War, and yet successive governments still found the resources not only to fund the National Health Service but to build 150,000 homes annually. By 1975, nearly half the population enjoyed the benefits



of living in council housing. In the intervening years, this policy has been reversed with a series of disastrous housing acts. Governments of both political complexions have abandoned their commitment to social housing. Since 1979, HALF of all public-owned land has been sold into private ownership and two million homes have been sold, at discounted prices, under the nonsensical 'right to buy' scheme. Today, only around 8 % of the population lives in council housing.

Consequently, in London alone there are currently: 170,000 homeless people (Shelter's robust minimum figure); 8,000 rough sleepers, a total that has doubled in the last four years; 20,000 empty homes; and 150 families losing their home each day. At the same time, we have seen an exponential rise in property prices and the cost of private-sector rentals – 259 % over the course of the last 10 years.

In my view, housing is basic infrastructure, and *not* a commodity, and the control of the land economy and housing production has to be a matter for government – much as it was in the middle part of the last century.

Three simple policies would decommodify housing and end the housing crisis: 1. Introduce private sector rent controls; 2. Halt the selling of council houses under 'right to buy'; 3. Build 150,000 council houses a year funded by direct taxation.

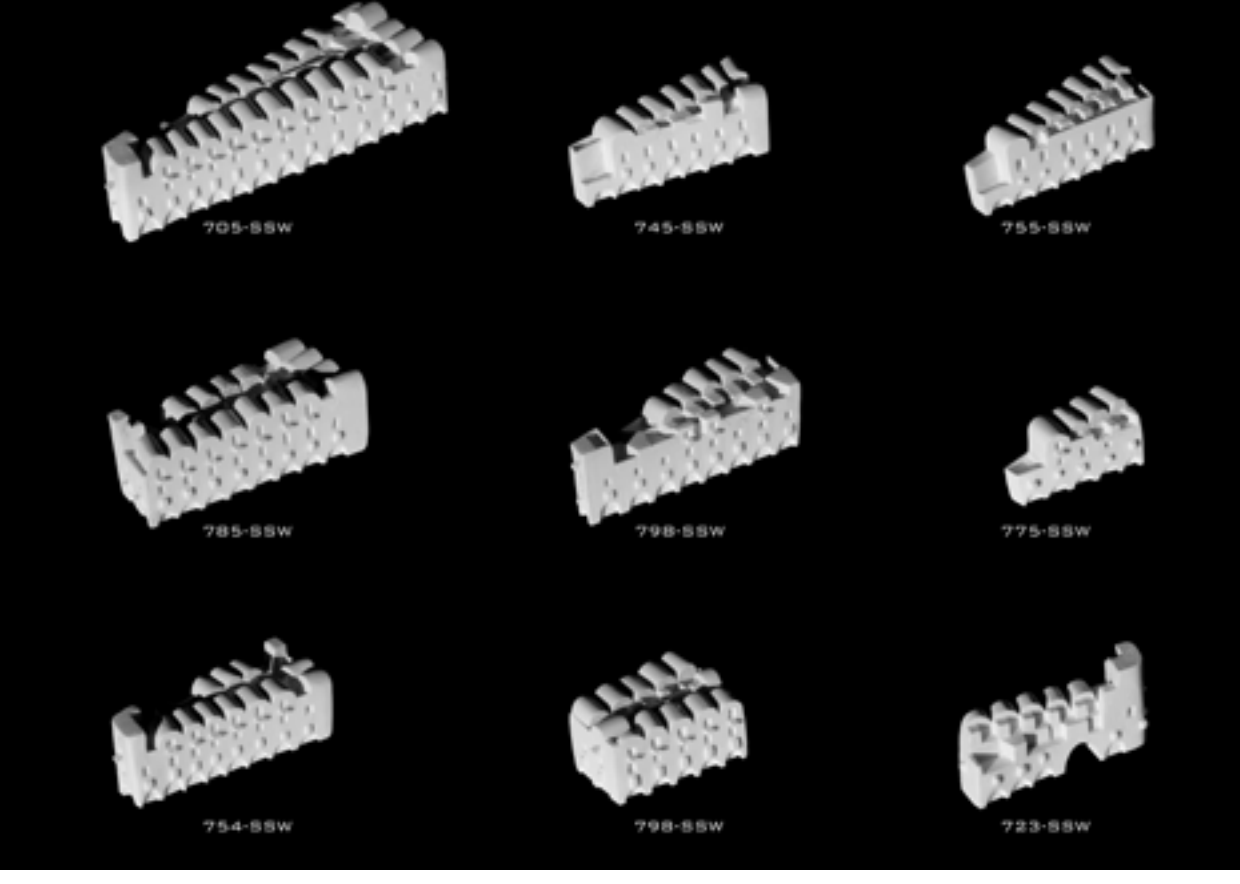
It would be interesting to reflect on ways in which this new wave of council housing production might be devolved, bottom up or incremental.

TWO

The passion for improvisation which demands that space and opportunity be at any price preserved. Buildings are used as a popular stage. They are all divided into innumerable simultaneously animated theatres. Balcony, courtyard, window, gateway, staircase, roof are at the same time stages and boxes… as porous as the stone is the architecture. Buildings and action interpenetrate in the courtyards, arcades and stairways. In everything they preserve the scope to become a theatre of new unforeseen constellations. The stamp of the definitive is avoided. No situation appears intended forever.
– Walter Benjamin, *One Way Street,* 1924.

Walter Benjamin's description of the culture and form of a street in Naples captures beautifully the idea of a city animated by the activities of its occupants – by a spatiality that is permeable, that invites occupation. He gives us an intimation of the fragile and complex reciprocal relationship that exists between people and space, between culture and architecture. His message: without people and culture, space is inert.

Our projects work with the idea that space conditions and is in turn conditioned by society and culture, and that architecture can create the potential for social action and activity. I always find it helpful to visualise how people might inhabit the spaces that we create and I love revisiting our built housing projects to see how people's lives are played out in their homes and in the courtyards and on the streets we have made.



THREE

Housing accounts for 70 % of all the buildings in London. It's what our city is made of. It's what creates a hard edge to our streets, what surrounds our squares.

Therefore, when we design urban housing we are designing cities. Designs for housing should begin as urban designs, driven in the first instance by our vision of a beautiful city. Projects like Donnybrook Quarter contain housing but more fundamentally they are a celebration of the life of the city.

FOUR

I'm for street-based neighbourhoods. Streets are an ingenious and effective means of organising public space. Axial streets especially, being easy to understand and navigate, can help to create a city that is well integrated, both spatially and socially.

Picture the experience of a stroll along The Laine in Brighton, an unremarkable but successful street with characteristics we can learn from:

– It is well integrated into the spatial fabric of the city, as part of network of streets that make the city permeable and provide strong visual and spatial connections between adjacent yet socially diverse neighbourhoods.
– It is narrow, concentrating the public life of the area into a very limited space. It brings together people of diverse social, economic and cultural groups and creates the potential for a colourful social scene.
– The buildings that bound the street house a mix of uses – retail, leisure, business and residential – that create a vibrant local culture and 24-hour occupancy.
– There is a strong visual connection between the buildings themselves and the street. This means that every inch of public space is overlooked or naturally policed. It is hard to imagine a mugging or robbery taking place here.
– Narrow building frontages and numerous front doors create visual diversity and the potential for occupiers to personalise their space.

Now compare this to Pitfield Street, in East London, where you walk 50 m up the street and turn right through a gap between buildings to enter a very different world – the vast hinterland of inter- and post-war housing estates that stretches across Hoxton. The designers of these estates eschewed the street in favour of a spatiality that has blighted the lives of thousands of residents for three generations:

– The spaces between buildings create no useful routes across this part of the city, forcing people to make lengthy and inconvenient detours around them.

– Dead ends, blind alleyways, burnt-out garages, paladin stores block off any views into, or routes across, the estates. Concealed from view in this way, one of London's most socially disadvantaged areas has become segregated from the rest of the city – a ghetto.

– The estates are laid out as a series of objects dotted around in acres of unused space: some concrete pavers or tarmac here, a patch of grass there. Such large, dispersed spaces tend to dissipate social activity, limiting the potential for people to meet or even to see fellow residents. Deserted most of the time, they create an environment which tends to isolate people and increase their vulnerability to crime. Some of the estate are afraid to leave their apartments. Most affected are the elderly, racial minorities and women.

Against this, I like to try and arrange our projects as a network of streets often interspersed with little public squares and gardens. I aim to align streets so that they create handy shortcuts and strong spatial and visual connections with adjacent neighbourhoods.

I like to imagine narrow streets which concentrate the public world into a fairly limited space, bringing together lots of different types of people. And it's nice to think of narrow building frontages and numerous front doors creating visual diversity and the potential for people to personalise the space outside their home.

Le Corbusier said *a street is linear factory* – typically hyperbolic. But it's good to think of a productive city, houses over workshops, shop windows and loading bays, clobber at the kerb, messy cross-programming – pre-war London, Marrakech, Old Delhi.

FIVE

I am interested in medium-rise, higher-density housing, and often try to explore the possibility of achieving this with houses instead of flats.

We like to experiment with unconventional housing typologies. Some of them are quite obscure or belong to a pre-modern vernacular – the Tyneside or cottage flat, back-to-back houses, courtyard house types, double and treble stack 'walk ups' – not to mention the hybrid terrace/courtyard notched terrace, which I nicked from Adolf Loos and José Luis Sert.

Where higher-rise apartments are required it seems to me that pre-modern tenement housing and mansion block typologies are a good model. They define a clear and unambiguous edge to the street, and tend to concentrate circulation within the street itself, with numerous and regular points of street access and minimal interior circulation – think also of Neave Brown's Alexandra Road.

SIX

Sergei Eisenstein said that Greek urbanists were the first great cinematographers.

While I'm designing I sometimes try to imagine our schemes as a screenplay, a sequence of views, picturesque, filmic even: long, lyrical tracking shots, a shocking jump cut, Sergio Leone-style shifts in scale from detail to widescreen panorama – silhouette, close up, perspective shifting, space unfolding, picturesque, sensual – a shadowy street with a little kick, tapering and narrowing suddenly before opening through an archway into the corner of a sunny square… mmm, nice!

It's good in this context to think also of Debord's Situationist *dérive* and psychogeographic maps, or Baudelaire's *flâneur* – the city and its streets understood and experienced 'on the ground', at eye level.

SEVEN

I love straight streets in grids – stretched, square, diamond, triangular, hexagonal grids. Let's take a look.

> – Thin, gregarious grids, slivers of terraced houses pushed up to the kerb – brash, showy, public – Brighton Barceloneta, back-to-back Brum – Western-set thin, city of pleasure, city of the body, city as theatre, building as backdrop.
> – Or what about a deep, square grid, a modest, introverted, reflective city of blocks and courtyards – Oxford, Fez.
> – Or a triangular grid with 60-degree corners – a city of flows, gentle changes of direction, seductive, democratic even.

EIGHT

Djemaa el Fna, the extraordinary public square embedded in the medieval walls of Marrakesh, in my view exemplifies what public space is – or at least what it can be.

Like all public space it is unique because it belongs at the same time to no one and to everyone – to old and young, rich and poor, tourists and locals alike. It's a place where people can express themselves with relative freedom.

Djemaa el Fna has no monuments and is almost entirely surrounded by unexceptional buildings. For much of the day it remains fairly quiet. However, in the cool of the evening the teeming alleyways of the old town spill into it and a tumultuous scene unfolds.

Little mobile kitchens appear from nowhere, people form circles around fire-eaters, acrobats and story-tellers. Theatre troupes perform on hastily erected stages. There are snake charmers and oud players, drum bands and fireworks. This is an architecture of festivity, ephemeral, mobile, in flux – foregrounded by people, its message embodied in its name: Djemaa el Fna translates as *Mosque of Nothing*. I love the idea of public space being a 'mosque of nothing': open, unprogrammed, where people can be themselves.

Behind the photographer is Djemaa el Fna's antithesis, the Grand Mosque of Marrakesh – metre-thick walls, solid, immutable, unchanging.

NINE

In *The Practice of Everyday Life* Michel de Certeau says that space is practised place, everyday narrative, a word caught in the ambiguity of actualisation, on streets, in apartments and in the most intimate of domestic habits.

It's useful to think about small things, everyday habits, domestic rituals, the turning of a door handle, footsteps on the stairs, the view from a window seat.

Peter Zumthor zooms in like this: 'I remember the sound of gravel under my feet, the soft gleam of the waxed oak staircase…'

Our Gadget Apartment celebrates everyday things and ordinary domestic rituals. It is homespun, assembled from oddments found in

local skips, tips and junk shops, stuff left lying around. Cheap, handy, bespoke, the residue of previous construction and destruction.

– *Mono-gold door.* At the threshold between the public world and the apartment interior, the inside face of the front door is covered in gleaming squares of gold leaf found in a junk shop.
– *Bath tidy.* Copper pipe wraps the bathroom wall as radiator, towel rail and handy hook for razor, soap dish and toothbrush. No home should be without one!
– *Tap and soap dish.* A tap assembled from bits of old taps and a spiral coat-hanger wire soap dish.
– *Match shelf.* A tiny wire shelf so you know where your matches are.
– *Wok-hob.* Two second-hand wok burners and some mesh out of a skip.
– *Metachron B1 table* (with Ben Stringer). A dining table assembled from a triangle of broken glass and three traffic cones, all found in the street.

TEN

In the 1950s the Corporation of Great Yarmouth embarked on the destruction of the town's historic centre, 35 acres of tiny streets and alleys known as the Yarmouth Rows, home and workplace to over 18,000 people – extraordinary architecture, Elizabethan and Georgian, but in their view *an insanitary and utterly unsatisfactory form of development which could not possibly be retained*.

Slum clearance programmes like this resulted in the demolition of vast quantities of back-to-back and terraced housing in the Midlands and the North of England, the sweeping away of serviceable and popular tenements in Glasgow and Edinburgh, the bulldozing of great swathes of street-based housing from Brighton to Newcastle.

Sixty years on, the same functionalist planning culture still prevails, favouring a dispersed, suburban, anti-social spatiality. Tick-box policy enforced through generic design standards, over-looking distances, car parking minimums, idiotic daylight, sunlight and air-quality indicators. Urbanism measured in habitable rooms/hectare, decibels, square metres, lux.

I would like to see radical new planning policy designed to encourage compact, continuous, urban form – a densely packed, convivial, congested city of intimately scaled streets and alleys where people from all different backgrounds could live alongside one another, where narrow streets compress and intensify the urban and human experience. In short, a socially and ecologically sustainable urbanism structured by idealism, rather than net-twitch neuroses.

Projects

One: Donnybrook Quarter

Donnybrook Quarter is a lower-rise, medium-density, street based city quarter located on a prominent corner site just south of Victoria Park in Hackey, East London. Its starting point is urban, aiming to provide well used public space, bounded by a hard edge of buildings.

The scheme is laid out around two new tree lined streets which cross the site creating very strong spatial connections with adjacent neighbourhoods and a handy cut through for their residents.

The streets have an intimate scale being 7.5 m wide and bordered on each side by two and three storey buildings. At their intersection, at the heart of the scheme, the two streets broaden out into a delightful tree lined square.

At the heart of the scheme, a new street – a pedestrian route – runs through the site from north to south, connecting with adjacent streets. Balconies, terraces, oriel windows and numerous front doors animate the facades of the buildings, creating private spaces that

overhang or overlap the street. This is a place for deckchairs, colourful plants and laundry – maybe even for people to meet.

At the southern end of the site, where they meet Old Ford Road, the buildings rise to four storeys and non-residential uses are introduced – two shops and a café. At the eastern edge an elegant residential terrace follows the gentle curve of Parnell Road.

The housing employs an unusual courtyard terrace hybrid typology. The typical double unit has a two-bed flat at ground level and a two-bed maisonette on the two floors above. The notched terrace configuration enabled us to achieve densities of 520 habitable rooms per hectare whilst maintaining high levels of privacy and amenity to every dwelling. Each dwelling has its own street front door and a 4 m by 8 m courtyard.

The upper maisonette is entered from the street via a staircase leading to a courtyard garden at first-floor. The living area has a fully glazed sliding screen that faces south, over the courtyard. Upstairs there is a double bedroom, a second bedroom or study, a bathroom and a balcony that overlooks the street.

In the ground-floor flat the front door opens directly into an open plan living area. The room is flooded with light from a fully glazed sliding screen, which gives access to a courtyard garden to the rear. The living area leads to a double bedroom, a single bedroom or study and a bathroom. The courtyard in each dwelling is an unprogrammed or 'slack space' that we hope might be used by residents needing a 'lean to', greenhouse, an outdoor gym, paddling pool or garden – you name it.

Two: Beveridge Mews

Beveridge Mews is a row of eight terraced houses and a new community garden, including a children's play area, located within the Stepney Green Estate in Tower Hamlets, East London. It is 100 % affordable housing.

Tower Hamlets has high levels of poverty and a great need for social housing. In particular there is under provision of housing for extended families and a significant problem of overcrowding within individual homes. Beveridge Mews seeks to address this shortage by providing houses that are designed to accommodate large, multi-generational families and range in size from four to six bedrooms. In allocating homes, priority was given to existing Stepney Green families.

The project is laid out as a beautifully landscaped garden square. Our building is configured as a thin notched terrace ranged along the western boundary of the site; the three remaining sides of the square are formed by existing housing. The new housing is made of timber shingles, referencing the 'make do and mend' aesthetic of existing garden sheds and the patchwork of garden fences of the building opposite. Its complex stepped profile is designed to provide sunny spots for people to hang out and do stuff. Already we've seen a little outdoor gym, a whirly gig, bikes being fixed, a sun lounger and tomato plants – just as we'd hoped.

Three: Holmes Road Studios

Holmes Road Studios is a homeless facility located in North London. It provides high-quality residential accommodation together with training and counselling facilities, all laid out around a new courtyard garden.

The courtyard is defined at its north end by the existing Victorian Dutch-gabled hostel building containing shared facilities and conventional hostel accommodation. The other three sides are formed by 30 little studio houses arranged as terraces in an alms house typology.

Each cottage is 16 m2 in area and consists of a double-height brick-vaulted living/kitchen/dining area and, at the back of the plan, a bathroom with a mezzanine bed space raised above it. The interior is lit via a partially glazed door, circular windows and a roof light. The

use of a rustic-looking brick with a crinkle-crankle parapet gives the project a relaxed domestic scale. All of the rooms look out over the garden, which is conceived as the social heart of the hostel and will become a therapeutic garden project for the benefit of residents.

We imagine a group of residents working with a gardener to create and maintain an intensely planted and beautiful garden, with an apple tree or two, potatoes, green veg, soft fruit, herbs, a greenhouse, a potting shed and a sunny spot to sit and rest. We think there ought to be a little room/shed in the garden for private chats (1:1) and counselling. The garden creates a homely, domestic atmosphere in the hostel. The garden gives participating residents an interest and outlet for their energy, helping to foster a sense of belonging, self-worth and empowerment.

Four: 100-Mile City

100-Mile City is a necessary and provocative response to the 2015 report from the Adam Smith Institute which insisted that 'London's Green Belt must be built on to curtail the housing crisis'. The project is a work in progress but currently takes the form of a plaster model

and drawings by Peter Barber Architects and a film, *The True History of the Hundred Mile City*, directed by Grant Gee.

Build a street-based, linear city 100 miles long, 100 m wide and four storeys high. Wrap it round London. Give it little factories, schools, houses and shops laid out in terraces along intimately scaled streets and around squares. Make it a dense, intense edge to London – a confident, purposeful boundary fronting a revitalised productive countryside.

The 100-Mile City is a linear Barceloneta, a circular Rome, a stretched Porto. Suburbia reprogrammed, hybridised, compressed.

Ride the 100-Mile high-speed orbital monorail, a souped-up Circle Line, where the loose ends and frayed edges of London's transport system – its isolated city-edge train and bus termini – are instantly, meaningfully, usefully connected with circus ride technology. Bexley to Brentford in 40 minutes: super-functional, super-fast and super-fun.

And, in time, watch our city grow inwards, spreading like wild-fire through wasteful, anti-social, car-choked suburbia – eastwards from Richmond, west across the Newham Marshes, up from Eltham, across the hills of Greenwich and the empty golf courses of Enfield. Metroland back-filled, integrated, urbanised. London for 40 million people. A kind of inside-out Plan Voisin–Ville Radieuse, Blighty style.

So rather than building out into the Green Belt, why not build inwards?

Gee's film takes this question and proceeds as a kind of lightly ironic, archaeological field trip into the past of the 100-Mile City. What was once there? What did prospective inhabitants want? What administrative and logistical problems had to be overcome? To investigate such questions, the filmmakers set out by bicycle on an epic journey along the site of the future city, circumnavigating London 15 miles out, just inside the Green Belt. Each mile along the way we filmed a single scene: 100 miles, 100 shots.

Film is combined with the voices of a wide range of people whose lives would be touched by the 100-Mile City: families presently unable to afford a home; developers and politicians who would design and administer the massive project; current residents of suburbia who're quite happy with the way things are; smallholders outlining the ways in which adjacent land would become a major new agricultural region; lost tourists, bored teenagers, golfers, street ranters. Their voices combine and overlap to become a forum discussing the vision of the city, like a particularly lively episode of Question Time, with better jokes.

As the film progresses along the route of the future city, and the contributors' voices begin to accumulate and give us a richer image of what, exactly, that city might be, the imagery of the film gets richer too. We get glimpses of our model of the 100-Mile City with images of the current suburban scene projected onto it. The filmmakers travel to other cities to film urban elements that inspired the original vision of the city: Porto, Barceloneta, Wuppertal (for the great monorail). Scenes of these various good-city elements are spliced into the video of existing suburbia to produce a new space. The film becomes a collage city.

Stylistically, the film lies somewhere between Patrick Keiller's deadpan dissection of the British landscape in *Robinson in Space* and D.A. Pennebaker's rollicking, visual-jazz montage *Daybreak Express*. The soundtrack is joyful, stomping rhythm and blues: pounding out the miles.

Conclusion

The focus of all four of the projects described here is public or shared space; designed to bring people into close proximity where they are highly visible to one another and where there is a strong likelihood they will meet. They are projects designed to promote a high level of interdependence between individuals and in the long term it is hoped that they might help to empower groups of people who are strongly self-determined.

All of these projects are driven by an optimistic, but we think realistic, view of society and of an architecture that can help to shape cities that are economically and socially sustainable.

Karin Krokfors

Time for Space – Beyond the Predictable

How should we change and develop housing design and production, so that our spatial production would be sustainable in the long term and continue to serve equally the well-being of both individuals and society? There is a need for paradigmatic change in spatial production, as our present housing production will most likely prove unsustainable due to its poor capacity for adaptability. The question then arises of what the new building production should be like and what needs it should serve in order to make it comprehensively sustainable. The concept of housing production itself is rather prescriptive and steers existing construction towards the source of the problems that the paradigm has created. Do we speak about housing production that clearly distinguishes it from other spatial production in the urban fabric? Or should the issues raised be laid out in considerably broader terms, concerning spatial production as a whole and its possible contexts in view also of unforeseeable future needs?

WHY

The need for paradigmatic shift in spatial production

In previous research on the temporal durability of buildings the focus has largely been on lifecycle sustainability in terms of energy use and the structural and technical properties of the buildings. Equally if not more important criteria for the temporal durability of the buildings are their spatial contexts. Buildings constructed only a few decades ago are already being demolished, even though structurally they would still have a respectable remaining lifespan, as they are not able to

adapt to new emerging needs. In particular, the industrially-produced buildings from the 1960s onwards have proved to be even embarrassingly unsustainable in this regard, and this has already caused the great need for the resourcing of the built environment. Due to the inescapable proceeding climate change, the focus in sustainability has been on energy efficiency. Ignoring the spatial aspects, however, has a significant impact on the use of energy and natural resources, if we continue to constantly demolish and rebuild or otherwise substantially modify the existing buildings. Recycling and the circular economy have been considered as responses to the ´re-use´ of buildings.

These responses, however, do not solve spatial challenges in a sustainable way. Construction always causes a peak of energy consumption in lifecycle assessments, of which the ecological ´payback time´ can be more than half a century. This highlights the need for the longevity of buildings.[1] McDonough and Braungart have also emphasised that a narrow understanding of recycling can even advance excessive energy use by preventing the search for more in-depth solutions. This, in their view, has even given a misleading legitimacy to consume more energy and natural resources.[2] Although the efficiency of use of materials has improved by 30 % over the last decade, within the same period the use of natural resources has increased by more than one and a half times, far beyond the planet's capacity.[3] We can no longer continuously rebuild the building stock; instead, buildings should be able to adapt to excessively differing needs and objectives in order to substantially extend its longevity. Buildings are still largely seen, however, as replaceable material products intended to serve specific needs, rather than as processes and socio-spatial environments that create meanings for people. The lifecycle objectives are neither set far enough into the future.

External pressures of change, such as climate change, social change and the depletion of both natural resources and natural diversity have an enormous effect on the development of societies and cities as well as the life of individuals. These changes have given a new

kind of legitimacy to the critical examination of spatial production, as well as modifying the processes that guide them onto a sustainable path. Changes in the substantive characteristics of dwelling and housing construction have, however, been rather cosmetic during the last decades. The development of housing production in Finland has even taken a turn for the worse. From 2007 onwards, the amount of space per resident has decreased, as has the size of new dwellings.[4] Apartments have become more efficient in their use of space as more rooms have been fitted into fewer square metres.[5] The buildings are thus becoming increasingly worse in adapting to changes.

In research and the strategies of certain progressive cities, adaptable and flexible buildings are considered an essential factor in sustainable development, but this insight has not yet been reflected in the production of the built environment.[6] In part this is because flexible and adaptable solutions require in-depth substantive exploration, a new understanding of their objectives, and the development of novel design solutions. All forms of flexibility do not necessarily promote adaptable buildings or the self-conditional use of space in the long term.

Spatial production implemented from new starting points could, however, better serve those already recognised needs as well as future unanticipated ones. The differentiation of people's lifestyles and changes in the structure of families, as well as significant changes in job descriptions create considerable pressures on the production of space already now. Temporary employment and periods of unemployment, self-employment and small-scale entrepreneurship schemes such as startups and internet entrepreneurship, reconstituted families, an ageing population, changing models of housing, and a new kind of communality are all part of the reality we are already living today. A new understanding of spatial production could also enable the formation, even spontaneously, of new kinds of material and immaterial resources. Consequently, by means of spatial production, one would also be able to create completely new types of individual and social

contexts. These could have dynamic and positive effects on the spatial challenges brought about by changes in people's lives and at the same time promoting the sustainability of the urban fabric. Available spaces could serve, for example, the promotion of people's livelihoods and the creation of new kinds of services. A new kind of spatial production could create a spatial potential which – arising always from ever-occurring new needs – would be able to contain a large part of the pressures of change as an inherent characteristic of the buildings, without the need for any substantial processes of change or additional construction. At the present time, however, the inhabitants to a large extent adapt their own ways of living and life situation within the preconditions set by the space itself.

Pressures for change in the use of space are continuous and accelerating, so buildings should possess characteristics that enable rapid and spontaneous changes. This concerns both services located in buildings and the possibility for people to actively influence their own life situation by means of the space they control. Enabling new economic activity and improving the efficiency of the use of space from human-centred premises should form the basis for all spatial production. Consequently, the continuous growth of social capital as well as the ensuring of continuity and a safe environment would also be possible. The home is one of the most significant concepts defining humanity.[7] In present housing production, however, people are forced to make great changes to their home at that particular moment when they are at their most vulnerable; for example, falling gravely ill, getting divorced, the death of a spouse or being made unemployed; that is, when the need to attach oneself to the protection offered by the home and the meanings it imparts are at their greatest. It should perhaps be possible for people to sell or rent out part of their home, which would ease the acute need to move away. People should indeed have the opportunity to maintain continuity in their life by means of the space that they control, and even promote their own economic situation at any given time. This need for spatial flexibility, however,

does not only concern the possibility for individuals to utilise the adapting buildings. It could also help public or private parties to find reasonably priced existing spaces for daycare activities, small-scale welfare services and similar functions – something that would also have the effect of enlivening the urban fabric. Owner-developers could also easily and with less resources than previously adapt and maintain properties.

Towards resilient spatial production

Certain presumptions and path-dependencies have shaped present-day housing production, which is to a large extent based on a mechanistic world view and a certain way of understanding the efficiency of construction and the use of space. The existing means of spatial production conceives of processes as linear and relationships as very straight forward. Building production is also to a large extent seen as a tool for economic growth, which in turn inhibits the critical examination of existing modes of spatial production. It is still perceived that the purpose of the production of blocks of flats – which form a significant part of Finnish housing production – is to produce different sized flats for particular user groups, where rooms are predefined in accordance with designated functions. Processes have also been tuned to produce a rather one and the same product that fulfils the regulations and has been through building sector steerage. Therefore, renewal on a large scale has become remarkably difficult. Significant reasons for this are the presumptions and objectives on which housing production is to a large extent based. These presumptions have not essentially changed, even though the world around them has.

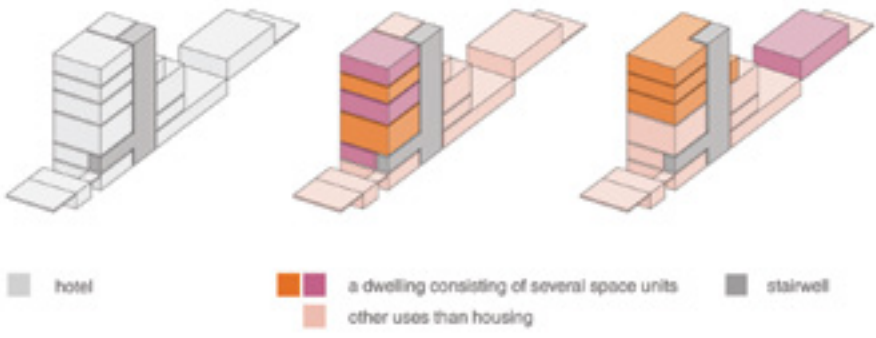
The critical examination of spatial production should indeed be based on the criteria of spatial sustainability, which are connected to people's unanticipated and spontaneous needs. Then it is also important to get an understanding of for whom we are building: consumers or people whose lifespan comprises almost all human activity?
A significant concept for the study of the self-conditionality of space

is Henri Lefebvre's *lived space*, which takes into consideration the complexity of the concept of space. The concept also comprises the understanding that people are proactive and creative, and thus possess the ability to continuously produce new kinds of meaning in relation to space. In this case the perception of spatial production also changes. It is no longer a consumer product but rather becomes a continuous spatial process occurring in time, which takes on ever new interpretations by both present and future dwellers. What, then, enables the buildings to concretely adapt and exist in time in order to fulfil the requirements of the self-conditional use of space?

HOW

Attributes of resilient space

When examining old buildings, even those centuries old, two essential factors stand out that have contributed to their longevity, on the basis of which people have been able to continuously create new meanings. On the one hand, buildings, their architecture and the urban structure as a whole have proved meaningful to people, and there has been a desire to preserve them. On the other hand, their spatial configuration has comprised something that has enabled them to adapt and remain in everyday use. One such long-lasting and adaptable type of spatial configuration can be found in the townhouse typology, as represented by Dutch merchant's houses and Victorian townhouses in the UK. Over the centuries their functions have changed considerably, and very different kinds of dwellings and other facilities have been built inside them, which in respect to size and spatial characteristics has enabled very different lifestyles and uses. These needs have received their specific manifestation even spontaneously. Due to their spatial characteristics, the buildings have to a large extent been able to self-organize and over the course of time form a continuously living and breathing interface between the building and the urban fabric.



1.

Resilience thinking – resilient space

Underlying *systems thinking* and the *resilience thinking* that has been derived from it is an understanding of the intimate connection between things within a systemic context. Systems thinking questions the mechanistic world view where, by separating the object under study into its constituent parts and studying them separately from each other and their operational environment, relevant information regarding the functions of the whole system could be obtained. In systems thinking the relationships between things and the emergence that they enable – the formation of something totally novel, which could not have been predicted from the original premise of the system – are essential characteristics of all organisms and socio-ecological systems such as cities. Processes understood in a linear way do not recognise this characteristic and therefore systemic effects often turn out arbitrary and negative. Even though processes cannot be predicted, they can nevertheless, based on systemic understanding, be directed towards sustainable paths. According to Meadows, ´we can't control systems or figure them out. But we can dance with them.´[8]

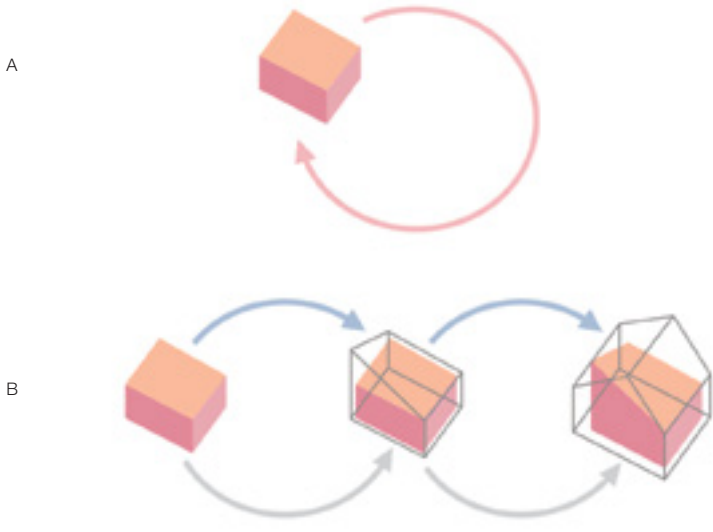
Fig.1 The example of the Victorian townhouse, showing how the spatial configuration of the building allows many permutations of use within the same building: e.g. A as a hotel; B as mixed housing, offices and commercial space: C as commercial space, housing and workspace. The spaces in buildings can be divided into smaller units according to need, allowing the spaces to be used independently for different sizes. This is due to their internal spatial configuration and appropriate unit size in connection to the stairwell. The townhouse typology has been able to play a significant role in creating a mixed occupant profile in the city structure.

According to systems thinking, all complex systems and organisms consist of nested self-organizing systems which influence each other beyond hierarchical levels. Because of this, minor events on the lower level of the system may have major unpredictable effects on the upper level and for the whole system. The current processes that produce the built environment are to a large extent directed top-down. The plan is often seen as a finished product. Thus, changes occurring on the lower levels do not easily materialize within the parameters currently set by a carefully predefined plan and building design – something which a more strategic understanding of both the planning steerage methods and the plan as a part of a building design would promote. I have taken a systemic approach to the level of building in order to create self-conditional and spatially sustainable solutions, which have an effect also at the level of the urban structure and thus on the resilience of cities as well as the well-being of people and the whole ecosystem.

Resilience is based on the adaptability and flexibility of systems and organisms. They are central properties of complex systems that advance long-term sustainability. The potential for change is the dynamic characteristic that makes them sustainable. In terms of resilience, it is of particular significance how the optimization and effectiveness of things and systems are perceived and how it is managed. If one optimizes only a certain part of the system without understanding its effects on other parts, then one will strengthen the properties of a certain part at the cost of the other parts, and usually end up moving away from sustainable solutions.[9] On the other hand, if the mutual relationships and mechanisms of the different parts are understood, then it would be possible to maintain sustainability by promoting the potential of self-organization. Self-organization is indeed intimately linked with the modularity of the systems. The more one is able to influence different connections between the various parts – the modules – the better the organism is able to correct itself through its own capacity for self-organization. A good

example of the wrong kind of efficiency and optimization in terms of the resilience of the whole system is the one-sided efficiency of the dwelling unit in present-day housing production. The clearly bounded dwellings, which usually only have one entrance, are being transformed into increasingly smaller units and they are difficult to adapt to new purposes or to change their sizes to better correspond to new emerging needs. Resilience thinking criticizes the emphasis on the short-term goals of efficiency and optimization. In Finnish housing production we improve the efficiency of the wrong dwelling unit in the wrong way from the point of view of sustainability.

If we want to continuously produce a diverse environment then we will have to adapt our thinking, in which the objective of promoting diversity has entailed producing various end products; i.e. different sized dwellings. This is not sustainable in the long term because it is not possible to predict needs and social changes. Producing diverse housing is not an adequate approach, unless the buildings are at the same time also flexible, in which case the supply of spaces would correspond to the demand during the whole lifespan of the building. If we use the analogy of biological organisms, then their diversity is due to the ability of the system to create diversity as a natural intrinsic characteristic. Then we should enable a spatial production that would be able to do this without defining the final spatial configuration of the buildings and their content. Building design should include a strategic dimension, so that it would enable spatial resilience at different levels, from the dwelling unit to society, and which would produce building stock that adapts to different social and individual needs. If the buildings were always in an appropriate use, we would improve the general capacity utilisation of the whole building stock, instead of merely that of a single dwelling. This would also promote the longevity of the building stock and the preservation of the value of the built environment, which is also an important aspect in terms of national wealth. In Finland the built environment accounts for over 70 % of the national wealth.[10]



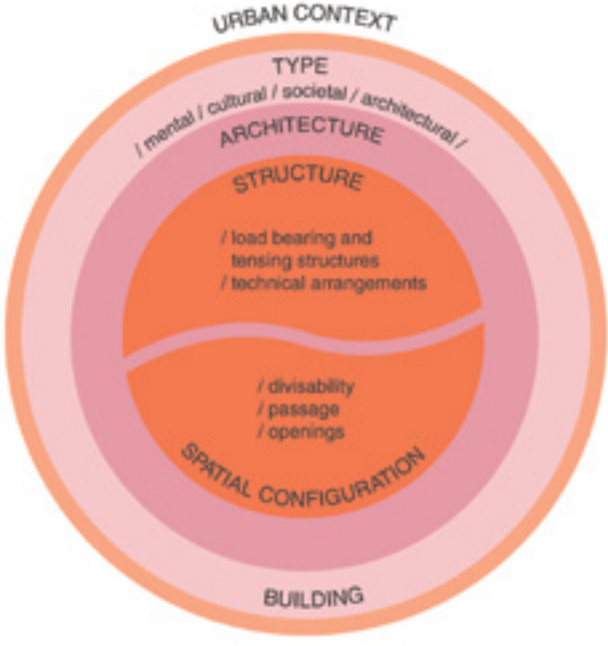
2.

Design thinking – typological flexibility

In building design, the concept of type, due to its holistic character, has an important role in how resilient space should be developed. In the following I will discuss how it could be applied in practice on the basis of the concept of typological flexibility which I have developed.[11] I include in the discussion of flexibility the concept of type as a property of the whole building and as a significant approach when discussing the concept of resilient space.

The objectives and underlying assumptions in housing production can be outlined with the help of the concepts of *model* and *type*. While model refers to a continuous rather one-dimensional replication of the same product, the concept of type is considerably more complex and refers to the idea and concept of the building within which change and development are continuously occurring. Type creates an understanding of the setting that can be applied to various situations and purposes. It may take on very different forms of expression and may eventually also evolve into a completely new type.

Fig.2 The prevailing model mode system of housing production A, which always returns to its initial settings, and the continually developing type mode system of spatial production B.



3.

Type, according to architect Rafael Moneo, is a changing frame in which development can take place. A design process consists of bringing together typological elements – formal ideas – under certain circumstances to in order to create unique, individual work.[12] The concept of type reflects an evolving and creative spatial understanding, where all the levels affecting the concept of a building operate simultaneously. The concept of type is equally a means and ends, and thus a significant part of the creative design process and development of architecture. *Type,* according to Giulio Carlo Argan, is linked to individual architects' creative design process and renewal of architecture. The concept of type consists of critique against types that no longer function and overcomes those types by creating new ones.[13] Because within the concept of type everything simultaneously affects everything else – just as in systems thinking – its different parts cannot easily be separated in an application or review of the concept without something essential being removed, and the concept of type becomes something else such as, for example, a replicable model.

Fig.3 Different dimensions of the concept of type.

Derived from the concept of type, typological flexibility, which takes into consideration the significance of flexibility at the building level, entails a holistic understanding of a building as being always part of the urban structure. Type encompasses everything, from the architecture of the building to the socio-cultural and mental contexts it engenders. Typology refers to the spatial configuration of a building, which can either enable or not enable flexibility at the levels of both the building and its spaces. There is a direct link between the spatial configuration and the building's structural system, the openings in the structure, and the layout of the circulation spaces, as well as their relationship to the urban structure.

Understanding flexibility

The present-day understanding of the flexibility of buildings encompasses almost everything possibly linked with it. It is an umbrella term for many different types of approaches, whether it is a question of flexibility of construction or flexibility of use. Not all forms of flexibility, however, promote the self-conditionality of the use of space and resilience in the long term. Therefore, I have reviewed the concept of flexibility more broadly and defined it on the basis of a spatial resilience that promotes people's self-conditional living contexts and the longevity of buildings. The promotion of people's self-conditionality through spatial means is one of the most significant factors in how societies and the built environment would be able to withstand the pressures of change. Then it is very important to discern the difference between the mere cultivation of space and the enabling of the continuous flexibility of space. Both can be realized simultaneously, but if the objective is the mere cultivation of the space for the first resident, then it does not necessarily promote long-term sustainability if the buildings and spaces are not flexible also for future generations.

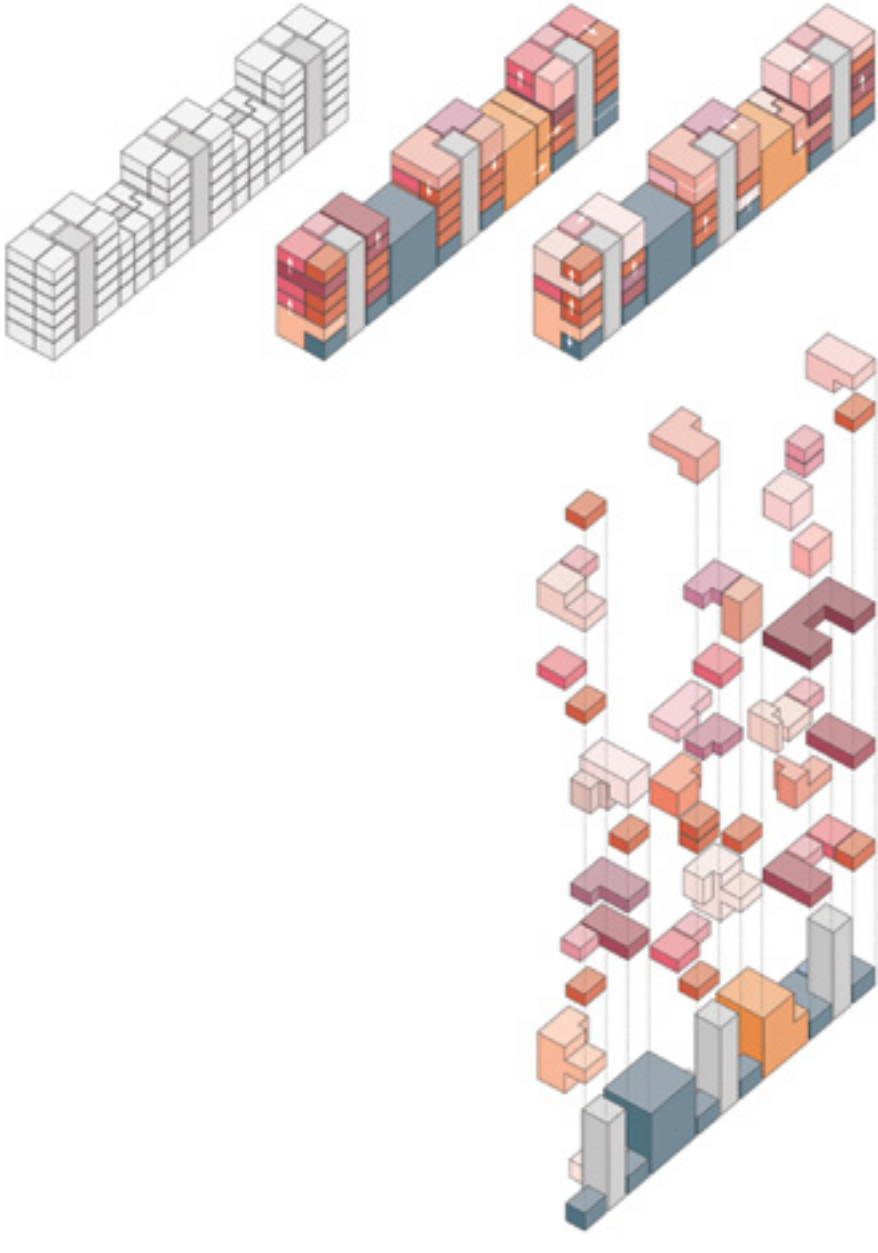
Central concepts in terms of the resilient building and space are *multi-usability* and *transformability,* as well as defining their mutual relationship. Multi-usability should be the objective in all strivings

for flexibility, something that transformability can help to facilitate. If the objective is merely transformability and the analysis remains at the level of the transformable properties inside the dwelling, then it will not necessarily advance the sustainability of the space and the building. The review of flexibility from the angle of multi-usability should be targeted at the level of the entire building from typological starting points.

A new definition of the dwelling

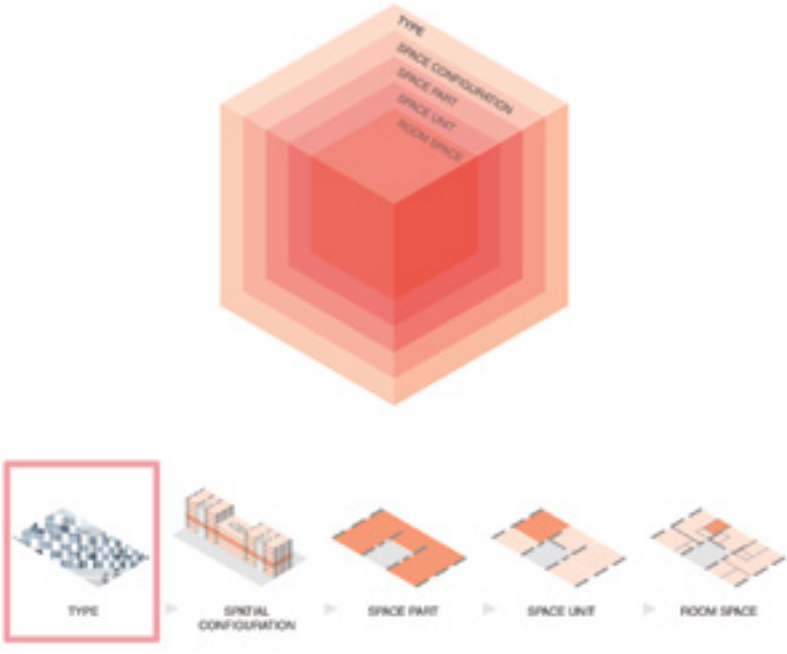
A dwelling has until now been understood simultaneously as both an administrative and structural attribute, the immutable structural boundaries of which are at the same time also the dwelling's administrative boundaries. In the space unit thinking that typological flexibility gives rise to, the dwellings are comprised of spatial units defined in various ways, which create a modular context for enabling self-organization. It is, however, important to note the difference between modularity and modular construction. The former is more abstract and does not refer directly to a module – a space unit – from its structural premises. Unlike the understanding of modularity, modular construction can also delimit the realization of flexibility due to its structural properties. In defining the modularity of a building, space units can provide the potential for division, which is taken into consideration in advance during the design process. Space units can be defined without them already having any existing fixed structural boundaries. Defining space units as part of the building's spatial configuration stems from design needs in each given instance. The question is not about design methods but rather about an approach to the design process, which has a certain strategic dimension as part of the architectural whole.

Combining space units and separating them from each other will always produce dwellings that are appropriate in terms of need and size, but space unit design thinking will also allow for different uses of spaces. The ways in which spaces are interlinked, connected to the



4.

Fig.4 The potential combinations of space units that can continually live according to needs during the lifespan of the building. The space units can be used as dwellings or put to other uses. Dwellings based on space units can extend or contract and their use can vary. At its best, an almost indefinite number of different spatial permutations can be created. *Karin Krokfors Architects*

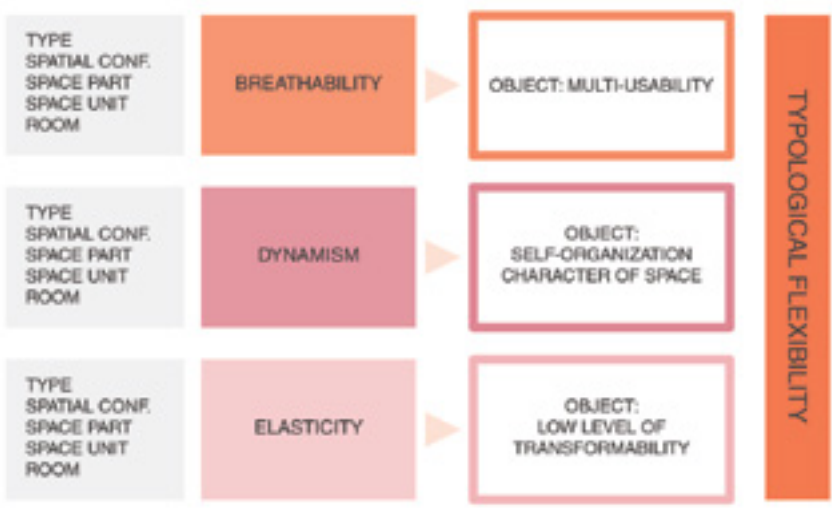


5.

building's circulation routes, and divided into different combinatory units to a large extent determines the multi-usability of those spaces and the building itself. It is very important to define the independent nature of the space units, for instance by providing them with their own entrance so that adjacent space units are not dependent on each other. It is then easy to change also the uses of the spaces, even though there are different ways of combing the space units. The space units should always have their own entrance via public or semi-public spaces, and structural and technical solutions should always be subordinated to the objectives of the design of the spatial configuration.

I define nested systems and levels through the concept of *panarchy*, which refers to nested hierarchical levels.[14] Panarchial levels have a relationship with each other and changes in them also have an impact beyond their own level, such as the dwelling, building and urban structure, all the way up to the social level. The spatial configuration of the architectural type determines the typology of the building. In turn, the spatial configuration defines how the modularity

Fig.5 The panarchial hierarchy of nested concepts within a type and according to a respective typological flexibility of building.



6.

– the space unit logic – is realized in the building. Important concepts for it are the *space part*, which refers to the largest possible combinable space without any structural boundaries forming a strictly defined envelope, and how the formation of the *space unit* is enabled in the building. The space units and space parts can be divided in various ways into *room space*, where potential structural and technical solutions that promote flexibility contribute to their free and easy formation.

In order to be able to assess the realization of typological flexibility, I have defined its main attributes: *breathability, dynamism and elasticity*. These also define the objectives of the multi-usability of typological flexibility in order to achieve self-organization and emergence. Breathability determines whether multi-usability is achieved in the building and how it serves the other levels. Buildings can ´breathe in´ and ´breathe out´ different uses and purposes. The objective of this metabolism derived definition is the multi-usability of spatial configurations also at the level of the urban structure, so that

Fig.6 The linkage between different aspects of typological flexibility.

it is capable of serving people over multiple generations. Dynamism defines the means by which flexibility is created within the architectural concept, through which flexibility aiming for multi-usability has been achieved in order to produce self-organization in the building and its spaces. Finally, elasticity defines the relative amount of transformability that serves multi-usability. The more the buildings and spaces require transformability the less elastic the space or building is. Transformability is thus seen as a concept serving multi-usability, not as an end in itself.

Each architect determines the content of typological flexibility in a different way within the architectural concept they have created. It is important to note that the building or space does not require a ´neutral´ character in order to be typologically flexible. Typological flexibility refers to the strategic dimension of the building without delimiting the architectural expression and identity of the building, which also play an important role in preserving the building stock from one generation to the next.

Fig.7 op.page. Kellokas Housing in the Vanhakaupunki ('Old Town') district in Helsinki, which is based on space unit thinking. *Karin Krokfors Architects*

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Kimmo Lapintie

Introduction: The Moral History of the Street

Planning ideologies in the 20th century have had very different and often conflicting attitudes to the public and private spaces of the city: the streets and squares as realms of public life and socialising, and the individual houses, apartments and private gardens as their opposites have been given very different interpretations. Often they are connected with some sort of environmental determinism of human behaviour: spatial arrangements are supposed to bring with them moral upbringing or decay, along with health and safety effects.

City planning in its modern sense has been said to have born from the 19th century critique of poor living conditions of the working class in the industrial city, such as those described by Friedrich Engels in 1845. Essential elements of this critique were the crowded and filthy streets with poor sanitation, but also the density of the tenement housing and small apartments, giving no space for individual privacy and also making the streets multifunctional spaces for working, playing, socialising – and also theft and prostitution. The coexistence of adults and children made it impossible to create artificial spaces for raising children and preventing them from too early influences of adult life.

The gospel of modernist planning with its emphasis of light, air and open blocks was offered as an antidote to the ill health and vices of the industrial city. The street corridor that had been a social and mixed but also an unhealthy and dangerous space, particularly as the motorised vehicles arrived, was considered to be history. Instead, according to the *Urbanism* by Le Corbusier from 1929, the city should be full of parks and sports fields around the 5% taken by skyscrapers, as well as semi-public spaces of blocks with ´set-backs´

and blocks of the ´cellular´ principle. The streets, on the other hand, were dedicated solely to fast transportation, the growing phenomenon that Le Corbusier feared would otherwise destroy the big cities with their ancient street pattern.

But this was not the end of the story. In 1961, Jane Jacobs attacked fiercely against this modernist ethos, reclaiming the lively street as the ideal form of urban space. She was convinced that if the urban neighbourhoods were compact enough and full of life, it would secure ´eyes on the street´ and control the behaviour of both residents and passers-by. It was also an ideal place for children to play uncontrolled (or controlled by the surrounding adults). In contrast, the parks and playgrounds praised by Le Corbusier were, for her, places of violence and boredom: ´´Street gangs' do their ´street fighting´ predominantly in parks and playgrounds.´ She tells her own contrary experience of the morality of the street: ´Twenty-eight children of all ages were playing on the sidewalk without mayhem, arson, or any event more serious than a squabble over a bag of candy. They were under the casual surveillance of adults primarily visiting in public with each other.´ . The modernistic tendency to shoe children to the parks, playgrounds and courtyards also meant a gender division. Most architectural designers and planners are men, and thus they plan ´strictly for matriarchal societies´ – obviously only for women and children.

Jacobs has had a friendlier reception than Le Corbusier, and her ideas are also continued by such contemporary ideologists as Jan Gehl. But, as ideologists in general, she did not care to argue for her position; the story was more powerful. For instance, she did not consider modern city life already analysed by Georg Simmel in 1903, including the individualisation, rationalisation and blasé of metropolitan mentality – so far from the romantic ´community of strangers´ depicted by her. Age also did not make much difference, even though the ´street gangs´ and children squabbling over a bag of candies are hardly of the same age. The strangers passing by are seldom willing

to interfere with gangsters or drug-dealers, and these certainly do not want to be controlled. But why spoil the good story with facts?

Urban planning and urban studies are, however, challenging each other much more openly in contemporary urban discourses, based on the assumption that the complexity of urban dynamics does not support ideological dichotomies anymore. In the following article, professor Lia Karsten from the University of Amsterdam follows the post-war changes in children´s spatial appropriation of urban spaces and gives a critical look at the underlying policies.

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Lia Karsten

Historical traces: the changing boundaries between children's private and public urban spaces over the last century

Introduction

A child's place in a city has never been a matter of course, and it has changed considerably over time. This paper addresses spatial interventions aimed at children over different periods of time. It aims to understand these interventions from the urban context of each era and to provide insight into their effects on children's everyday life. By doing so, a special focus will be on the changing boundaries between public and private space, or the varying levels of 'publicness' over time.

This article distinguishes four periods: from the end of the nineteenth century to the Second World War, the first decades after the Second World War, from roughly 1975 to about 1995 and the most recent era since 1995. The urban context for each of the four periods will be described briefly in order to understand the interventions that various parties considered necessary. During each period, interventions were initiated alternately by the state, the market and the civic society, including families and children themselves who got involved in urban projects. The conclusion will reflect the shifting boundaries between private and public spaces, and their consequences for both urban children and the cities they live in: How has urban childhood changed and in what directions? And, what has this all meant for the city as an inclusive urban project?

Transformation processes are analysed for one city in particular: Amsterdam. It may illustrate many other cities in Europe. However, as the bibliography shows, historical literature on children's spaces in other European cities is either rare, difficult to understand (foreign language) or difficult to find. This article aims to inspire Finnish and

other European scholars to make additions to the conclusions and to further diversify the history of urban childhood.

The civic society initiative of the play-garden

At the end of the nineteenth century, industrialisation led to rapid urbanisation in many European cities. Numerous workers and their families migrated from the countryside to cities, where they could find work in upcoming industries. The rapid growth of urban residents, however, created a huge shortage of housing. Decent dwellings were not sufficiently available, and large working-class families often had to live in small cramped apartments or even in unhealthy cellars. The living conditions were depraved, and it was not unusual for children to work to earn an extra income for their families. This situation was not considered positive for new generations to grow up in, and thus the Dutch left-wing politicians developed new legislation on the well-being of children. First, they drafted a law prohibiting the use of child labour in 1874, and nearly three decades later, in 1901, the Dutch parliament approved the legislation on compulsory education. After that, all children aged 6 to 12 were obliged to attend school. These laws distinguished children as a separate age group from adults: childhood as a specific stage in life was supposed to have its own (spatial) institutions. Employers could be punished for allowing child labour in their factories, and parents could be fined if they did not send their children to school. Of course, the laws did not work immediately nor for all children. Better paid workers and middle-class families were the first to send their children to school, but gradually the living conditions of working-class children also began to improve, bringing primary school education within their reach. But school hours did not fill the whole day. This relatively new situation raised the question: What should children do after school? The streets were not considered a good place for children: too much traffic (horses and cars), too many dangerous industries nearby and too many badly behaved

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(alcoholic) adults. Both at home and outdoors, children encountered unsafe, unattractive and crowded environments.

The leaders of different religious pillars, in cooperation with the enlightened industry bosses and the foremen of labour unions, became convinced that children should be better guided in their personal development. Children should be protected from the bad influences on the streets, by giving them access to urban spaces specifically designed for their needs. Civil society actors worked together to develop a completely new urban space for children: the play-garden.[1]

What should a play-garden look like? They were semi-public enclosed green spaces, fenced off from the street. The play-gardens aimed to accommodate children's outdoor play in controlled ways. In addition, they were intended to promote healthy exercise and to educate children for good citizenship. The play-gardens were both a recognition of a child's right to play and an intervention to stimulate ´appropriate´ behaviour.[2] The educational aim of the play-garden was

Fig.1 The UJ Klaren play-garden in Amsterdam is still in use.
Lia Karsten

especially directed towards working-class children. They were considered most at risk and needed spaces where they could get some form of protection, enjoy themselves, but also learn to behave correctly. Families were invited to join play-garden associations, and sometimes additional entrance fees were requested. Some play-gardens had rules which stated that only children with good results at school were allowed to enter. The first play-garden in Amsterdam, UJ Klaren at Weteringcircuit, opened in 1880 and still exists. The concept of the play-garden became very popular, and gradually the rules became less strict. Play-gardens spread over the city or at least the working-class neighbourhoods. Today, Amsterdam has over 50 play-gardens, but none of them are located in the most prosperous parts of the city, i.e. Amsterdam South.

To summarise this pre-war period: the semi-public play-garden can be considered the first attempt by civic society to get children off the streets, into an activity and age-specific domain, explicitly intended for children.

The rise of the public playground, 1945–1975

During the first decades after Second World War, the process of urbanisation continued, not only in the Netherlands but in many other European countries as well. This was caused both by very high birth rates (the baby boom) and ongoing migration from the countryside to the cities. Major building programs were developed to house the growing urban population. A famous example of that era is the Amsterdam Extension Plan (AUP) developed by the Amsterdam Department of Public Works. This urban plan was prepared to double the size of Amsterdam by building thousands of new houses in the city´s western and southern parts. It was developed under the inspiring leadership of architect Cornelis van Eesteren and strongly supported by the socialist party SDAP.[3]

AUP was not only a huge and modernist building program, but also an effort to build a fair city. A total need of square metres for

each citizen group and for each function was carefully calculated. And these calculations included children for the first time in history! This focus on children was largely due to Jacoba Mulder and Aldo van Eyck, urban designers working for the municipality of Amsterdam. They were aware that large numbers of children living in Amsterdam (nearly 200,000 or a quarter of the whole population) needed spaces to play. They saw children everywhere, hanging around on the streets, without anywhere appealing to go. Mulder and van Eyck therefore started a discussion within the Department of Public Works to better serve the children. They thoroughly enjoyed accommodating the youngest group of citizens, and together they 'invented' the public playground.[4]

The public playground was a completely new phenomenon in the Netherlands. It was both a reflection of children´s emancipation and a socialist response to the paternalistic and pillared play-garden movement, dominated by religious groups. Thus, the playground was a clear shift from private to public intervention. The first public playground in Amsterdam opened in 1947, and it was followed by no less than 700 new playgrounds built by 1978, with the sharpest growth between 1954 and 1961. Amsterdam would never reach such a speed and quantity again. The first decades after the Second World War were indeed the culmination of public attention to children's outdoor play.

The new playgrounds gave legitimacy to children's rights within urban public space. The public playground both valued children's play in public, not fenced off as was the case with play-gardens and provided play objects that were attractive 'only' to children. Outdoor play was fully recognized as a necessity for children, for both well-being and enjoyment. The playgrounds spread all over the city and were used intensively. There has probably never been another era during which children were so determined to play outdoors. Oral histories of the so called *wederopbouw* (rebuilding period after the war) repeat the same quote over and over again: ´Playing was playing outdoors´.[5] And children's use of public space was not limited to

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the newly constructed playgrounds. At the time, children had much greater freedom of movement than they have today. They went to school on their own, played outdoors without much parental interference and explored the city far beyond their own neighbourhoods. Some children had their own bikes, others walked or took public transport even to the outskirts of the city. The large number of children playing outdoors every day made the urban public space a meeting place for all children, regardless of their different backgrounds: ´I joined a steady group of children, who all lived in our street or one of the streets nearby. When we came out of school, out of our different schools, we used to meet on a small square nearby and play together, Catholics, Protestants, also Communist children, it didn't matter to us.´[6]

At home, the situation for most children was still not very luxurious, as is manifested in this quote from a woman who grew up in

Fig.2 Examples of play objects designed by Aldo van Eyck, currently located in the garden of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.
Lia Karsten

Amsterdam in the 1950s: ´Our house was very small. We didn't have any windows at the back, only on the street side. I cannot remember playing inside much of the time. When we came home from school, we had some tea and something to eat, and then we were supposed to go outside and stay there till at least six.´[7] In the post-war period, most families had more children than bedrooms, the living rooms were small, and the house usually had only one source of heat. The private home was the imperium of the mother who was mostly responsible for cleaning and cooking. Children were allowed to play indoors only now and then and with strict rules, i.e. being quiet.

To summarise: The first decades after the Second World War, a time with a huge number of children, can be defined as the culmination of public attention to children's outdoor play. The recently 'invented' public playgrounds gave children new possibilities to meet and participate in the urban public space. Children from different backgrounds met each other in the streets and playgrounds. Urban childhood was an outdoor childhood. And although urban public space became more inclusive for children, they still had difficulties negotiating the use of private spaces at home.

The public neglect of the urban child, 1975–1995

In 1968 the birth control pill was released in the Netherlands, and it immediately caused a sharp drop in the number of births. While families became smaller, economic growth increased their income levels. The new economic prosperity improved the supply of new consumer goods, which had a great impact on children´s everyday lives. First, it was television that made private interior spaces more attractive. And later, the increasing number of cars made the outdoors less attractive to children. There was less space to play on the streets full of parked cars and the increasing motor traffic made urban public space more dangerous.

Fewer children per family, more commodities at home and more cars outdoors contributed to changing the discourse on childhood:

from resilient to vulnerable. Playing outdoors was still considered necessary for children, but their movement in public spaces was no longer a matter of course. Middle-class families began to define the city as an urban jungle; an unhealthy place to raise children. Many of them left the city and moved to the newly built suburbs. The out-migration of middle-class families was only partially compensated by the increasing number of in-migrating ethnic families. In 1985, the smallest number of children (aged under twelve) was measured in Amsterdam.

The processes of suburbanisation and the public neglect of urban childhood were closely related. Urban planning for children was no longer directed towards the city, but towards the suburbs.[8] Urban childhood was even considered to be fading away, apart from within those urban families who did not have much choice in the matter. New ideas to cater for the city children were not developed. There was an anti-urban sentiment related to families and children.

The outdoor child of the 1950s and 1960s survived, but this group became much smaller and more specific. Children had less freedom to explore the outdoors, as parents were supposed to supervise their children in urban public space. Independent playing outdoors, hanging around on the street corners or meeting other children on the sidewalks were gradually associated with lower class and ethnicity. And indeed, those who continued to play outdoors independently were primarily lower-class children, mainly migrant boys.[9] For middle-class families, personal achievements and learning skills became important, and they began to educate their children through various enriching activities.

Along with the emphasis on specific activities and skills for children, privatised public spaces became more important. The number of children's domains in the city began to rise[10], created both by the civil society and the market. The fact that the importance of children as consumers was increasing was evidenced by the specialised children's shops selling everything from children's books to high-end clothing

and wooden toys. Children's festivals, exhibitions, films, theatre shows and concerts also came into being. Slowly but steadily, children´s emancipation gained a commercial dimension that manifested in various new urban locations.[11]

In order to benefit from these new children's facilities, parents were supposed to take their children around the city. And not surprisingly, it was mainly middle-class parents who were able to do so. A new type of childhood emerged: the backseat generation.[12] In middle-class circles, raising kids became a serious job of concerted cultivation.[13] The urban working-class, mostly migrant families, could not reach the new market-driven children's domains. Some of their children, mainly boys, continued to play outdoors most of the time. Others, mainly girls, were kept inside. A second new type of childhood emerged: the indoor child. Urban childhood began to diversify. Alongside the iconic but increasingly rare outdoor child, the backseat child and the indoor child came into being.

To summarise: Suburbanisation reduced public attention to children in cities. Rising living standards (television) created more attractive private interior spaces and less attractive public outdoor spaces (cars). The discourse on childhood changed from resilient to vulnerable; children were seen to be in need of constant supervision. Childhood began to diversify, and it became a more and more class-based, and also ethnic-based, phenomenon.

Many childhoods, 1995–2015

Over the last two decades, cities have changed considerably and become more important, both economically and demographically.[14] Young urban professionals (yuppies) working in the new urban economy, in creative, finance and service sectors as well as academia, have gradually replaced the traditional urban working-class. Suburbanisation has slowed down, urbanisation has again accelerated, and many cities continue to gentrify.[15] The urban gentrification process also affects families and children. An increasing number

3.

of households have decided to stay in cities after having children. Yuppies have transformed into Yupps (Young Urban Professional Parents).[16] Although the gentrification processes welcome families, they have further promoted the differentiation of urban childhood by increasing the contrasts between social classes. This has led to today's many childhoods.[17]

As neoliberal politics dominates globally, welfare states are crumbling down. In the Netherlands neoliberalism has been labelled as a participation-society. All citizens are expected to participate in society and be responsible for organising their own life and their children´s lives.[18] The time parents have to spend with their children has increased considerably, partly due to longer travel times for various leisure activities for children.[19] The self-organised middle-class family fits perfectly into the neoliberal political discourse. Families play an

Fig.3 The rise of intergenerational urban spaces: ice skating at the Museum Square in Amsterdam.
Lia Karsten

important role in building the new gentrified city and its new spaces to welcome children.[20]

Urban public space is still important for children, but it is changing its character. Traditional public playgrounds are still not a high priority in urban planning. In the newly-built city areas, playgrounds are either ignored or built afterwards. In urban planning, densification claims have shifted the focus from specific spaces for specific groups (AUP) to shared public spaces for everyone. Instead of new playgrounds, new squares, beaches and green areas are being built for all citizens, including children. Families have themselves initiated a reverse process by changing common public spaces into family spaces. Sidewalks have been transformed from traffic lanes to playing areas and meeting places for neighbouring families and children. The new sidewalk accommodates children's outdoor play and provides possibilities for shared supervision among neighbours.

Privatised public space for children and families continues to expand. The dominant middle-class discourse about enriching activities has created more urban spaces intended for children's after-school leisure and education. In addition to the existing public facilities for children (e.g. music schools), new private institutes (e.g. music shops with private teachers) have been set up. The new commercial industry for children's enrichment activities is growing larger. Middle-class families are building cultural capital for the next generation. After-school education is becoming a new way for families to stand out.[21] The privatised public space is further extended by the new family-welcoming urban consumption spaces, formerly intended for adults only. Pubs and restaurants have begun to welcome parents and children and are thus transforming into intergenerational spaces.[22]

Also, private indoor spaces are changing their character. Today, children are successfully negotiating access to interior spaces at home. The home is no longer the imperium of the mother, but it is increasingly accommodating children. Today, children have more space and toys than ever before. Private interior spaces have increased their

popularity, and the indoor child is no longer only associated with the disadvantaged position. Indoor childhood thus exists among both very poor and very rich families, albeit in very contrasting ways.

To summarise: Over the last two decades, we have seen new constellations of families and the market and, to a lesser extent, the state building a new urban landscape. Recent developments in public, privatised and private urban spaces do not affect all children to the same extent. Today's many types of childhood are further differentiated by the increasing differences between social classes. Lower-class children do not benefit as much as middle-class children from the new ever gentrifying city.[23]

Conclusions

This article mainly refers to cases in the Netherlands, in particular Amsterdam. Conclusions thus are only tentative, and the research on historical changes in city children's urban spaces should be continued from other perspectives, from other cities and from other time periods. Nevertheless, in relation to existing urban studies literature, there are some indications for the following four conclusions.

First, it has become clear that children's spaces in cities have developed away from the ordinary public space of the street.[24] The independent outdoor child, strolling along the streets of his or her neighbourhood and beyond, is fading away. In large cities, the outdoor child has become marginalised.[25]

Secondly, in the everyday life of urban children we can see a clear development towards the privatisation of children's spaces both outdoors (privatised public space) and at home (private home space). Almost all new children's spaces have been created through a private initiative, either by the families themselves, by the market or as a combination of both.[26] We have thus left the high tide of public interventions behind.

Thirdly, along with the process of diverging spaces and many childhoods, we can see increasing inequality and segregation by social

class and ethnicity.[27] This development is closely related to the privatisation of urban public spaces.

Finally, both in public outdoor spaces and privatized public spaces, we can see the rise of intergenerational spaces.[28] Public playgrounds and public green areas are used by both children and parents. Also, urban consumption spaces, such as pubs and restaurants, intended once for adults only, are now transforming into mixed-age spaces. While segregation by age has decreased, segregation by class has increased.

This historic overview reveals that children's position in urban spaces requires continuous attention, from both private and public sectors. Good cities are diverse in terms of class, ethnicity and age. Good cities also work for children and it should be public responsibility to work on an age-inclusive city again.

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In this book, experts from different fields discuss the changing boundaries between private and public city life, both from historical as well as contemporary perspectives. The publication is based on the *13th Quo Vadis Architectura? Nils Erik Wickberg Lectures,* held at Aalto University in 2017. The seminar was organized by the chairs of History of Architecture, Housing and Urban and Regional Planning.

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