

# Urban Housing

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MARGREET DUINKER

Duinker, van der Torre, s.a.. the Netherlands

PETER ROWE

Harvard University, USA

WU LIANGYONG

Tsinghua University, China

*Margreet Duinker and her partner, Machiel van der Torre, have run an Amsterdam practice devoted solely to social housing since 1984, with their infill dwellings in the Dapperbuurt quarter received the City Council of Amsterdam prize in 1988. In addition to teaching at the Faculty of Architecture of the Amsterdam Art School, Ms. Duinker served as a juror for the 1994-95 ACSA/Otis Elevator International Student Design Competition on Urban Housing.*

## INTRODUCTION

Down through the centuries, Amsterdam has always been a compactly built city. There were good reasons for the compactness. It was not easy to make the marshy ground suitable for building. Water courses had to be filled in, marshlands drained, dikes had to be constructed and canals dug. Until the 19th century, the city had to be defended by walls and city ramparts from the surrounding dangers. It was only safe to live inside those walls. Even now there are still good reasons for continuing to build compactly. The Netherlands is a densely populated country where space and nature are scarce; the space we have has to well used, so city expansions were always carefully planned.

There's always been a tension between the need to build compactly and the quality of living in the city. In the history of Amsterdam can be seen how it was necessary to choose between density and space. In periods when the economy was flourishing, such as the 17th century, the city allowed itself more space. In periods of stagnation, buildings were placed increasingly close to each other.

But, as architect Rietveld said, "In a properly built city, the scale of a dwelling can be closer to that of a big roomy coat with inside pockets than to a castle." This is the quality possessed by the inner city of Amsterdam.

## MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The history of the city of Amsterdam begins around 1170 when a dam was made in the river Amstel, which would later lend its name to the settlement. The first streets were built parallel to the dikes along the Amstel. To the east, the Warmoesstraat, and to the west Nieuwendijk. The small

fishing village rapidly expanded through the growth of trade and shipping. Four canals were dug on either side of the Amstel, more or less parallel to the existing streets. The central square with the town hall and the Nieuwe Kerk, which is the present day Dam Square, was situated along the dam in the Amstel.

This is how the city looked like around 1544 - compactly built, surrounded by high fortifications with towers and gates at regular intervals; and located amidst polders with a pattern of ditches and windmills to keep the water level under control. The big ships moored in the Ij, about where the central station now is. At that time, the town consisted mainly of low wooden and brick houses with a number of large buildings. After numerous fires in the city, the thatched roofs were forbidden and walls and facades had to be built of brick. Only a few of these medieval wooden houses have been preserved. One of these is Behijnhof number 34, dating from around 1420. It consists of just one story with a base and a attic floor. The structure is completely made of wood. The medieval street pattern is still easily recognizable in the present city center. A part of the Amstel and some of the canals have been filled in.

## THE 17TH CENTURY EXPANSION

At the beginning of the 17th century, Amsterdam enjoyed an unprecedented flourishing periods. The population rose to over 100,000 inhabitants in 1600. City expansion had become a necessity. The city government designed the plans for the famous 17th century expansion. This was so big in scale that for more than two centuries Amsterdam could continue to develop within the new walls. The area of the city increased four fold. Three new districts were created by the expansion, each with completely different uses.

In the harbor area, six artificial islands were constructed. Warehouses, ships' wharves, and dwellings for the dockworkers were built on these islands.

The second district is the famous Amsterdam ring of canals, intended from the very beginning as a residential district for the wealthy merchant class. Three canals were dug in a concentric plan around the city, the Herengracht, the

Keizersgracht, and the Prinsengracht. Radial canals such as the Brouwersgracht, the Rozengracht, and Reguliersgracht, linked the main canals to each other. All canals were given spacious keys and streets on either side. Radial side streets linked up to the existing old city.

In order to build such a large scale plan, the city council had far reaching powers of expropriation and quality control. It prepared the ground for building on and divided it into plots which were sold on the free market under particular conditions.

The Jordaan is the third district of the expansion. It's the densely built area to the left of the canals. Here, to a large extent, building followed the existing agrarian pattern of paths and ditches. Some ditches were widened into canals, others were filled in to make streets. Side streets were made at right angles to these. Industries which were banned from inside the ring of canals, such as tanneries, foundries, and coppersmiths were established here. The more prosperous dwellings were along the canals and the poor streets were more to the back.

At the end of the 17th century, the expansion of the city practically came to a halt as a consequence of the economic stagnation. The fortifications continued to be the unmistakable dividing line between the city and its surroundings. The rise in population was absorbed inside the city walls. Until 1845, the visitors still had to be inside the city before ten in the evening because then the city gates were closed. Twenty years later, nothing remained of the city walls and the city gates were demolished. This made the urgent urban expansion possible.

### AMSTERDAM IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Due to the deteriorating economic situation, the number of poor people in the city grew sharply. There was a great need for cheap housing. Houses were split up. Back lots were increasingly crammed with miserable dwellings. Basements were inhabited and canals were mere open sewers.

The citizen's growing concern about this situation led to the founding of the Society for the Benefit of the Working Class. This oldest housing corporation in the Netherlands built the first twelve workers' dwellings in 1852 in the Jordaan. What was unusual was that each dwelling has a connection to the new water main system. There was still no sewage however. The architect Hamer designed a complex of workers' dwellings for the Society, also in the Jordaan. Three blocks placed parallel to each other, surrounded two courtyard-like rear gardens, which are accessible through a passageway. The blocks include both back-to-back dwellings and dwellings with a front and a back elevation. The facades were carefully designed with plastered white moldings around the front doors and under the window frames. The attic story is classically crowned by a series of tympani on a continuous freeze. Later on I will show you this project again as a design project of our office.

After a long period of stagnation, the population of

Amsterdam tripled from 230,000 to 690,000 inhabitants in 70 years. The revival of colonial trade and the beginning industrialization brought new prosperity to the city. The harbor was modernized; connections to the hinterland were improved a network of paved roads and the construction of a railway system. You see here the first expansion plans since the building of the ring of the canals, designed by the engineer Kalff from 1875. Kalff used the existing ditch pattern for the road plan. He abandoned the concentric city plan for a system of two directions at right angles at each other. In 1889, the monumental central station was built on the Ij in front of the old city center, and you can call it the biggest town planning blunder ever made in the city. The station shuts off the city from the former open harbor front.

In the Kalff plan, the council restricted itself to preparing land for building upon. The construction of dwellings was left to private speculators. The consequence of this was squalid workers neighborhoods, often having a monotonous typology and the building of extremely cramped dwellings, sometimes only one room per family with sleeping alcoves. The buildings are only four to five meters wide and usually have four stories and an attic with a shop or commercial premises on the ground floor. These working class neighborhoods occupied the entire area between the ring of canals and the new municipal boundary. As the population continued to rise, the density increased. In the Jordaan and other workers' neighborhoods, there were slums and basement dwellings, overpopulated, damp, and small on stinking streets and narrow passageways.

In order to improve this situation, the municipality got actively involved in building social housing. The municipality was supported in this by the Housing Act, introduced in 1901, in which municipalities were compelled to draw up expansion plans and to lay down minimum requirements which each dwelling had to meet. There were government subsidies to promote the building of public housing. It was a real turning point. The quality of our social housing since then is made possible by this Act.

### THE BERLAGE PLAN FOR AMSTERDAM SOUTH

After the Housing Act, the expansion of Amsterdam began to take shape in a number of new neighborhoods with their own clear structure. In town planning terms, they actually ignored the 19th century expansion. The plan for Amsterdam south of 1917, designed by the architect Berlage, is characterized by a monumental system of big avenues and squares with a network of less important streets which link up with the old fabric. In the western section the plan is characterized by the typical trident, whose central axis runs from the cultural square in the north to the station square in the south. In the eastern part, the division of the boulevard from the Amstel into two broad avenues is marked by the first "skyscraper" it in Amsterdam. The twelve-story high block of flats by architect J.F. Staal are luxury dwellings.

The main structure of Amsterdam South is filled in with

small, relatively autonomous complexes with their own logical system of passageways, streets, and squares. An example of this is the P.L. Tak neighborhood by the Amsterdam School architects, M. de Klerk and P.L. Kramer. The buildings are of an extremely high quality. The architectural unity of streets, square, and neighborhood is optimal. One of the finest and most intimate squares in the Plan South is the Harmonienhof by architect J.C. van Epen.

The eastern part of the plan was realized, but in the western part there is not much to be seen of what Berlage envisioned. It can be seen in the current street plan on your left how the southern and western sides of the plan have been fragmented. Implementation of this part of the Berlage plan was overtaken by the development in thinking about the city. The station square and the square with cultural facilities were never built in that form, only in the 1980's was a station built - at a spot to the south. The plan is one of the last expressions of a real urban architecture. After this, the quality of housing is greatly improved. The city gets greener and more spacious, but much urban quality is also lost.

### THE GARDEN VILLAGES

It was only in the beginning of this century that Amsterdam North was discussed as an expansion area. The City Council wanted to build new workers' neighborhoods here with better housing conditions than in the old districts you have seen. They're influenced by the ideas of the Englishman, Ebenezer Howard, and his book *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*. A number of small scale garden villages were realized, such as Tuindorp Oostzaan and Tuindorp Nieuwendam. They have become green islands with a strong inner cohesion in the midst of a metropolitan area. In the garden villages, workers' dwellings and middle class dwellings were built with accompanying facilities such as shops, schools, libraries and a club building. The simple open typology, the low buildings with one story plus an attic and the public spaces connected by a carefully designed street pattern give the garden villages their visual cohesion and green character.

A new garden village was also built on the eastern side of the city. Although based on the same garden city idea, this garden village, also called concrete village, has a completely different look. Here the architects of the mother movement were able to experiment with new building systems in concrete. This led to dwellings which were cheap and striking in their unusual architecture and form.

### THE INTERNATIONAL MODERN MOVEMENT IN AMSTERDAM

After 1927, the architects of the Nieuwe Bouwen, as the international movement was called in the Netherlands, were given the big commissions. Opposed to the principals of the Amsterdam School, they choose traffic requirements and a housing function as a starting point for their designs. The designs for the floor plans referred to light, air, and functional, often multiple use of the spaces. An open building

style with stacked building in green surroundings was preferred, and a logical orientation of the dwellings to the sun.

In this expansion plan, in Amsterdam West, some of these principals were incorporated in the urban design. The greater part of the neighborhood was built in linear blocks. The building style is traditional, but much glass was used in the facades. The floor plans were simple and functional. Once built, the plan immediately attracted much criticism due to narrow financial margins, a number of the advantages of open buildings were negated. Some dwellings were narrow and deep and the width of the streets was only 60 feet with a building height of four stories. But compared to the nearby close city blocks, the housing quality is considerably higher.

The new ideology of living, which the architects of the mother movement had in mind, is better to be seen in two smaller projects. In 1934, 32 work shop dwellings were built in the Zomerdijkstraat, designed by Zanstra, Giessen, and Sijmons. The dwellings, organized in a linear strip, are set among the close blocks of the Berlage Plan for Amsterdam South. There is no transition between the two; the break in style is continued in the factory-like architecture of the complex. The need to make high rooms for the work shops on the northern side and to combine these with the living quarters of a normal ceiling heights demanded a special solution, with six stories on the southern side and four on the northern side.

Another example of the Nieuwe Bouwen are the drive-in dwellings on the Anthonie van Dijkstraat by Mart Stam. They are the first houses in the Netherlands with a built in garage, a minor sensation at the time.

### AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

In town planning terms too, the Second World War is an interruption in the history of Amsterdam. The post war urban expansion broke with the century's long concentric expansion and the compactness of the city fabric was considerably reduced. Crossing under the broad peripheral road and the peripheral railway, you will arrive in the post war neighborhoods, which have a completely different character and a completely different scale.

After 1950, the urban expansion of Amsterdam took shape in the form of fingers. In the different directions you see the western garden cities and in the south the Buitenveldert garden city. In the 60's and the 70's, large scale urban expansions were built in the north and the southeast. In this way, a city form came into being with green areas between the built fingers and the green areas penetrate to within reasonable distance from the busy and full city center, so that the greenery is accessible to every citizen.

The underlying urban design for this immense urban expansion has been laid down in the General Extension Plan (A.U.P.) of 1935. Instead of closed blocks, strips or hooked buildings were used. On the map you can see that the planned Schiphol airport was still quite modest in size. The street,

which with its continuous elevations was the binding spatial element of the pre-war city, has been replaced by open spaces which consist of roads and green inner courts flowing into each other. Whereas most older city districts are faced with a lack of greenery, here it is laid out in abundance. Another difference with pre-war Amsterdam is the introduction of the high-rise as a housing form.

The Bijlmermeer in the Southeast in particular shows what the ideal city was supposed to look like according to the ideas of that time. Large building volumes in extensive finely planted green areas. The roads are elevated. The ground level is intended entirely for pedestrians and cyclists. In a number of respects, the radical and ambitious goal of the Bijlmermeer has been a failure. The expected flow of families from the old city did not materialize. They moved to the new dormitory towns outside the city. The intended high level of facilities which was vital importance, was only partly realized twenty years later.

### OUR OWN WORK

Now that I've sketched the development of Amsterdam, I want to show you how we as Amsterdam architects intervene in this city with our building plans. We come into contact with parts of the city from various periods of its history, each with its own problems and qualities. In our projects, we look for solutions to the drawbacks of living in an old compact city, but we also want to reinforce its qualities.

In the Jordaan, as I showed you before, urban renewal since 1975 has been approached on a small scale. Some parts have had to be demolished; much was also renovated. The pattern of streets and canals has been retained.

### Projects in the Jordaan

In the foregoing, I showed this complex of back to back dwellings in the middle of the Jordaan quarter. The renovation of this complex was eleven or twelve years ago, the first projects designed by our office. After the renovation, the dwelling size was nearly doubled. Dwellings with a roof terrace were built in the attic floor. The dwelling itself consists of a rather uninterrupted space, with only an entrance and a bathroom partitioned off. The beautifully constructed roof is visible over the full height.

The bad access of light to the dwellings has been tackled in various ways. On the courtyard facades, some windows have been enlarged into French balconies. By removing the extensions and plastering the rear walls in a light color, the access of light at the rear has been considerably improved. This has given the courtyards a light, spacious look and in sunny weather they have an almost southern character. Balconies have been added.

After this project, our office realized five small blocks of housing nearby in the Jordaan. The old buildings were very dilapidated. At one corner, there was even only a base standing. One of the new sites adjoins a 17th century monument, which we have restored. A free floor plan has

been used in the dwellings. Through the open connection between front and rear facades, the sun can penetrate deep into the dwelling. Here you see two of the infield projects with the restored monument in the middle. The facades consist of a plinth of black brick, pale gray plaster work above this, and a top story which has been set back. The street, which is only 25 feet wide, is cheered by the light shades.

### Projects in the 19th Century Ring

Many of our housing projects have been realized in the 19th century ring. A large part of the housing stock of these neighborhoods was of extremely bad quality. Many dwellings were demolished to make way for new building. Although these neighborhoods have many monotonous streets, the varied character is also appreciated. There is a diversity of activity: shops, terraces, and markets. The dwellings are usually cheap and therefore accessible to diverse groups of residents.

In the lower right corner of the aerial view, you see the Dapperbuurt neighborhoods bordering the curve in the railway. An oval shaped piazza is central to this neighborhood. The other working class district we built housing in is the neighborhood called the "Pijp." It consists of the narrow housing blocks above the River Amstel. To compensate for the disadvantages of the narrow close blocks in our plan for new housing in the Dapperbuurt, we choose a broad shallow type of dwelling. It is a dwelling with the sanitary facilities and the kitchen unit in the central core. Around this core, there is free space with an open connection between front and rear elevation. The partition between the rooms is not fixed spatially and can be controlled by the tenant as he wishes through sliding partitions. In this way, the dwelling offers the tenant many choices. Sun and light can penetrate the dwelling from front to back.

Another similar dwelling with a completely different layout shows you how residents can create a entirely personal atmosphere in the dwelling and use, for instance, a bedroom as a ballet studio. The dwellings are accessible via an open stairway at the front. The landings of this stairwell are used as a second outside space for the residents. The facade stays inside the building, but it's elaboration and use of material is in contrast to the traditional architecture of the neighboring buildings. The window without corner mullions is a homage to the Rietveld Schröder house in Utrecht, which was also a great source of inspiration to us in designing the floor plan.

On the southern edge of the same neighborhood, a former hospital complex is located. When we got involved, an urban design plan already had been made, which linked up with the original pavilion-style structure. The most characteristic buildings were preserved and renovated. The inner court has become a public space which will be laid out as an English landscape garden. Around this garden, we designed two urban villas and a linear building.

The urban villas have a brick facade on the street side and

on the garden side, the facades are plastered with an asymmetrical form. The linear building has an extremely complex programme: a large commercial premises and parking garage that is completely hidden from sight by the ground floor of the maisonettes. The three lower stories are accessible with stairwells above these art gallery flats, accessible by an elevator. On the top floor, there are two clusters of smaller dwellings with a communal living room and terrace for two housing groups for elderly people. The apartments are modest in size, but with maximum flexibility. Through the plentiful use of glass, the dwellings have a transparent character.

On the other side of the railway line, there was a block by the Amsterdam School architect Wijdeveld. The dwellings were extremely small and dark and the block, with its expressionist architecture, was unfortunately in too bad a condition to be saved. At this spot, we built a corner building; the second phase along the railway line is still under construction. We have aimed to make a new building which marks the entrance to the neighborhood. The problems of a corner in a close block have been solved by situating a transparent tapering stairwell here. In the second phase a mosque will be built on the ground floor of the block.

The "Pijp," as I referred to before, is the most extreme example of speculative building in Amsterdam. Our task here was to fill in eleven small gaps varying in size. The designs for the various locations are variations on a basic type provided with a obliquely receding facades, a cornice of red brick, a concrete overhang, and a stairwell visible from the street. The facades are built in various materials: brick, concrete, steel, wood, and glass. The dwelling floor plans are also variations on the basic design, which is the three room dwelling, which also, through sliding partitions, can be transformed into one open space around a core housing bathroom, toilet, and kitchen. Through using brick in several colors there is a reference to the old buildings in the area. By giving the shops and dwellings on the ground floor a height of one and one-half stories, a raised plinth is created, which links up with the higher ground floor story of the existing buildings. The receding top floor is a response to the sloping roofs of the neighborhood.

### Oostoever

In a completely different scale plan, the disappearance of many larger industries and companies outside the city has led to new areas suitable for housing. The removal of a sewage treatment plant has released a splendid side on the eastern shore of a small lake, the Sloterpas, one of the green

zones of the General Extension Plan, the "fingers," as I mentioned before.

The starting point for the plan is about 850 dwellings in a high density in stacked low rise. In our design, we want to link up with the open town planning structure of the western garden cities. Narrow strips of greenery intersect the area in a north/south direction. With the streets at right angles to this, the plan area is divided into a number of separate building volumes in park-like surroundings. In order to restrain the great amount of space claimed by the car in the public space, some of the parking has been placed underground. The layout of the public space, the streets, the neighborhood squares, and the park in the center are supported by trees. Larger elements in the plan are a curved building in the central park and a tower block at the entrance. Much attention is devoted to environmental aspects; grass roofs and facade greenery give the neighborhood a green character.

The blocks are built up from different dwelling types, which together form a so-called ensemble. The ensemble reflects a differentiated housing programme and has been designed as a unit, within which all dwellings have great privacy and the best possible access of light. There is room in the ensemble for different types of households and categories of income. What is usually separated is now integrated. The ensembles are different according to their town planning situation. There are patio dwellings with external accommodation for an elderly person or a grown up child, as well as dwellings on the first floor with their own entrance from the street, with a big sunny terrace. There are also ordinary single family houses included in the ensemble and smaller stacked dwellings, such as those in the rental sector. The plan was developed in the context of a competition; four architects each made a well-integrated plan for the entire neighborhood. The municipality decided to let us build the southern part and a colleague the northern part, so now there have been difficulties integrating the two parts.

### CONCLUSION

As has been visible in the history of the city at many moments, laws and practical obstacles come between the dream and the reality. There have been many dreams, ideals, and utopias in the history of the city, sometimes realized, usually partly failed, or replaced by new ideas. To end with Italo Calvino, "cities, like dreams, are made of desires, needs, and fears, even if the thread of their discourse is secret, their rules are absurd, their prospective deceitful, and everything conceals something else."

*Peter Rowe, in addition to serving on the jury for the 1994-95 ACSA/Otis Elevator International Student Design Competition on Urban Housing, serves as the Raymond Garbe Professor of Architecture and Urban Design as well as the Dean of the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University. His books on design, housing, and urban development include Design Thinking, Making a Middle Landscape, and Modernity and Housing.*

My interest in housing primarily concerns the linkage between various policy perspectives and their physical outcomes as projects. What I want to do today is to briefly review what seems to have taken place during the past century in the United States and much of Europe and to draw some conclusions about the overall shape of housing policy and of housing production. From the combined perspectives of policy and production, the story of housing in the United States and many parts of Europe since 1900, can be broadly and I think usefully subdivided into three stanzas or episodes. The first runs from 1900, or only just before the turn of the century, until the Great Depression in the early 30s with marked boom periods in the 1920s. The second runs from the post-depression housing assistance, or the hiatus around World War II, until roughly 1970 and '75, also with significant post-war booms in production. And the third runs from the mid 1970s to the present. Each of these stanzas also can be further subdivided inbetween some places and others, obviously overlaps occur due to local circumstances and peculiarities. Generally though, as I'll show, a reasonable clear three part, framework emerges.

Prevailing conditions for housing production around the turn of the century were characterized by rapid and relatively uncontrolled urban growth, very high urban densities, and significant amounts of overcrowding. In New York, for instance, grew at rates of about 8% per annum during much of the 19th century, as did Berlin. The density of New York's Lower East Side, one of the densest places at the time, was also very high, at around 520 people per acre overall, compared to Paris, at the time, of about 434 and London of 365. The Berlin's Mietshaus also formed a labyrinth of human habitation and many towns in the Netherlands were overcrowded with over 10% of the population actually subsisting in the damp cellars merely 1.7 meters in height. The adverse effects on the quality of urban life of this growth and overcrowding are well known. Cholera epidemics were commonplace, sanitation was often non-existent and crime was rife. Indeed, overall, the morality rate expected in U.S. cities around the turn of the century was over twice that in small towns and rural areas.

Now, against this backdrop, the first relief came from many public health and safety acts, promulgated to ensure adequate light and air for dwellings, as well as fire safety and structural soundness. In particular, around the turn of the century, we have the 1894 London Building Act, the 1901 Housing Law in the Netherlands, the 1901 Tenement Housing Act in New York City. The so-called dumb-bell tene-

ments resulted from the 1901 New York act, many of which are still standing in New York and provide substantial amount of housing stock. Shortly after World War I in most places, new building codes and regulations expanded the role of the dwelling beyond simply public health and safety and into the concept of public welfare as well. This expansion of the definition of adequate housing usually included habitable space standards, the requirement of adequate support facilities, and open space amenities.

Attempts to more comprehensively regulate and improve the quality of housing, together with parallel attempts to use mass production techniques, gave rise to housing norms and standards of one sort or another. And in addition to building codes and zoning ordinances, there were the so called Existenzminimum of CIAM defined in 1929 and various related production standards aimed at industrializing building. Tangible models of good housing were also a proffered at the time, such as the Weissenhof Siedlung of 1925 through 1928. And in addition, specific housing types were developed. But, again with a normative program for living very much in mind. A mixture of cooperative housing ventures which actually began much earlier in the 19th century were used in combination with direct state provision. In most countries, availability of sufficient capital was a pressing issue, at least up until the mid 1920s.

Production levels, while starting modestly after World War I in all nations, quickly climbed to record highs by the mid or late '20s. In the United States, for instance, production moved from 247,000 units in 1920 to about 1,000,000 annually by 1925, or a normalized rate of production of roughly eight per 1,000 people. Germany, under the Weimar Republic, showed a similar trend with annualized rates peaking at over five per 1,000 people around the late 1920s.

Generally speaking, the government's role in housing increased steadily throughout the first decades of the century, moving forward from the cautious, rather minimal regulation, into direct provision and broad stimulation of the housing sector. Even given the practical conservatism afoot in many places, there was a widely held belief that improved living environment meant better and more stable social conditions as well.

A good example of this approach, including a certain civic parentalism, you might say, can be found in the German city of Frankfurt-am-Main and the work of Ernst May and his colleagues. Brought to Frankfurt from Breslau while officials of the centrist political collation, May quickly took up the position of Stadtbaurat, or municipal architect, and developed around him a very strong team of collaborators including Max Bromme, the landscape architect, Herbert Boehm, the city planner, and Ferdinand Kramer, the architect in and industrial designer. In the succeeding years, May and his group developed master plans for Frankfurt, concentrating on the so called satellite planning principles, under which Frankfurt was to be ringed by semi-autonomous, predominately residential communities. And among other reasons this approach was necessitated by the availability of

cheap land on the periphery, the need to control peripheral speculation at that time, the need to relieve congestion at the core, and the practical difficulties, in fact, likely to be encountered in re-developing traditional neighborhoods.

In carrying out these plans, May also reorganized the construction industry, most of which was incidentally under direct municipal control, including standardization of building products under Ferdinand Kramer's direction resulting in the so called Frankfurter Normen, or Frankfurt standards. Among other things, May, as a matter of industrial policy, helped promote self-organized construction firms from previously unemployed workers into what became known as the Bauhütte Movement. Ideologically, May was committed to what he described as the *neue Wohnkultur*, or new dwelling culture, which deliberately set out to use planning and architecture as an agent of social change. One core set of concepts of this new culture was the idea of simplicity in at least two senses: first there was an emphasis on the parsimonious use of materials, economy of construction, and so on; and second there was a spiritual resolution to get back to basics and essentials within the living environment.

Architecturally, May and his colleagues' work merge principles of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, or the new objectivity, with planning concepts derived primarily from the Garden City Movement of which May himself was an international member. And among other things, this allowed the twin ideological, or you might say poetic, advantages of simultaneously projecting an image of modernity and progressiveness with one of tradition and a certain kind of rootedness to the land.

In many ways, the centerpiece of May's new Frankfurt plan was the Niddatal development to the north and northwest of the city core. Here a sequence of satellite communities was built along the perimeter of the Nidda River Valley in what was also a co-development project as shown on the left, incorporating in addition to housing and commerce, flood control, environmental management and recreational activities. The new communities of the Niddatal are shown here on the right hand side where Praunheim, Römerstadt, Westhausen, Höhenblick the first, and Lindenbaum. Of these housing estates, Römerstadt is certainly the most complex and probably the most interesting. Completed in 1928 as moderate income housing, Römerstadt housed mainly white collar workers and craftspeople. Today, the housing estate remains a sought after location and a community of considerable solidarity and strong association.

Remarkably, in Römerstadt and many housing estates, May was successful in rehousing close to 11% of Frankfurt's population in the rather short span of five to seven years. After the fall of the Weimar Republic, the rise of the Third Reich, this form of housing estate development was stopped entirely before the Nazis went on with their own less urban building program.

The Great Depression, lasting from the Wall Street crash of 1929 into the 1930s, together with the onset of World War II, brought housing production in the United States and most

parts of Europe, to a virtual standstill. By 1933, production in the United States, for instance, had dwindled down from the 1,000,000 level height of 1925 to a mere 90,000 units annually. And in the Netherlands, production was practically zero in the late 1930s. Exceptions can be found under the fascist regime in Italy and the Nazis in Germany, where production actually increased back to even beyond the levels of the 1920s.

Post depression housing legislation in the United States was aimed at stemming the rash of property foreclosures resulting in the formation of the Federal Housing Administration and the advent of long term, low deposit, low interest home ownership loans. The 1934 act was then followed by hotly contested Public Housing Act of 1937, mandating direct provision of low income housing for the American poor, mainly in urban areas. Like the boom after World War I, the post-war housing boom was virtually universal throughout North America and Europe, even if the timing of the boom and its intensity varied from place to place. Production levels in the United States for instance rebounded to the pre-war high of one million annually by 1949, climbing steadily to a peak of 2.3 million annually in 1972 or a rather extraordinary a normalized rate of over eleven units per 1,000 population. In Germany is another instance where pre-war levels were reached by the 1950s, with a peak around ten units per 1,000 people in the early 1960s.

Also, as before, the boom was due to a relatively severe housing shortage, only this time from somewhat different causes. In many places, for instance, there was a large pent-up demand from depression years, as well as the need to house service men and service women following demobilization after World War II. In the United States alone, deferred demand from the depression years was estimated to be around eight million units, to which can be added the housing needs of some 9 to 10 million service people. Here we see the familiar of Levittown, one of the ways in which this demand was being satisfied. Destruction of units, either through war time demolition per se, or through rapid deterioration of poorly managed and dilapidated housing stock also added to post war housing shortages. In Britain, for instance, war damage accounted for some four million units, while 52% of the entire housing stock was built before the 1919 standards and 25% actually before the turn of the century. In Germany, 70% of the housing stock was destroyed and any immediate means of production totally crippled.

With the building booms and post-war urbanization came immigration from rural to urban areas in places like Italy as well as substantial shifts in regional populations, especially from the south to the north. In America, there was the so called great reshuffling, resulting in something like 60 million people moving their residences inter-regionally between 1940 and 1950. Generally, public housing policy in the post-war years was aimed at economic pump priming, followed by aggressive private sector development. Real application and extrapolation of pre-war policies continued, with some direct provision, but mainly with stimulation of

private sector activity. Under a sustained emphasis on high production levels, newer housing types, the slab blocks, towers and tracts, used relatively sparingly and experimentally before the war, were now pressed into service. Peripheral new developments in Europe, for instance, quickly became characterized by high rise slabs and towers, whereas those in the United States were characterized by suburban tracts.

As time progressed and urban issues mounted, housing policy became increasingly more sophisticated. Especially in terms of the inclusiveness of activities and suggested remedies, as well as the complexity of the financial provisions which were being made. The United States, for instance, quickly moved from its first omnibus bill, the ill-fated 1949 Federal Housing Act, with its urban renewal provisions, to the 1961 Act and then to the 1968 Federal Housing and Urban Development Act, embodying almost the full force, one might say, of Johnson's Great Society social programs. Simply put, as problems seemingly became better understood, housing policy became more articulate and diverse in its application.

Moreover, the United States was by no means the ratcheting up, if you like, of housing policy. In Britain, for instance, there was heavy public sector involvement on at least three fronts more or less simultaneously. They were: some clearance, new town development to take care of population overspill, and redevelopment of the so called twilight zones between the traditional central city and the first suburbs. This is particularly the case in London. In many instances there were attempts to create or re-create depending on the context, complete living and working environments. But again, with mixed success. The London County Council, for instance, was very prominent in these regards. More explicit aggregation of housing into functional and social organizational units also proceeded, after no more than an experimental manner. Neighborhood units, sub-multiples, mixed development and units emerged followed by full-fledged systems approaches of one kind or another.

Some examples of a more comprehensive approach to housing and community development as well as some of the better instances of peripheral development, the INA-Casa quarter in Rome, built under Fanfani's housing programs in the 1950s. In retrospect anyway, this was very much a period of pump priming. Public sector subsidies in Italy amounted to as much as 25% of all housing starts compared to a mere 3% some twenty years later in 1972 when the private sector was almost entirely in control of that work.

One project, for instance, which well illustrates the use of modern housing types in the form of mixed development in the accommodation of immigrant population into urban areas from rural surroundings is the Tiburtino district, which characterized much of what was going on in the Italian architectural circles in respect to housing at the time. The Tiburtino was developed between 1949 and 1954 along the major traffic artery, actually an old Roman road on the

eastern outskirts of Rome largely under the direction of Ludovico Quaroni and Mario Ridolfi. The site was hilly, although otherwise well connected actually into the emerging urban fabric of Rome at the time. Tiburtino was a comparatively large undertaking, especially in this pre-war era before the mega Roman projects of the 1960s, consisting of around 1,000 dwelling units. Actual housing in the estate varied from terrace houses with courtyards to ten and twelve story point blocks. The use of four and five story walk-ups was also prominent in the scheme, accounting for something like 60% of the total production. A considerable amount of public open space, as well as non-residential facilities in the form of commercial spaces and a wide variety of community facilities were also provided. In short, Tiburtino was a mixed-use, although predominantly residential development. Architectural expression bordered almost on the picturesque, mimicking the style of rural areas and traditional landscapes from where the presumed occupants would likely immigrate. In the hopes of providing familiar domestic surroundings, clear figural references were made through the use of pitched roofs, protruding balconies, walled gardens, shuttered windows, and so on. Topographic accommodation to the site and frequent use of winding streets, more piazzas, and a varied orientation of buildings, was also deliberately deployed by Quaroni to create some of the sense of a familiar, and therefore traditional, landscape.

Now after high levels of production during the 1960s and early 70s in the United States and most of Europe, the intensity of housing activity dropped precipitously, and many programs were severely cut or eliminated. In Britain, for example, there was almost a complete policy discontinuance in 1974 amid an increasingly poor production record. In the United States, there was a 50% down turn in housing starts between the peak of 1972 and 1973 and 1975 and shortly before that in Germany, production was reduced by almost 30% between '69 and '71.

In some cases, the housing shortage had been solved, at least in the aggregate. It was this perception, for example, that led President Nixon to declare his housing moratorium on January 8, 1973. In other places, contemporary problems were proving to be intractable. Britain, for example, requiring a radical re-thinking of overall approaches and strategies. Generally at this time, the pluralist needs of society were becoming increasingly recognized. Housing for someone but for no one in particular, the normative approach, so ingrained beforehand, was being called into question. The claims of different groups and different household types, modes of lifestyle, custom living, tradition, and so on, all began to emerge at this time. Nevertheless, even if there was evidence for an aggregate sufficiency of housing in various places, regional disparities between supply and demand persisted, suggesting local problems and local responsibilities.

There was also a generalized and rather strong reaction against direct central provision of housing in many places, particularly in the aftermath of so many misplaced programs. More than ever, public housing produced under central



authorities was being called into question and in some instances actually demolished or radically refurbished. From a policy perspective, use of sovereignty and the use of participatory processes became key ingredients. The so called democratization of housing became a banner phrase in many locales, and housing for someone in particular, rather than no one special, became the new watch words. Local determination of housing problems and housing needs, as well as local provision for those needs, quickly followed. The role of little, as distinct from big, government was seen as being most appropriate. Moreover, emphasis shifted, even in affordable housing provision, towards joint public and private partnerships of one sort or another.

In the United States in particular, although certainly not alone, there had been a significant rise in the number of community development corporations and other non-government organizations related to housing. Organizations like Bridge in San Francisco and the Shore Partnership in Chicago have emerged strongly onto the scene in recent times. Similarly, in Britain the recent organization of HATS (Housing Action Trusts) often to redevelop older and dilapidated housing estates from earlier so-called failed government programs, have become prominent. And in the Netherlands, probably the nation most committed to public subsidized housing, such programs could no longer really be afforded, resulting in significant privatization and joint venturing.

Throughout, the local support of a more complete and integrated program of community service provision have gained prominence, now separating housing less as a good or service from other related activities. And this is also the result of contextualism, you might say, in many places where housing and associated community facilities more often than not simply fit in as pieces of the city. Demand-side subsidies have also gained ground, resulting in wide use of voucher systems of one sort or another. And one upshot of this is that the housing problem today manifests itself as one of provision, per se, rather than as a form of special economic support. If anything, housing can be just that: housing without acquiring otherwise, in my view, problematic qualifications.

One place in which this devolution of housing policy and reformulation into broadly based local initiatives has taken place with some success is in my hometown of Boston. There, beginning as much as anything as a reaction against the early urban renewal programs, a number of local community based projects have emerged in relatively quick succession. All are, I might add, aided and abetted by state or municipal government agencies, such as the Massachusetts Housing Authority and the Building Facilities Department of the City of Boston. One of the earliest of these projects was Villa Victoria, located in Boston's South End, once a notorious urban renewal zone where something like 55% of all dwellings were condemned as being substandard. Begun in 1969, but completed much later in 1982, Villa Victoria was a project for and by members of Boston's Puerto Rican

community, first organized under the Emergency Tenant's Association. Working with the local architect, John Sharrat, the community prepared a plan for an eleven block contiguous area, receiving control of majority ownership of that property in 1970. Actual realization of the project required substantial and sizable government grants, formation of a viable public/private partnership, and development of a non-profit, non-government organization. Today, residents manage the entire project, including 300 dwellings actually owned by the Boston Housing Authority, and they employ a staff of something like 50 residents in a form of in-community employment from the immediate area.

The plan for the project itself consisted of a loop arrangement of streets, creating a strong and rather closely knit pedestrian environment. And most of the housing was in the form of three-story rowhouses lining neighborhood streets with community areas and private gardens behind. By design and in direct accordance with the preferences of the community, a strong suburban ambiance pervades the scheme. It's what they wanted. Sometimes criticized on this account, the relatively distinctive character, though, of Villa Victoria does fit in actually to the patchwork of urban structure of the South End. The community center of the project is formed like a traditional Hispanic square. The so-called plaza is surrounded by colonnaded mid-rise developments and in one corner also continuing the loggia, is a single high rise building for elderly and other tenants. The references to indigenous Puerto Rican architectural motifs can also be found in the mural work and the ceramic decoration that surrounds this plaza.

Later, community based projects in the same district of Boston include Tent City by Goody Clancy and the more recent Langham Court project. Both are mixed-income projects, formulated approximately along the lines of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts - a third market, a third moderate, and a third low income, share of units within the same housing scheme. Indeed, the South End Housing Initiative which now more or less blankets the area, caters for a wide range of facility types and administrative mechanisms, including limited equity cooperatives, home ownership condominium developments, single-room occupancy hotels, and retail space. Rockspree and Mission Hill are both low income areas and also have similar kinds of projects and programs.

Increasingly, the non-residential component of what are otherwise housing projects is receiving significant emphasis and often largely for reasons of complimentary income generation. If anything, the clock has been turned back, so to speak, to an earlier time of non-specialized urban mixed use development. It also provides a considerable amount of redevelopment, often rectifying problems with earlier public housing projects.

Now, by way of a quick conclusion, at least two broad interpretations can be offered about this three part depiction of housing policy and production in America and Europe. The first actually merges together two of the earlier phases

and sees successive increases or a ratcheting up of governmental involvement in housing to what was fundamentally a breaking point, depending on where you are, roughly in the early 1970s. This breaking point in turn can be characterized by a generalized lack of confidence in prevailing technological consideration of issues being confronted. In the rather telling words of Lord Goodman, who was the Chairman of Britain's Housing Corporation at the time, "it is only in a society where we have government day and night on our behalf, that housing problems are insoluble." More specifically, the breaking point can also be characterized by an emerging inability to cope centrally with the increased complexity of housing and related issues. And a failure of normative production-oriented programs to really satisfy rising expectations and housing needs of a populace. This trajectory, spanning roughly from 1900 to 1970 or 1975, was then followed by a period of substantial government disengagement and even neglect of housing policy.

The second interpretation goes somewhat differently, and perhaps less harshly with respect to government's role. A closer reading actually of these three episodes reveals in fact

a successive diffusion of the public sectors activities after an initial strong build up during the 1920s. In aggregate, however, it remains comparatively large.

What we do see, nevertheless, are four rather distinct trends. First, there's been a shift away from paternalistic state and civic involvement in the form of direct provision or crude supply-side stimuli, in favor of a more balanced portfolio of invisible-hand supply and demand-side strategies. In short, there has been an almost universal disengagement of the issue of low income housing from a user who needs to be subsidized. In short, housing is finally housing and people are people. Second, there are been a distinct and almost equally universal move away from centralist policies towards decentralized, highly local determination and provision. Third, the purported link between environment and social behavior and the idea of the perfectibility of environment has diminished substantially, becoming replaced by more complex and less single-minded interpretation of habitat. And finally the architectural solutions themselves, in many instances, have returned once again, to an earlier contextual and often modern and less singular appearance.

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*Wu Liangyong, a juror for the 1994-95 ACSA/Otis Elevator International Student Design Competition on Urban Housing, serves as President of the Urban Planning Society of China and Vice-President of the Architectural Society of China, in addition to directing the Institute for Architectural and Urban Studies at Tsinghua University, Beijing. Professor Wu also serves as Chief Architect for the Ju'er Hutong Courtyard Housing Project, which has won the 1992 U.N. World Habitat Award of the Building and Social Housing Foundation and the 1992 Gold Medal of the Architects Regional Council Asia.*

The subject of my talk is housing conservation and redevelopment of the historical city of Beijing. The city of Beijing holds a unique place in urban history, having been capital of China for more than 800 years. In Chinese urban history it is considered the crystallization of classical Chinese city planning and design. As Mr. Bacon in his famous book *The Design of Cities* said, "possibly the greatest single work of man on the face of the earth is Peking." Even today in Beijing is noted for its important landmarks of past ages, such as its fine landscaped hills and lakes and the harmonious composition of various courtyard houses, including grand palaces, temples, and ordinary dwellings. From the viewpoint of urban planning and design, the old form of the layout of Beijing has continued to be used. Modern planning has been encouraged and the legacy of the old sought. And there have been new creations.

## HOUSING AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF BEIJING

Old Beijing is characterized by several key elements: first, the imperial city was located in the center; second, the city was planned and referenced along the central north/south axis; third, the systems of streets and alleys are rigorously followed; fourth, unity is achieved by way of hierarchy and architectural groupings; fifth, the variety of colors and the forms that form the natural landscape was integrated into the geometric plan of the city.

The modern plan has attempted to follow some of the same principles. But a great challenge seemed to develop in the planning since 1949, when Beijing became a "new" capital. The city plays a number of important roles. It is regarded as the political and cultural center of China as well as the base of industrial development. The whole city experienced rapid growth since 1949. Its resident population in the built-up area of the city increased from one million in 1949 to more than 6 million today. Several proposals for the master planning of Beijing have been made in different stages in order to solve the problems of the city, such as the need for housing, the need for modern infrastructure, the problem of pollution, and the conservation of historical sites and open spaces, etc. Tremendous efforts have been made.

Old Beijing has a unique physical structure within an overall controlled three-dimensional architectural context. The central axis of the city, the most dominant part of the whole city, is like the backbone of the body. As you can see

in an old map from the 18th century, the houses, the dominant buildings, and the roads are well laid out -- it is an organic whole. In Beijing, the modest forms of building are with the repetitive variations of basic square compound spaces. Buildings thus set up the brilliance of the urban public complexes. This unique fabric, which has been highly commented on by modern theoreticians, deserves preservation and development.

However, the rapid urbanization and city development have challenged the existing city environment. So there has been much work to do since the Cultural Revolution. We have made master plans studying the whole region of the cities. We have made the greenery development. We have made a traffic development plan and the laid out the overall pattern of the development of the city proper. And although we have kept the central axis as the dominant part of the city, one thing that has been generally neglected is the housing problem. Even in important historic areas adaptations to, or integration with, the traditional urban fabric is rarely explored in earnest. The standardized apartment blocks, either the "tower" type or the "slab" type, immediately prove out of place when inserted in the historic areas of Beijing featuring courtyard housing. As far as the methods of the dwellings, the development is like any other city, never considering properly the organic order of the city itself. The sense of cultural continuity is utterly destroyed.

In the Old City area the traditional brick and timber courtyard houses have become increasingly dilapidated due to lack of repair and other problems in management. Especially during the 1976 Tangshan earthquake, of which Beijing was on the fringes, the courtyards of old houses were filled up with temporary shelters. Owing to the general shortage of housing, these temporary dwellings lingered on after the quake, which inevitably led to a serious deterioration in living conditions. Sunshine and natural ventilation gradually became a real luxury in these areas.

At present in Beijing there are 29 clusters of neighborhoods totally 1.9 million square meters of floor space on 4.35 square kilometers of land, among which Ju'er Hutong is typical. Before the project, Ju'er Hutong was a bad cluster, but by no means the worst example. The residents were cramped in small rooms and the courtyard was full of temporary dwellings. The floor/ground ratio for these one story buildings was 83%. As the courtyard was below the street level, the passages and some of the temporary dwellings were often flooded by summer rain.

It had long been the intention of the local governments to improve the living conditions in these areas, but progress remained slow for many years. This was first, because these neighborhoods are within the historic preservation area of the Old City, and thus conventional multi-story or high-rise redevelopment was thought to be unacceptable in planning terms. Secondly, the rehabilitation plans were often too ambitious to be implemented within the available resources.

## COURTYARD HOUSING AND ORGANIC RENEWAL

This will show some of the quality of courtyard housing (with the small court and small interior gardens) is basic to the housing type of Old Beijing. The inside of the court is quiet and most of the dominant rooms are facing south. It is a passive solar system, so in the winter time the walls are against the north wind. The interior court is landscaped with trees and gardens and serves as an outdoor living space. Careful studies have demonstrated the great variety from one building to another, both in the architectural features and in the layout of the courtyards.

It is possible to evolve a new courtyard system underpinned by a contemporary support system while fitting the traditional urban fabric. Such a system could combine with the privacy of walk-up apartments and the sense of community in a courtyard house neighborhood to meet the requirements of modern living yet give a much more human and fitting appearance to the historic city.

One way to approach the problem is the development of the new courtyard house prototype, which was attempted in the Ju'er Hutong design. The new courtyard house follows the traditional pattern at the level of the neighborhood. It can be designed to provide all the amenities of modern life, from hygiene requirements to privacy; also it helps to preserve the neighborhood atmosphere which is much appreciated in traditional housing.

The new strategy formulated for this project was organic renewal, which started from identification of buildings by their quality. The well-preserved buildings would be retained in the neighborhood; the average dwellings would be repaired or partly rebuilt as needed; the dilapidated dwellings would be replaced by new courtyard houses designed for this project. In this way new construction was minimized and easily phased over a number of stages.

In the first phase, seven old courtyard houses were identified for replacement. The residents involved were 44 households, or 139 persons. Forty-six new flats around courtyards of different sizes were built, with floor space 2.5 times the previous ones. These flats have all the amenities that conventional apartments offer, achieving a number of objectives:

- A high floor/area ratio of 1:1.32;
- Choices among one-, two-, and three-bedroom dwellings, with own kitchen, bath, central heating, and privacy;
- The roof terraces of these two- and three-story buildings provide outdoor or semi-outdoor space which is far larger than that provided by the standard balconies in conventional apartment blocks; the loft under the pitched roof can be turned into a room, and the basement can be used for bicycle parking, storage, offices, or temporary accommodation for residents whose housing is under construction;
- The interlocking of flat plans are such that courtyards of different sizes are created that are similar in geometric form to the traditional prototype;

- The shared courtyard space and the passages organized around them provide ample opportunities for residents and their guests to meet, chat, and look after each other;
- The creation of new courtyards means that the existing trees, particularly valuable ones, have been given the maximum chance of survival; many of the old trees in the area are of great historic value in themselves, so they provide the focal point of many courtyards and give the residents a sense of continuity;
- The gateway, one of the dominant features of traditional Chinese architecture, as been celebrated in a creative form to address the local architectural tradition;
- Low-rise buildings do not require large-sized construction machinery; rather they provide opportunities for appropriate technology.
- Adjusting the basic architectural principles to specific problems;
- Preserving the best parts of the regional tradition in a large country of various regions;
- Keeping the spirit of vernacular architecture that is deeply rooted in local life;
- Understanding the modern life and needs in order to create new architectural forms within the existing environmental context.

The project also provides a new management pattern incorporating the municipal government's housing reform office, development companies, and non-governmental housing cooperatives. The Institute of Architectural and Urban Studies at Tsinghua University has also taken part as a research consultant to the housing authority, planning and designing with the developer, and helping the neighborhood committee to establish the housing cooperative.

### THE FUTURE DIRECTION OF RESEARCH

The Ju'er Hutong project is a four-phase development totalling 8.2 hectares. The first phase, described above, has been completed and the second phase is already well developed; the third phase is now in preparation. The fourth phase is the phase in the street, where we tried to build some stores and offices in addition to the apartment.

The entire project is intended to form a coherent part of the historic street system of the Nanluoguxiang area. As long as the remainder of the block is unrenewed in the fourth phase, Ju'er Hutong will remain incomplete. Therefore research into the following issues is essential:

- The quality of the living environment formed by this new courtyard housing layout
  - housing form and street structure;
  - housing amenity;
  - space design to compromise the needs of privacy and communication, indoor and outdoor activities, and proper design for high-density living;
  - an architectural form to meet the modern needs and reflect the local character;
- statistical findings in
  - mixed land-use patterns;
  - mixed building type patterns, including housing, shopping, commercial, etc.;
  - services;
  - infrastructure.

These statistical findings will help to form a general policy for redevelopment in similar neighborhoods in the city.

Although the Ju'er Hutong project is a specific solution for a specific site, as an experiment it has revealed many common issues in urban renewal throughout China. It needs to be pointed out that this new courtyard housing form is only one of the possibilities to renew the old neighborhoods in Beijing, and it has no intention to deny any other housing form. On the contrary, the central philosophy of Ju'er Hutong exists in sympathy to the existing environment. From this point of view, the experiment has touched some basic issues:

### CONCLUSION

To sum up one should examine some theoretical considerations of the experiment. The first concerns conservation in the historical city. Historical cities like Beijing often have their own unique physical and visual order. Not only should we focus on the conservation of historical or architectural surroundings, but also the conservation of organic order and then in the physical environment. Some changes in the organic order perhaps are inevitable. And some mistakes from the past are perhaps too late to mend, but this should not mean that nothing should be done from now on. And in the case of Beijing there are large areas where the interior conservation may prove to be very effective.

Second, the surge wave of organic renewal. The city is a living organism and always in the process of metabolism. So it is causing in the residential areas a regeneration of the urban tissues. Implicit with this is the model of the survival of the fittest elements and elimination of the unsuitable. Thus, the preferred way of planned construction is to substitute the old with the new through the plugging-in of new elements instead of mass construction. Neither the Western type of historical conservation nor the post-war development of mass construction, due to the difference in the housing type and the urban fabric, would be appropriate for the old city of Beijing.

Third, concerning the exploration of the new courtyard system, obviously, the traditional form of the courtyard house was the outcome of the old socio-economic conditions and the cultural lifestyle of the times. Whole-scale preservation is not possible and perhaps not desirable. However, it is possible to extract from the traditional design. With an appreciation of the old housing type, a new courtyard system supported by the contemporary infrastructure can evolve. The new system of courtyard will fit the traditional urban fabric in the conservation areas without compromising the needs and the wants of the lives of today. Such systems combine the increased privacy of the

modern apartment with the sense of the community in the courtyard house neighborhood.

So concerning the historical city, we should understand historical value and the sense of tradition where it exists, and conduct explorative research to identify the order, context, and space of the historical city. Only when the traditional is well understood should the modern setting and the new design begin. The results of this type of work, should be not only understood within the circle of the specialist, but also recognized by the general public. Be-

cause architecture is an important part of their life.

The city is a process; every city is always developing and changing. In the historical it has often been a non-process of conflicts between the old and the new, tradition and foreign. But historical conservation concerns not only the protection of some cultural relics, although this protection is no easy task. Above all it is concerned with the creation of planning and design for a modern life and culture continuity. A creative mind is the most appropriate methodology essential in implementing such an important task.