



URBAN



KIM DOVEY

DESIGN

A CONCEPTUAL TOOLKIT

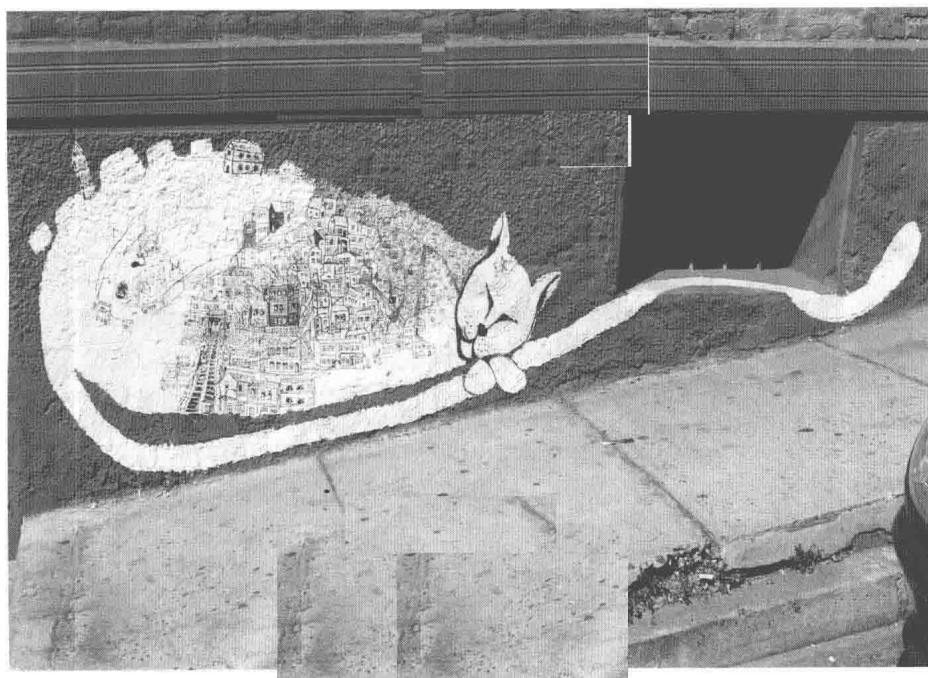


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URBAN DESIGN THINKING

A Conceptual Toolkit



Kim Dovey

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Urban Design Thinking

For Simon and his generation

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CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	ix
Acknowledgements	xiii

Introduction	1
1 Urbanity	9
2 Access	17
3 Mix	25
4 Density	31
5 Action	39
6 Drama	49
7 Interface	57
8 Type	69
9 Image	79
10 Discourse	85
11 Memory	95
12 Place	105
13 Character	115
14 Authority	125
15 Resistance	135
16 Globalization	145
17 Privatization	153
18 Shopping Malls	159
19 Enclaves	169

20	Towers	177
21	Tourism	185
22	Codes	193
23	Graffiti	201
24	Advertising	209
25	Informal Trading	217
26	Informal Settlements	225
27	Temporary/Tactical	235
28	Creative Clusters	245
29	Transit Urbanism	253
30	Complex Adaptive Assemblage	263
	References	273
	Index	283

List of Illustrations

Frontispiece: Graffiti – Valparaíso

Plates

- 1 Functional mix mapping – Jiyugaoka, Tokyo
- 2 Interface mapping – Fitzroy, Melbourne
- 3 Mapping creative clusters in Melbourne and Sydney
- 4 Multi-modal isochrones, Melbourne

Figures

1.1	Grand Central Station, New York	9
1.2	Agora and Forum	11
1.3	The urban DMA	15
2.1	Rome, 1748	17
2.2	Block size and interface catchments	19
2.3	Permeability and interface catchments in three morphologies	20
3.1	Paris	25
3.2	A mix of synergies	30
4.1	Kowloon Walled City	31
4.2	Different morphologies at identical plot ratio (FAR)	33
4.3	The urban density-assemblage	35
5.1	Marrakech	39
5.2	Fixed/semi-fixed/unfixed – Bryant Park, New York	41
5.3	Overdetermined and underdetermined – Bilbao and Melbourne	42
5.4	Affordances – Wave, Melbourne; Listening, Paris	43
5.5	Place Pompidou, Paris	44
5.6	Enclosure and Encounter – New York	46
5.7	The panoptic city – Sydney	48
6.1	Florence	49
6.2	The permanent audience – The Metropolitan Museum, New York	50
6.3	Performing in a vacuum – Melbourne	51
6.4	Smooth and striated beaches	54
6.5	Discipline and learning – Melbourne Public Library, 1860s and 2010s	54
7.1	East Village, New York	57

7.2	Porosity – Spanish quarter, Naples	58
7.3	Five interface types	59
7.4	Interface examples	60
7.5	Secondary interfaces	62
7.6	Scrambling the interface – IJplein, Amsterdam	64
7.7	Storefront for Art and Architecture, New York	65
7.8	Interface adaptations – Bogota, Melbourne, Brisbane	66
8.1	Dubrovnik	69
8.2	Typology of types	70
8.3	Remember and experiment – Kreuzberg, Berlin	72
8.4	Borneo-Sporenburg, Amsterdam	73
8.5	Apartment buildings as 'detached' houses – Hayward, California	74
8.6	Row becomes courtyards and tower – Hanoi	74
8.7	Vernacular types – Skyros, Greece	76
9.1	Paris	79
9.2	The lure of the labyrinth – Yazd, Iran	81
9.3	Transparency – Mumbai	83
9.4	Stari-Most Bridge, Mostar, post-reconstruction	84
10.1	Las Vegas	85
10.2	The People's Path, Beijing	87
10.3	State on the Move – Melbourne	89
10.4	Dialectic imagery – Bangkok	91
10.5	Federation Square proposal, Melbourne	92
11.1	Poundbury	95
11.2	Remembering losers – Placa Rovira, Barcelona	96
11.3	Getting the balance – Tilla-Durieux Park, Berlin	97
11.4	Holocaust Memorial, Berlin	98
11.5	Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, Washington	98
11.6	Sukarno's last erection – Monas, Jakarta	100
11.7	Free West Irian Monument, Jakarta	101
11.8	Farmers or communists? – Heroes Monument, Jakarta	102
11.9	Suharto's excuse – Arjuna Wijaya Monument, Jakarta	103
12.1	Marrakech and Tokyo	105
12.2	The one-hectare plaza – Prague, Siena, Paris	109
13.1	Lisbon	115
13.2	Protecting purity – Camberwell, Melbourne	117
13.3	Protecting difference – Fitzroy, Melbourne	118
13.4	Creating consistency – Beacon Cove, Melbourne	119
13.5	Constructing difference – Caroline Springs, Melbourne	120
14.1	St Peter's Square, Rome	125
14.2	Authorizing the nation	130
14.3	State authority or urban opportunity – Rajpath, New Delhi	131
14.4	Golden Egg, Astana	131

14.5	Reichstag dome reconstruction, Berlin	132
15.1	Central, Hong Kong, November 2014	135
15.2	Pearl Square, Manama, Bahrain – during and after the Arab Spring, 2011	136
15.3	Disciplined demonstrating – New York City, August 2004	137
15.4	Tiananmen Gate, June 1989	139
15.5	Democracy Monument, Bangkok	141
15.6	Catching the global gaze – Bangkok 2010	142
16.1	Ibn Battuta Mall, Dubai	145
16.2	Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao	147
16.3	Burj Khalifa, Dubai	150
17.1	Granary Square, London	153
17.2	Private parks – New Town, Edinburgh	154
17.3	Defining Publicness	155
17.4	Interweaving open-public space, quasi-public and public enclaves – Santiago	156
18.1	Myer Emporium, Melbourne	159
18.2	Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, Milan	161
18.3	Diagramming the mall	162
18.4	City Center versus city centre – Minneapolis	164
18.5	Mall as church – Manila	165
18.6	Grafting the mall onto Bristol – Cabot Circus 1999 (left) and 2009 (right)	166
18.7	Santa Monica Place, Los Angeles, 2005 (left) and 2010 (right)	167
19.1	Trilogy at Vistancia, Phoenix	169
19.2	Retro-gating – Belleville, Santiago	171
19.3	Public and private networks – Orange County, California	174
20.1	Houston	177
20.2	High-rise	178
20.3	The commanding view	180
21.1	Florence	185
21.2	Queuing at Machu Pichu	187
21.3	Balinese 'Gangs' and the impermeable beachfront – Legian, Bali	188
21.4	Klong tours – Bangkok	190
21.5	The picturesque slum – Medellin	191
22.1	Central Park, New York	193
22.2	The Paris section	195
22.3	Casa Mila, Barcelona	196
22.4	Flexible envelopes – Melbourne	197
23.1	Getsemani, Cartagena	201
23.2	Graffiti and morphology – Fitzroy, Melbourne	203
23.3	Graffiti as place identity – Valparaiso	204
23.4	Street art as advertising – Santiago	205

23.5	Authorized street art – Venice Beach, Los Angeles	206
23.6	Painting/erasing – Surry Hills, Sydney	207
23.7	Fitzroy, Melbourne	208
24.1	Sukhumvit, Bangkok	209
24.2	Three kinds of urban advertising	211
24.3	Times Square, New York	212
24.4	Urbanity as advertising – Venice, Las Vegas	214
25.1	Ban Panthom, Bangkok	217
25.2	Applied Physics, Bangkok	220
25.3	A spatial typology of street trading	222
26.1	East Bandra, Mumbai	225
26.2	Informal settlement location types	226
26.3	Productive laneways and barren enclaves – Dharavi, Mumbai	227
26.4	Estera de la Reina, Manila	229
26.5	Core Plus Project – Aranya, Indore	231
26.6	Comuna 13 and Santo Domingo – Medellin	232
26.7	Dharavi	233
27.1	Berkeley, 1983	235
27.2	Temporary/tactical projects	238
27.3	Parklet, San Francisco	239
27.4	Paris Plages	240
27.5	Diagramming the temporary/tactical	241
27.6	Temporary cafe, Potsdamer Platz, Berlin, 1991	244
28.1	Fitzroy, Melbourne	245
28.2	Morphologies of creative clustering	248
29.1	Ueno, Tokyo	253
29.2	Multi-scale thinking – transit modes, morphologies and issues	255
29.3	Capacity mapping, Melbourne	258
29.4	Spaces of possibility – Melbourne	260
29.5	Transit without development – Bus Rapid Transit system, Bogota	262
30.1	Panarchy diagram	267
30.2	Complex adaptive assemblage	269

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Introduction

There is nothing so practical as a good theory

Kurt Lewin (1951)

This is a book designed to inspire critical thinking about urban design. Of course it is also hoped to inspire a better quality of urban design but it is not a book about 'best practice'. The subtitle of the book suggests a particular way of thinking about theory as the invention of concepts to be used as tools for thought. Thus an urban design theory is something to be applied to the city for the purpose of better understanding it and changing it. Like any tools, such concepts may work well or badly in different contexts – a hammer is no use for digging a hole. While understanding the city and changing the city are always integrated in practice, my concerns here are mostly with understanding the city as a basis for change. While it is conceived as a toolkit these are tools for thinking and not recipes for practice. Those who seek a 'how to' manual for urban designers will be disappointed. Cities are far too complex for formula-driven approaches and good urban design requires a complex mix of quite different kinds of approach. The key premise here is that poor urban design is always based on poor urban thinking – on an inadequate conceptual toolkit.

Urban studies is a vast field and this is a relatively modest book that is designed to open some windows onto various ways of seeing the city and urban life. It is not a textbook in the sense of summarizing received knowledge but it does bring a range of existing and contested approaches together into a framework that can be loosely described as assemblage thinking based in the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). This is not the only framework I am interested in but it provides particular capacities for rethinking the city in ways that prioritize connections between things over things-in-themselves: differences over identities, co-functioning over functions, complex intensities over simple densities. Assemblage thinking involves understanding the morphogenetic processes through which the city emerges. It is based in a philosophy of becoming rather than of fixed forms and identities.

Assemblage is variously termed assemblage thinking and assemblage theory, which reflects the fact that it is at once both a means of engagement with the world and a more formal theoretical discourse. One of the paradoxes is that assemblage thinking does not necessarily require assemblage theory – the finest of urban design thinkers, Jane Jacobs, simply wrote about how the city works – she was an

assemblage thinker par excellence. The corollary also holds in that a focus on theory as the end rather than the means can inhibit one's thinking. My point here is that while this is an urban design theory book, it is a book about urban design rather than about theory. Ultimately theory must be judged on its usefulness, so I will introduce it as necessary in the context of the critique.

The book is a product of many years of teaching urban design theory to students of architecture, urban planning, landscape architecture and urban design. This has been a period of rapid expansion in the field of ideas in urban studies and urban design. A primary concern has been to establish connections between the academic abstractions of urban studies and the specific urban outcomes that are the concerns of urban design. The book also stems from a range of research projects focused on different urban place types and issues: shopping malls, corporate towers, housing enclaves, neighbourhoods, centres of power, creative clusters, informal settlements and transit-oriented developments. A concern for the concept of 'place' threads many of these together – a multi-scalar concept that is treated so uncritically or so sceptically by so many, yet one that has considerable significance in everyday urban life and a key role in the discourses of urban planning and politics.

The book is organized into thirty short chapters and is conceived a bit like a city that the reader might explore one street at a time, not necessarily in order, while drawing connections between them. The book begins by exploring a range of conceptual lenses through which we might understand the city, and proceeds to explore the application of such thinking to a range of particular urban issues and project types. I begin with the question of what is Urbanity, what is urban design and what might we mean by the 'right to the city'? The chapters on Access, Mix and Density introduce what I call the urban DMA. These are the morphological principles of concentration, co-functioning and connectivity based in the work of Jacobs that I suggest are the necessary, if insufficient, conditions for urban intensity. Action and Drama explore ways of understanding everyday life, discipline and performance in public space. Formal patterns and typologies emerge in the chapters on Interface and Type. Those on Image, Discourse and Memory explore the world of representation and meaning – the construction, legibility and transparency of urban narratives. Place and Character explore the experiential dimension of the city, the emergence of a sense of place and urban atmosphere, the pursuit of character and authenticity. In Authority and Resistance I examine the role of urban design in the legitimization of political order and the use of urban space in practices of resistance. These are followed by critiques of Globalization and the Privatization of public space. Shopping Malls, Enclaves, Towers and Tourism explore major global urban types. I then turn to questions of urban governance through a discussion on Codes, Graffiti and Advertising. Issues of urban informality are explored through a focus on the Informal Trading and Informal Settlements of cities of the global south. Temporary/Tactical explores the movement towards the informalization of formal cities. Creative Clusters asks why creative industries incubate in particular kinds of urban morphology. Transit

Urbanism outlines the challenge of transforming low-density car-dependent cities. The book closes with a discussion of the city as Complex Adaptive Assemblage.

The framework of a large number of short chapters is designed to provide a broad range of very concise windows onto particular kinds of urban design thinking. These short chapters are not academic papers and cannot replace the more detailed research in these areas. The danger is that the reader learns a little about a lot but with little depth. Yet the detailed research is necessarily specialized and rarely draws the horizontal interconnections between different ways of thinking about urban design. The reader learns a lot about a little but with little breadth. These disparate lenses are not gathered under any overarching framework, indeed I suggest that this condition of conceptual multiplicity is the condition of urban design theory – urbanity is a condition of multiplicity. The book is also intended as a multiplicity and a learning assemblage.

My hope is that readers may find their own threads through this work – the index may be a useful place to start. Another place to start is through the photographs and diagrams, many of which are selected to illustrate multiple parts of the text and the interconnections between them in a more spatial language. While some of these interconnections are pointed out, many are not and the text would ultimately become inaccessible if they were. While there is no single narrative progression through these thirty chapters, the book moves from formalities towards informalities, from analytic lenses to global issues and project types. The goal has been to move constantly up and down in scale, from the particular to the general and back again. It is in the interstices between these chapters that many of the key lessons can be found.

There are a number of conceptual threads that extend through most chapters of the book. First is the concept of an urban DMA – an alliance of density, mix and access – that is introduced in the early chapters and then resonates through many others. This is a synergy between the ways cities concentrate people and buildings, the ways they mix differences together and the networks we use to get around the city. This work is strongly based in the early work of Jacobs (1961) but updated, expanded and linked into assemblage thinking. There is no formula for the urban DMA but it does set limits to what is possible – a low-density, mono-functional cul-de-sac is an anti-urban form. Minimum levels of concentration, co-functioning and connectivity are necessary, if not sufficient, to any form of urbanity.

A second thread is to draw out interconnections between objective and subjective, measurable and non-measurable dimensions of the city. These are the material and expressive poles of the urban assemblage. Material forms incorporate both spatial morphologies and the actions and flows of bodies in public space – the things we can measure. While density, mix and access, based in urban morphologies, are relatively measureable, the ways we experience, imagine and remember the city are much less so. Urban design thinking is at once science and art. This is a matter of drawing connections between the morphologies and experiences of the city: of understanding the relations of urban forms and flows to the emotional, social and

political affects of everyday urban life – the sense and poetics of place, character, home, atmosphere; the urban buzz or intensity. The real city is not limited to data.

One of the key threads drawn from assemblage thinking is a set of twofold concepts that resonate together in urban assemblages. Primary among them are formal/informal, organized/self-organized, tree/rhizome and striated/smooth. This involves an engagement with one of the great dilemmas of urban design thinking – how to organize the city while enabling its self-organizing capacity: how to plan for the unplanned, how to govern for spontaneity? This is a key aspect of assemblage thinking that is latent in the urban DMA and particularly pertinent to later chapters on governance and informality. Formal/informal is a twofold concept of intersecting forces – the relationship is neither binary nor dialectic. It is a key framework for understanding practices of power in everyday urban life.

The critique of tree-like structures in urban design stems originally from Christopher Alexander's seminal essay 'A City is Not a Tree', another form of assemblage thinking, the implications of which have not been fully explored (Alexander 1996 [1965]). With a background in mathematics Alexander argued for the importance of lateral connections and an understanding of the city as a 'semi-lattice' – a mix of hierarchy and network. Within assemblage thinking the tree-like structure is contrasted metaphorically with rhizomic modes of practice – migrating laterally and sprouting between the interstices of a larger order. While the tree has a stem upon which the whole depends, the rhizome is a distributed network that cannot be easily killed or uprooted. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 15) put it: 'Many people have a tree growing in their heads, but the brain itself is much more a grass than a tree.' So is the city.

The distinction between the 'striated' and 'smooth' has a key role in assemblage thinking. The striated is linked to the strict or stringent, contrasted with the smooth – a slipperiness where one slides seamlessly from one point to another. Striation involves the inscription of territory and identity where 'being' has become stabilized, as opposed to the smooth space of 'becoming'. The 'smooth' is identified with/contrasted with the 'tree-like' strictures of hierarchical control. Smoothness is identified with flows; striation with structures and strategies. The smooth and the striated are not types of space or place so much as tools for thought; every real place is a mixture of the two in a reciprocal relation where they are constantly 'enfolded' into each other (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 486). All spaces are at once smooth and striated; all urban design involves forms of striation. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 500) put it: 'Even the most striated city gives rise to smooth spaces ... smooth spaces are not in themselves liberatory. But the struggle is changed or displaced in them, and life reconstitutes its stakes ... Never believe that a smooth space will suffice to save us.' The twofold is a not a binary nor a dialectic but a condition where one folds into the other. The fold is not a 'crease' or boundary, rather it involves a focus away from things and onto movements and 'flows' rather than points of stability – particularly onto flows of desire as the primary productive forces in any city.

Another key concept that recurs throughout the book is the 'diagram'. This is at once the most difficult and the simplest of concepts. At the simple level it is a graphic representation of a set of relationships or forces. A diagram shows how something works in an abstract way, but unlike numbers or words it is a form of spatial knowledge. It is close to a map in that it represents a territory; it is not a plan nor a design yet it often reveals capacities and possibilities for the future. In assemblage thinking a diagram is also called an 'abstract machine' – abstract like a diagram but machinic in that it is productive – not merely an abstract ideal but immanent in the world. Diagrams are certain alignments of forces that work in a particular way. The concept can be traced in part to Foucault's notion of the *dispositif* or apparatus – a set of forces that in his theory was primarily engaged in the production of a disciplined subject. There are a number of figures in the book that are diagrammatic, intended as tools for understanding how different urban assemblages work.

A final thread is a focus on the dynamics of change and adaptation, escalations and paralyses, resilience thinking. This involves a linking of assemblage thinking to complex adaptive systems theory through the idea of the city as a 'complex adaptive assemblage'. Resilience thinking involves a focus on the properties that enable or constrain regime change, the emergence and dissipation of identity. This involves an understanding of the morphogenetic and adaptive processes that drive the dynamics of urban change. Under what conditions can urban change escalate out of control or become paralysed? Resilience is not necessarily a good thing since the most intractable of urban problems are often deeply resilient.

Much of the theory here is not new but I suggest that this is a new way of bringing it together and drawing out the connections between disparate concepts. Koestler (1964) famously defined creativity not as an act of invention from nothing but as the act of creating an intersection between two previously unconnected frames of reference. My goal here is to intersect many different ways of thinking about the city. The chapters are metaphoric windows or lenses because they inevitably frame and distort the city as they engage with it, selecting some things to see while leaving others hidden. I seek to draw both contrasts and synergies between existing theories since it is often the space between theories that is most fertile for new thinking. I have conceived the book as an assemblage of approaches that the reader might engage with at a variety of levels in different orders and with different outcomes. Assemblage thinking is not an umbrella under which disparate theories sit, rather it is a means of connecting them and particularly of understanding the alliances, synergies and dynamics between them. The goal is to produce better ways of thinking rather than formulae.

The book is written primarily to demonstrate the application of particular ways of thinking rather than the exposition of theory. Theory is the toolkit, the means rather than the end – once the hole is dug or the frame is built, then the shovel or the hammer go back into the toolkit, where it may become useful for something else entirely. The writing is intended to be as concise and accessible as possible. In this