

# **The Complex City**

## **Social and Built Approaches and Methods**

Editor

**Caroline Donnellan**

*Boston University Study Abroad London, UK*

Series Editor

**Graham Cairns**

*AMPS (Architecture, Media, Politics, Society)*

The Interdisciplinary Built Environment



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local registration board as examiners for Victoria University of Wellington as course coordinators and guest critics. They also hold positions within the New Zealand Institute of Architects, as branch chair and treasurer. Foster is also undertaking a Masters of Urban Design at Victoria University of Wellington to cement her commitment to better urban design and good practice.

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**Tom Nielsen** graduated as an architect from the Aarhus School of Architecture in 1996. He has been affiliated to the Aarhus School of Architecture since 1997 and has been a Full Professor in Urban and Landscape Planning there since

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**Karen Olesen** graduated as an architect from the Aarhus School of Architecture, Denmark in 1989. She has been affiliated to the Aarhus School of Architecture since 1994 and holds an Associate Professorship there since 2004. Her main areas of teaching are building design, transformation, and architecture theory. She has taught theory courses on topics such as architecture theory of the 20th century as well as the changing views of the relationship between form and programme in modern architecture. As part of her studio teaching, she has developed workshops on experimental transformation of iconic works of architecture. At present, Olesen, along with Jens Christian Pasgaard, is preparing the start-up of a new master studio focussing on the architecture of the city (running from September 2021 onwards). Her research is oriented towards two main topics: one is the unsteady relationship between programme and form thematised as open architecture and architecture on architecture. The other is the ideologies on urban design and architecture that evolved in the 1950's and 60's especially in Europe. Olesen has written and lectured about Team X and has a special interest in the works and writings of Alison and Peter Smithson. Recently, she has been part of a research group in Aarhus and co-authored *Gellerup*, 2021, Arkitektens Forlag, in which the history of one of the largest and most controversial modernist housing projects of Denmark is examined.

**Jens Christian Pasgaard** graduated as an architect from the Aarhus School of Architecture, Denmark in 2000. Pasgaard has been affiliated with the Aarhus School of Architecture since 2015, from where he developed his research interests which include urban design, urban architecture, strategic urban planning, and the phenomenon of tourism. From 2004 to 2014, Pasgaard was employed at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, School of Architecture, Copenhagen, where he obtained his PhD “Tourism and Strategic Planning” in 2012. Besides teaching at the bachelor’s and master’s levels, he also has been a supervisor at the specialised Master’s program in Strategic Planning (for fully-trained professionals). At present, Pasgaard, along with Karen Olesen, is preparing the start-up of a new master studio focusing on the architecture of the city (running from September 2021 onwards). More recently, he has been involved in the cross-institutional research project “Rethinking Tourism in a Coastal City: Design for New Engagements” (2016-2019), working with analytical design proposals on different scale levels. In addition to his post as Associate Professor at the Aarhus School of Architecture, Pasgaard has been involved in several projects in practice. Recently he has been an external advisor for The Danish Association of Architects in their work on developing tools for making municipal architectural policies (2020). He has also acted as a specialist judge in the professional competition for making a development plan for the urban center of Holstebro (2019). In 2019-2020, in a part-time position for the architectural office Lytt, he has overseen two strategic-physical development plans for the coastal towns of Hvide Sande and Søndervig at the Danish west coast (both plans were adopted in 2020). Earlier in his career, Pasgaard worked for the architectural offices Schmidt Hammer Lassen Architects and Dorte Mandrup A/S.

**Hanna Rodewald** completed her B.A. and M.Ed. at TU Dortmund University, Germany studying English and American Studies, Fine Arts and Educational Science. In 2013/14, she taught German as a Teaching Assistant at the University of Iowa, United States. In 2018 Rodewald completed her Master of Education and thesis on “Urban Complexity: The Representation of Harlem in Ann Petry’s *The Street*.” At the American Studies Department in Dortmund, Rodewald continues to teach courses on fields such as American Art and Urban Cultural Studies. She is also actively engaged in organizing academic conferences including the annual Ruhr PhD Forum or the research symposium in Detroit on Transatlantic Rust Belts in 2021. As a doctoral researcher, she is part of the Graduate Research Group Scripts for Postindustrial Urban Futures: American Models, Transatlantic Interventions (2018-2022) at the University Alliance Ruhr (Bochum, Dortmund, Duisburg-Essen) which is funded by the Volkswagen Stiftung in Germany. The group explores imaginative strategies and future narrative scenarios for deindustrializing cities of the German Ruhr Area and the American Rust Belt. Looking into narratives of the creative class in post-

industrial cities from a transatlantic perspective, Rodewald particularly focuses her analysis on the creative city script. In the course of her research, she has completed a practical year at the Museum Ostwall at the Dortmund U and is now part of the cooperative project Page 21 which experiments with digital narration and artworks within a virtually immersive setting. As an artist she is also part of the art collective Salon Atelier based in Dortmund where she participated in performative group projects such as Saloon (2019) or Viva BVB (2020).

**Alia Sherif** holds a master's degree from Brandenburg University of Technology (BTU) in Cottbus, Germany and Alexandria University in Alexandria, Egypt, after completing the double masters' program Urban Design: Revitalization of Historic City Districts in 2020. In 2017, Sherif graduated from the American University in Cairo (AUC) with a Bachelor's Degree in Architectural Engineering. Sherif started her career as a teaching assistant at AUC for a design course. The design course was centred around contemporary Egyptian architecture and developing an architectural language that is contextually relevant. Sherif complemented her academic interest with practical experience working as a junior architect at a design office (Raef Fahmi Architects, Maadi, Cairo). She was involved in designing multiple residential, commercial, and recreational projects in Cairo and Alexandria, on an architectural and urban scale. Throughout her academic years, Sherif has participated in a number of international workshops. Through these workshops she addressed and challenged different urban issues and contexts including Egypt, UK, and Netherlands. Most recent of these workshops is (Re)cycle Limburg workshops in Maastricht, Netherlands (2019) which was focused on investigating the role and meaning of public spaces and how they can be a catalyst for social cohesion, healthy lifestyle, and well-being. She also participated in RIBA's design workshop in London (2017), where the New Urban Agenda was explored and how it can be applied to tackle urban issues in the historical city, the informal city, and the city from scratch. She also contributed in "Cairo and the Nile" workshop organized by Cairo University and UC Berkeley (2017), proposing urban solutions to revitalize the Nile front as an inclusive public space. Presently, Sherif is working with Turath Conservation Group (TCG) on a revitalization project in Souq al Silah street in Historic Cairo.

**Yiming Wang** is an Assistant Professor at the College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Tongji University, and an Associate Research Fellow at the Institute of Elaborated Governance for Megacity in Shanghai, China. He completed his PhD at University of Technology Sydney, Australia in 2018 and held a Post-Doctoral Research Fellowship at the College of Architecture and Urban Planning in Tongji University during 2018 and 2021. He is an architect-urban designer with research interests focusing on Chinese urbanism, urban regeneration, transformation, and governance of the urban commons. Selected publications

include *Pseudo-Public Spaces in Chinese Shopping Malls: Rise, Publicness and Consequences*, Routledge, 2019. He is an additional author of the UN-Habitat report: Net Zero Carbon Village Planning Guidelines for the Yangtze River Delta Region in China (2019). His research outputs have been widely published in leading international and Chinese journals including URBAN DESIGN International, American Journal of Economics and Sociology, Norwegian Journal of Geography and Urban Planning Forum. International conferences include the 56th ISOCARP World Planning Congress (online virtual conference, December 2020); China Urban Development (London, 2017); the 21st Construction; Building and Real Estate Research Conference for RICS (Sydney, 2015); and the 9th International Symposium on Architectural Interchanges in Asia (Gwangju, 2012). He has received research grants from the China Postdoctoral Science Foundation and Shanghai Pujiang Program. Wang has also participated in a number of important urban development projects including Urban Design of the CBD Area of Jiangbei New District, Nanjing, China. As project team member, he received various design accolades including the highly coveted architectural design Luban Award in China.

**Abbey Wu** graduated from Curtin University with a Bachelor of Applied Science (BAppSc) in Architecture and a Master of Architecture (MArch). At Curtin University Wu developed an interest in public design and urban spaces, and how this informs behaviour and experiences. She is also interested in how different groups of people form diverse relationships with the built environment. After graduating, Wu began working freelance in design, project management and planning on commercial projects including restaurant fit-outs, interior refurbishments and pop-up stores, and residential work involving house expansions. Wu is presently engaged as a client-side planner and project manager for the coordination of airport infrastructure. A selection of the projects Wu has worked on include calculating passenger forecasting trends, deciphering the trends into area capacity requirements, developing existing airport processes, and working on infrastructure and technology redevelopments and expansions. Wu is also researching passenger interactions and engagement within the airport through observation as an infrastructure planner. Wu is also involved in internal and external stakeholder engagement with various companies. Related to this she is focusing on developing her knowledge of understanding human interactions and social norms within the city's shifting cultural landscape.

**Aliaa Zidan** is a PhD student in the department of Architecture Engineering in Menoufia University since 2018. Her dissertation title is "Regeneration of Traditional Crafts as an approach for the Sustainable Development of Historic Cairo." The aim of her thesis is to identify a more efficient system for managing the historical city, as well as strengthening the local economy in the region. The

objective is to achieve sustainable development goals (SDGs) before 2030, through developing the cultural industries and traditional crafts. Zidan completed her master's thesis "Preserving Intangible values in Cultural Heritage Sites: A Study on the Mosque of Al-Sayyid Al-Badawi in Tanta," (2016) in which she studied the means to value and preserve intangible heritage, through the celebration of the birthday of Al-Sayyid Al-Badawi in Tanta (Mulid al-badawi). Relating to this research she was able to make a comparative analysis between local events with international celebrations, such as the one of Santiago de Compastela in Spain. Zidan graduated from the department of Architecture in Menoufia University in 2013. She is an Associate Researcher on "The creative sustainable city: application on regeneration of traditional crafts in historic Cairo." She is also an Associate Researcher in a paper titled "Intangible heritage as an approach for the urban preservation and local community development." In January 2018 she won the first prize in the competition of regeneration of the urban space in front of Hamam Bashtak - Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, Cairo. She has also contributed to numerous workshops since 2016 which focused on the sustainable development of historic Cairo and shared experiences. She is a member of "Establishment of Traditional Craft Revitalization and Training Centre in Old Cairo" project which is funded by the Embassy of Japan in Egypt. Zidan is a teaching assistant at Higher Institute of Engineering and Technology in Tanta. She is also an architect in the TCG "Turath Conservation Group," working on conservation projects in Egypt. She is presently a research assistant and member of the "Managing Libya's Cultural Heritage" project.



# **Introduction: The social and the built: cities, complexity, and Jane Jacobs**

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## **The abandoned city**

The COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns in 2020 saw cities around the world experiencing the same phenomenon of abandoned streets, buildings, and transport hubs. What had been familiar became overnight strangely familiar.<sup>1</sup> The shared mass experience declared itself so vividly because the city is the product of “social evolution” — a human settlement — which in its elemental form is a large, densely populated conurbation.<sup>2</sup> With the absence of people, it becomes a ghost city and, in a smaller configuration, a ghost town. The irony is that when the city becomes populated and expands, it is perceived as if it is a problem to be solved. The post-war solution was to demolish older buildings, sites, and sometimes entire areas. The developments that replaced them and the speed at which they were constructed were the result of a heady mix of capitalism and modernity that knew no bounds. Marshall Berman asserts: “Modern environments and experiences cut across all boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, religion and ideology.”<sup>3</sup> In creating a new vision of the city, the planners promoted the benefits of their new designs, and how they would invariably improve on the existing models. An example of this type of planning on a national scale was the implementation of the Interstate Highways in the US.

The initiative began when the National Highway Users Conference, overseen by General Motors and other stakeholders, lobbied the US government for tax money to build a major transport network. The proposed development was unveiled at the Futurama installation at New York World’s Fair in 1939. The exhibit revealed a system of Interstate Highways which connected cities by slicing through their downtown areas, regardless of their existing social networks. The Interstate Highways became a reality under President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Earlier, in 1919, when Eisenhower was on a military convoy from Washington DC to San Francisco, the journey on the Lincoln Highway took 62 days. Today, the journey takes approximately 1 day and 17 hours to drive on the Interstate Highways. What galvanized Eisenhower’s vision to build better roads

was “his observations of the German autobahn network of freeways” during World War II which instilled in the future President the desire to build a superior transport network for the US.<sup>4</sup>

The Federal-Aid Highway Act (1956) provided the legislation to construct a 41,000-mile network, with a funding provision of \$26 billion out of which 90% was paid by the federal government and the other 10% by each State. The arrival of the Interstate Highways in the 1950s invoked the American Dream of the 1930s in providing physical and social mobility, which ran in tandem with the remaking of the road map of America. The building of the Interstate Highways and the demolition of downtown city areas were further promoted as providing large-scale federal slum clearance. The reality was that these areas were torn down regardless of whether they were slums or not, which, in going against their residents’ wishes, destroyed their “networks of social interaction.”<sup>5</sup> During this period Jane Jacobs was an associate editor of the *Architectural Forum*. In response to the destruction of these inner-city areas she published *Downtown is for People* (1958) which was effectively a manifesto to save American cities. “This is a critical time for the future of the city. All over the country civic leaders and planners are preparing a series of redevelopment projects that will set the character of the center of our cities for generations to come.”<sup>6</sup> The breaking up of these areas saw their former communities dispersed as they were forced to leave their homes and neighborhoods, with many of them being relocated into the new residential developments being built on the city outskirts.

The idea of major residential developments outside of the city centre was first introduced in England with Ebenezer Howard’s *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898). What he proposed was a utopian vision of communities living harmoniously within “a healthy, natural and economic combination of town and country life.”<sup>7</sup> The book reprinted as *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (1902) included a postscript which emphasized the idea of a bonded community whose aim was “to secure the best interests of all its inhabitants.”<sup>8</sup> The Garden City Movement was conceived in response to crowded and unsanitary inner city living. What was envisioned were smaller city-like developments with zoned residential, civic, and industrial areas, surrounded by a protective green agricultural belt. This vision was realized with the establishment of Letchworth Garden City in 1903. Further Garden City developments followed, as did green suburban initiatives. These included Hampstead Garden Suburb from 1907, created as a semi-rural idyll with the nearby London Underground Station of Golders Green opening the same year. Further developments were realized inside and outside of Britain including in the US. They were not welcomed by Jacobs who wanted to live inside the city, unlike Howard who wanted to live outside the city. For Jacobs, the new suburban developments were an anathema to

city living. “They will be spacious, parklike, and uncrowded. They will feature long green vistas. They will be stable and symmetrical and orderly. They will be clean, impressive, and monumental. They will have all the attributes of a well-kept, dignified cemetery.”<sup>9</sup>

### **Ignoring complexity**

The creation of the suburban housing projects, and the demolition of inner-city areas led to Jacobs’ seminal work *The Death and Life of American Cities* (1961). The problem was compounded for Jacobs because the planners reduced the city to single issues. “The simple needs of automobiles are more easily understood and satisfied than the complex needs of cities, and a growing number of planners and designers have come to believe that if they can only solve the problems of traffic, they will thereby have solved the major problem of cities.”<sup>10</sup> While the Interstate Highways responded to the issue of providing an effective transportation system, there was no recourse as to their negative impact. The person responsible was Robert Moses who oversaw the construction of 13 expressways with the aim to reduce traffic congestion. In doing so his expressways destroyed historic areas, buildings, and communities, and brought with them pollution and noise. A less publicized fact was the vast profits that the developers were making from the new developments. The Trans-Manhattan Expressway (originally known as the George Washington Bridge Expressway) now cuts through the northern end of the borough of Manhattan. The project was originally driven by “rewarding developers and raising property values south of the park, where he [Moses] had already razed a swath of Greenwich Village for redevelopment.”<sup>11</sup> The other planned developments of the Cross Harlem Expressway and the Mid-Manhattan Expressway did not go ahead.

After the Mid-Manhattan Expressway failed, Moses was keen to push through the Lower Manhattan Expressway where he came head-to-head with Jacobs. The plan was also unsuccessful due to the weight of opposition spearheaded by Jacobs because for her it would have destroyed Greenwich Village (including her own home) and changed the entire appearance of the area. Her core argument was that it ran contrary to “how cities work in real life” which for Jacobs was about people and communities.<sup>12</sup> With her unwavering position Jacobs came under opposition during and after her lifetime. One issue to emerge was (and is) concerning the areas she rescued from demolition which has since led to their gentrification. The original community that lived in Jacobs’ Greenwich Village has long gone but preserving the area’s identity through its buildings and streets has turned it into architectural heritage, and very expensive real estate. The other question concerning Jacobs is that she had the agency to fight the planners in New York and later Toronto whereas other cities did not have the same kind of voice representing them. The point is

Jacobs believed she had a voice and used it. Ground-breaking or flawed, Jacobs' determination impacted on the world she lived in, and continues to inform the debate today between the social and the built city. Ricky Burdett outlines the basis of these underlining positions. "Despite the increasing complexity and specificity of the global urban condition, the old "bottom-up versus top-down" model still frames the debate about how cities should be planned, managed, and governed."<sup>13</sup>

While the bottom up (social) versus the top down (built) dichotomy is ongoing, Stefano Moroni and Stefano Cozzolino propose that this "complexity is due mainly to the fact that the core element of cities is multiple *action*."<sup>14</sup> Cities are about multiple action(s) through their shifting positions, identities, and visions, whether real or imagined. When these positions, identities, and visions are mediated in literature, film, the internet and other media, cities can be idealized and romanticised, or dehumanized and brutalized. In this way the city becomes the site of many projections, and once it is "*narrated*" it cannot be un-narrated, Roland Barthes claims it then becomes performed.<sup>15</sup> Through this narration, and performance, the visitor (reader) assigns the city with a set of their own ideas and associations — this is the point where the idea of place is created. Steven Feld and Keith Basso explore how "people encounter places, perceive them, and invest them with significance."<sup>16</sup> In the same way, this book acknowledges the relationship between people and place, and what it offers them. It recognizes the many ways of encountering the city, which can be an intensely personal or shared collective experience. It understands the city as being a place of connection and disconnection, as well as intentness and withdrawal. In doing so, it facilitates these multiple positions within the social city approach and the built city method. While they can appear adversarial and antagonistic, they are also reciprocal and interdependent because they are constituent parts of the same (whole) city — Pierre Bourdieu explores this same dichotomy within human action.

The union of contraries does not destroy the opposition (which it presupposes), the reunited contraries are just as much opposed, but now in a quite different way, thereby manifesting the duality of the relationship between them, at once antagonism and complementarity, *neikos* and *philia*, which might appear as their own twofold "nature" if they were conceived outside that relationship.<sup>17</sup>

What Bourdieu identifies is the juxtaposition between the argumentative and feuding *neikos*, and the friendly and affectionate *philia* in this "marriage of contraries."<sup>18</sup> The duality identified by Bourdieu, amongst others, informs the ideas in this book concerning what cities engender, how they function and why they continue to act as catalysts for different kinds of interactions. It is this marriage of contraries that underpins the rationale for the chapters in this

book, which evolved from papers presented at *The City and Complexity – Life Design and Commerce in the Built Environment* conference, 17-19 June 2020. The online event was organized by City, University of London, and the international research organization AMPS (Architecture, Media, Politics, Society), and marked the 50th anniversary of Jane Jacobs' *The Economy of Cities* from when it was published in the UK by Jonathan Cape in London in 1970. The book was originally published by Random House in New York in 1969. *The Economy of Cities* explores how (major) cities act as command-and-control centres of exports, and as depots for goods. While these cities usually are no longer depots, they remain at the nodal point of trade, transactions, and communications. "What we abstractly call the dissemination of cultures consists of many exports, some of them amazingly complex, that were first developed within the local economies of cities."<sup>19</sup> In Jacobs summation, cities are interconnected, economic, social, and cultural networks.

*The Economy of Cities* was at the forefront of a new kind of urban literature. What she develops is the idea of an integrated urban and social economics. The book returns to the themes of complexity, uncertainty, non-linearity, and unpredictability which were originally explored in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. The main tenet of her work is that cities are more complex networks than modernism could advocate for. With its severance from the past, modernism isolates buildings from their surroundings. In the same way modern developments create mono-functional zones, which in reducing them to their constituent parts negates the possibility of facilitating more varied and interesting urban environments. Ignoring a city's past and present, for Jacobs, contributed to the "central problem of planning for cities."<sup>20</sup> This position influenced writers and theorists on cities, including those working in the field of architecture. The American architect Robert Venturi's seminal work *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966) discusses the position of modernism.

The core problem, for Venturi, was modernism's self-belief that it was not only the standard bearer of the new, but saw its further role was to eradicate what it envisioned as the traditional, the outdated, and the obsolete. Underpinning the belief that modernism had the ability to make things better was the forward pincer movement towards the idea of progress, and betterment. Modernism became the designated style for post-war American design, and the ideological tool for political and economic dominance. In questioning modernism's rhetoric, and its resistance to history, (and other cultures), Venturi proposes an alternative way of thinking about design. In advocating for inclusion rather than exclusion Venturi argues that buildings should not have to confirm to any one orthodoxy and can instead have a "messy vitality over obvious unity."<sup>21</sup> For Venturi, postmodernism was always more than a design style and the look of things, it was about interrogating the ideological basis of modernism and its promotion

of “a sense of new possibilities.”<sup>22</sup> Similarly to Jacobs’ approach, in rejecting the principle of how things should be, Venturi forwards the case of how things are, which does not necessarily fit within a clearly definable niche. In this way, Venturi moves away from something less reductionist, and advocates for complexity and contradiction in design.

### **Interpretative framework**

The interpretative framework of this book similarly draws on the complexity and the contradiction of cities which understands them as dynamic changing networks, as Gert de Roo asserts: “Discontinuous change is the only constant factor in the world we are part of, and what seems stable to us is actually nothing more than a temporary period of persistence, a frozen instant within a dynamic world, [...] there is no permanent stability.”<sup>23</sup> The one thing that the COVID-19 pandemic has taught is that the *frozen instant* of stability has thawed. What appeared predictable (although it never was) is no longer predictable. In responding to this constant flux, cities have had to become “complex adaptive systems [that] evolve and co-evolve, internally and externally, either slowly and in incremental steps or rapidly [...] that give expression to developments that keep the system far from a state of equilibrium.”<sup>24</sup> It is in this lack of equilibrium, that these chapters present singular case studies and comparative assessments through different voices, and perspectives. The international writers aim to be robust and rigorous, as well as explicit and transparent in preferencing clear prose in place of theoretical grandstanding. The objective is to address the city as a centre for development and sprawl, creativity, and conflict, and regeneration, and urban withdrawal. What binds the chapters together is that cities are understood as being dually sites of socio-political import and as physical built spaces and are examined with these distinctions in mind.

The social city chapters explore a set of initiatives in the historic cities and surrounding areas of Cairo, Athens, Shanghai, Dortmund, Essen, and Chongqing which focus on human interactions, and shifting communities, and the places they inhabit. The built city chapters examine the planning, development, and lack of, in Canberra, Perth, Copenhagen, London, Melbourne, and Wellington. They focus on their cities’ urban and topographical features, and information technology, through policy, planning and development. The aim of both sets of chapters is to identify the complex alternating processes between the social and the built, in the knowledge that they are divergent viewpoints that should be treated as such rather than grouping them together as if they are one unified voice. A further factor is that these issues are identified and responded to with working solutions. At the same time, the idea of conflict is not necessarily negated and boxed into the solution as a resolution format. Conflict is a

necessary ingredient of the city which can produce creativity, innovation, and resourcefulness, and is why some positions are left unresolved. In conclusion this book is arranged according to the Geddesian principal that the city is the result of social evolution. As the thought (the social) comes before the action (the built) this book follows the same principle.

### The Social City

**Chapter 1.** Alaa El-Habashi, Aliaa Zidan, and Alia Sherif's *Re-clustering historic Cairo through the creative economy: A Study of the revitalization of the traditional carpentry along Souk Al-Silah Street* considers the older Islamic city within the context of the modern metropolis. Fourteenth-century Cairo emerged as the cultural centre of the Islamic world. When UNESCO conferred on Cairo the status of a World Heritage Site in 1979, its Islamic heritage was officially venerated for its culture through its mosques, madrasas, hammams and fountains, while other historic areas were being abandoned.<sup>25</sup> When Cairo expanded in the nineteenth century the neighbourhood quarters of the *haras* went into decline due to "changes in cultural views and traditional lifestyles."<sup>26</sup> The twentieth century saw the *haras* being lost within the new developments which were unable to accommodate their traditional ways of life. As Kristof Van Assche, Raoul Beunen, and Martijn Duineveld assert: "Modernist planning did not exhibit much self-awareness [...] It also tended to ignore the presence of other, alternative forms of knowledge and expertise, other experts, and non-experts, making it hard to really draw on local knowledge and to discern local interests."<sup>27</sup>

Following the anti-government protests and insurrections in the 2010s that affected Arab countries, change began to gradually impact on their cities. "With the Arab spring in 2011 in Egypt, new experiences, new debates and new approaches started" which led to the re-appraisal of their cities.<sup>28</sup> One impact saw the Souk Al-Silah Street community-centred revitalization program re-establishing the original footprint of the *hara* in this part of the Egyptian capital. The aim of the project has been to reconnect the local community with its cultural heritage, and to provide social and urban cohesion. In this case study El-Habashi, Zidan, and Sherif assess how this socially focused regeneration strategy is providing a holistic solution to urban fragmentation. They assess how the re-implementation of traditional joinery within the craft focused *hara* is reconnecting the community and is also contributing to the local economy. In doing so the core questions to be addressed are — is cultural clustering an effective solution to urban sprawl and what is the implication of the reintroduction of a craft orientated *hara* in promoting continuity with the past?

**Chapter 2.** Edna Langenthal's *Agōn (Ἀγών) in ancient Athens and conflict in the modern city* examines how the ancient Greek city-state that has long been associated with the arts, learning, and philosophy gave rise to a different legacy. According to Greek myth, following the contest between the goddess Athena and god Poseidon for Attica, the land under the Acropolis was named after the victor. The Panathenaic Games were part of the Panathenaic Festival and were to honor the victor and their patroness, Athena. The Panathenaic Games were more than competitions within a stadium — they were about ritual, ceremony, and performance. What emerged from the Games was the idea of *agōn* which instilled in Athenian culture the idea of public contestation. Mark Wenman identifies how “the term agonism comes from the Greek *agōn* meaning contest or strife” and contains three basic elements: “(i) a conception of constitutive pluralism, (ii) a tragic vision of the world, and (iii) a belief that conflict can be a political good.”<sup>29</sup> As a political and social concept agonism accepts conflict as a necessary constituent of its practice. Langenthal applies this same principle to the city and argues that agonistic encounter became a recurring cultural trope in fifth century Athens and remains a characteristic of the contemporary city. Her point is that conflict should not be viewed through the lens of neo-liberalism, that seeks to resolve internal tensions. In this way, cities should be understood as “organized complexity” in their ability to facilitate oscillating binary positions including reciprocity and competition.<sup>30</sup>

In this chapter, Langenthal explores a range of positions revolving around the theme of *agōn*. These include how global capitalism has increased the need to re-examine the city which can be better reassessed through the idea of *agōn*. She considers how diversity should be valued as an important contribution to the life of the city and examines the issues that emerge from not belonging to it when marginal populations are pushed out to its fringes. The problem in removing these communities and individuals from the city (centre) is that they lose their own sense of competition. As cities are shaped by human action, and communities and people are influenced by the spatial conditions in which they live, the divergence between social experience and the built environment should not be removed. If these differences are taken away there is no innovation and no point of transformation, which is why the city needs to remain the site of new and challenging experiences. Peter Carnevale discusses the potential effects of these interactions. “If creativity is applied to the handling of differences, the outcome might very well be a mutually beneficial, integrative agreement.”<sup>31</sup> Within this mutually beneficial agreement, Langenthal follows a similar trajectory and considers the questions — what is the role that conflict plays in the city's development and what is the relationship between the city as a social settlement and the people who inhabit it?

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