INTERSTICES 22

Journal of architecture and related arts

URBAN HISTORICAL

contents

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Cover: Amber Anahera Ruckes (2022). Ngā Pūtahitanga / Crossings conference graphic. [Digital image]

editorial / JULIA GATLEY AND ELIZABETH AITKEN ROSE

Urban historical

Interstices last published an issue dedicated to things urban in 2015. Titled "The Urban Thing," it foregrounded cities as sites of both misery and wellbeing; of both anxiety and emancipation.[1] This issue revisits the urban, but through historical lenses. It explores matters of interest across the fields of architectural history, planning history, urban design history, and heritage conservation, including historical moments of cross-disciplinary exchange that engage specifically with the urban.

Architecture, planning, and urban design have similar DNA. In the shadowy and culturally partial world of historical interpretation, Aristotle credits the Greek "architect" Hippodamus of Miletus (fifth century BCE) for inventing "the art of planning cities" and as "the first person not a statesman who made inquiries about the best form of government"[2] in the rational arrangement of city form towards the harmonious integration of competing uses, circulation efficiencies, and socio-political engagement.

As in any family, DNA diffuses and mutates over time. Architecture's distinct identity took shape in the Renaissance, although it was only formalised through professional associations and educational programmes in the nineteenth century.[3] Modern planning originated in the nineteenth century in response to industrialisation, the rapid growth of cities, and the associated social and environmental disintegration. Industrialisation and urbanisation also prompted increased envisioning of towns, cities, and urban areas, in the form of factory towns, giant new parks and boulevards replacing the finer grain of the old, garden cities and suburbs, whole areas dotted with modernist high-rises, and post-war new towns. Professional bodies and specialised academic programmes in planning often emerged at the impetus of architects sympathetic to urban concerns—in Australasia, from the mid-twentieth century, but earlier elsewhere.[4]

The close relationship between architects and planners finally frayed in the mid-to-late twentieth century. Despite shared concerns with people and place, their directives diverged according to emphasis, scale, timeframes, and realpolitik. Architecture benefits from a defined focus—the design and execution of physical structures for clients. The urban planning mandate is more diffuse, with intergenerational plans, strategies, and policies entwining factors such as land use,

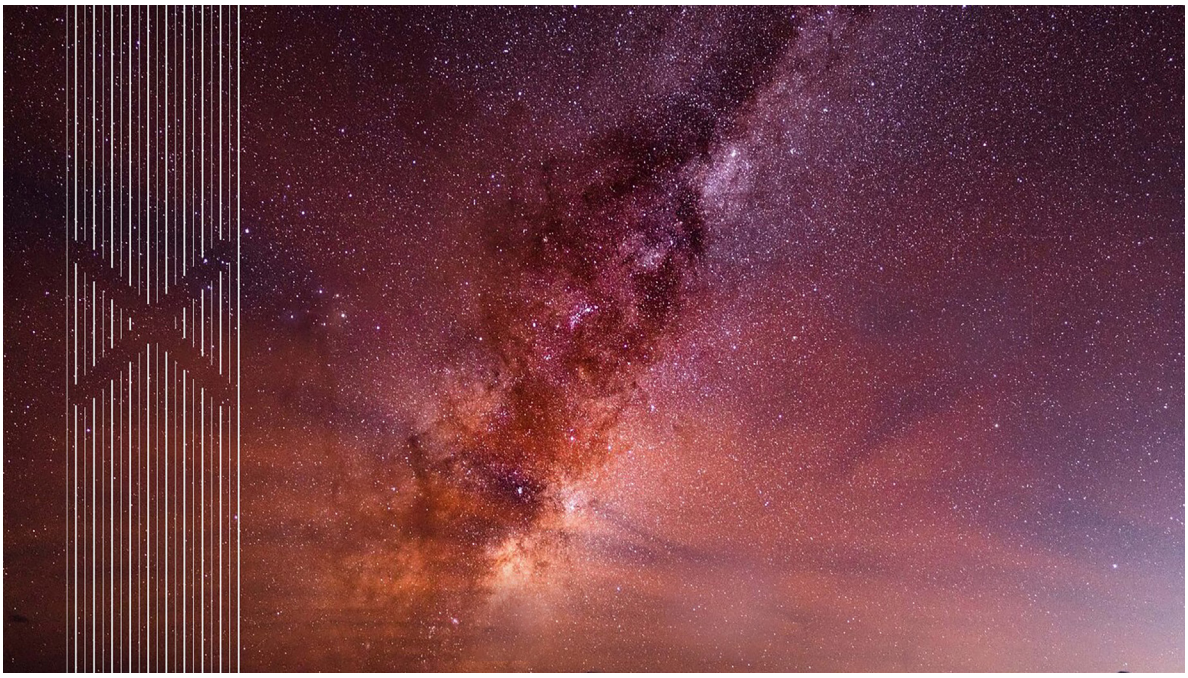

Fig. 1 Amber Anahera Ruckes (2022). Ngā Pūtahitanga / Crossings conference graphic. [Digital image]

infrastructure, economic productivity, property rights, and, significantly, equity. To some architects, urban planners seem besotted with statutes and processes, providing regulatory impediments, and with a tendency for functional and bureaucratic bias. Conversely, to some urban planners, architects seem mesmerised by style and oblivious to holism and risk. Both disciplines have engaged in "turf wars" over claims to urban design—around how ideas are best represented, communicated, and actively turned into beneficial policies and projects; captivating images versus dense text.

The reviewed papers for this issue were selected from the 73 presented at the Ngā Pūtahitanga / Crossings conference held at the University of Auckland Waipapa Taumata Rau in November 2022.[5] The conference crossed boundaries as the first combined meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand / Ngā Pou Whare / Wangkalangkalarna Wardlirnaitya (SAHANZ) and the Australasian Urban History Planning History Group (AUHPH). The intent is captured in Amber Anahera Ruckes' conference graphic, a stylised purapura whetū,[6] against Te-Ika-o-te-Rangi, the celestial Milky Way, and Māhutonga, the Southern Cross constellation critical to south seas navigators (or anyone lost in the wilderness today) and a national icon for both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand.

Ngā Pūtahitanga / Crossings provided an opportunity to explore scholarly interests common to SAHANZ and the AUHPH: the examination of individuals, movements, and events of significance in our disciplinary histories and the crossroads between them; the analysis of visions and policies, and the processes underpinning them; and, crucially, the contemplation of singular and comparative outcomes. Indigenous and marginalised histories, infrastructure, and community activism were all particularly welcomed. The extended family joined the event: landscape architects, heritage experts, and other disciplines. Independent public historian Dr Ben Schrader delivered the invited keynote address, on the history of heritage preservation in Aotearoa New Zealand.[7] Academics and practitioners connected—in person and virtually—from Australia,

New Zealand, and wider regions. The walls cracked to let in the light.

While the conference was multi-disciplinary, this related issue of *Interstices* consistently attracted papers from authors with architecture backgrounds—although one now lectures in a planning programme—rather than from the range of disciplines. The walls have remained more intact than we had imagined they would. All the papers utilise archival research and include the analysis of archival documents. However, most of the history discussed herein is comparatively recent: all the topics are post-war, two are from the 1970s, and two are twenty-first century. Indeed, several of the papers are concerned quite explicitly with current debates, where history (and heritage) are pivotal to an understanding of the contemporary situation and to potential policy changes. History matters, not just for the careful and interpretive documentation of the past, but towards awakenings in the present, and a platform for speculating on the future.[8]

This issue's reviewed papers

The issue opens with Athanasios Tsakonas and Anoma Pieris' paper, "Eucalypts of Hodogaya: Organic Cultural Diplomacy at Yokohama War Cemetery." War graves honour those who died in conflict. They mark the human cost of battles. The Yokohama War Cemetery is the primary Japanese site commemorating Allied casualties of the Second World War. Tsakonas and Pieris explore the Australian contribution to its design and construction. It was a place of ambivalence for Australians initially, given its distance and the painful memories of the wartime cruelty Japan inflicted, along with the anonymity of the cemetery's creators. Tsakonas and Pieris argue that it differs from conventional war cemeteries, involving a process described as "organic cultural diplomacy" and the "mutual acclimatisation" of co-creators "to the place-making practices of a former foe"—a foe then burdened with its maintenance and the imprint of military defeat. The reconciliation of troubled memories is tempered through landscaping and planting (a hybrid of the Japanese garden and Australian eucalypts), and vernacular materials. The paper is part of a wider project examining the architectural contribution of the Commonwealth War Grave's Commission across Asia.

From Japan, the issue moves to Italy, with Hamish Lonergan's "Participation and/or/against Tacit Knowledge: ILAUD, 1976–1981." Italian architect Giancarlo De Carlo founded the International Laboratory for Architecture and Urban Design (ILAUD) in Urbino, southeast of Bologna. Each year from 1976 to 1981, it held summer workshops that brought together architects and planners as well as students and academics from both disciplines, with discussion and activities focused on user participation and how designers of the built environment should engage with those who use it. Lonergan explains that the emphasis on user participation was intentionally in opposition to what De Carlo called formalism, later subsumed under the umbrella of postmodernism. Utilising period sources such as ILAUD's annual reports, Lonergan exposes disagreement among the workshop delegates on both geographical and disciplinary lines, even as they were united in their commitment to including user participation in the design process.

Concurrently in Australia, the federal government was running its competition for the design of Parliament House in Canberra. In "Diagrams in the field: Three conceptual approaches in the entries for the 1979 Australian Parliament House design competition," Luke Tipene's primary concern is the ways in

which the competition entries did or did not respond to Canberra's isolation and Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony Griffin's 1912 plan for the city. He finds three conceptual approaches within the lesser-known competition entries—Autonomous, Symbolic, and Representational—and illustrates each with examples. He also teases out the ways in which they interpret democracy, and the risks and potential gains involved in attempting to represent such forms of governance in architecture and urban planning/design.

Susan Holden and Olivia Daw's paper is also concerned with Australian government initiatives. Titled "Watershed or Whimper? The Australian Year of the Built Environment, 2004," it explores a single calendar year designated for understanding, appreciating, and addressing issues relating to the built environment. Stemming from intense lobbying by the architectural profession, it was held in a period when sustainability, design quality, and the import of collaborative effort gained political traction. Nearly two decades on, it is opportune to evaluate whether this action was merely an empty political flourish or an initiative leading to positive change. Holden and Daw show that the Year of the Built Environment (YBE) elevated the imperatives for "sustainability" and "design" in political and popular discourse, and that there were incremental shifts in appointments (state architecture positions) and processes but, ultimately, only modest progress in overcoming perennial professional silos and fragmented policymaking, and the precedence given to the "built" ignored the criticality of the "natural" in the urban ecosystem—an oversight keenly highlighted in the climate crisis today.

While Holden and Daw's focus is Australia, many of their observations resonate in Aotearoa New Zealand, which had its own Year of the Built Environment in 2005, when the Urban Design Protocol was launched. It was an opportunity to highlight the importance of the urban, so often disregarded in a country where the natural environment is fundamental to national identity. However, the policies attending to ecological sustainability are partial, and government appointments explicitly championing design are few and fleeting. Indeed, the National Policy Statement on Urban Development 2020 and Resource Management (Enabling Housing Supply and Other Matters) Amendment Act 2021 effectively trumped much of the progress made in quality design aspiration.

The 2020 policy and the 2021 amendment inform the final reviewed paper, Carolyn Hill's "The 'Soft Edge': Heritage, Special Character, and New Planning Directives in Aotearoa Cities." Her focus is on Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland's highly contested special character areas. She provides a historical overview of preservation and conservation in Aotearoa from an initial concern with scenic landscapes, expanding across the twentieth century to include buildings, objects, and neighbourhoods, along with respect for Māori ontologies and a broader conception of significance values. She argues that special character areas reinforce gentrification, with the aura benefits captured by affluent elites. Historic "character" is undoubtedly subjective and inherently political. Hill's provocative paper doesn't dismiss "character," but opens the possibility for architects, planners, and heritage practitioners to redefine, remake, and expand the concept towards "reinvigorating" and "fortifying" urban life equitably.

Postgraduate creative design research projects

The issue includes two postgraduate design research papers, drawing from thesis projects completed in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Architecture (Professional) at the University of Auckland Waipapa Taumata Rau and Victoria University of Wellington Te Herenga Waka respectively.

Tom Collins' work, "Spectral Urbanism," was supervised by Andrew Douglas and responds to the clearance of some 15,000 houses from the inner-Auckland suburbs of Grafton and Newton in the late 1960s and the 1970s to make way for a major motorway junction known colloquially as "Spaghetti Junction." Collins' project includes the design of an archive facility to house a collection of historic wallpapers and a pedestrian walkway bridging to a replication of a previous colonial villa on a traffic island in the motorway junction, a locale itself undergoing regenerative natural growth. The multi-media design work aims to reveal history through narrative and storytelling.

Ella Jones's project, "Drawing Ground," was supervised by Simon Twose and takes inspiration from the legal personhood given to date to three Aotearoa natural landscapes and geographical features. Jones gives personhood to the whenua (land), calling it Ground rather than ground, and thinks through her relationship to Ground through drawing. Thus we see Ground's mapping, Ground's surface, and Ground's thickness, culminating in Ground's architecture, the redesign of Gummer and Ford's Dominion Museum in Wellington's Buckle Street (1930–36).

Reviews and interviews

Completing the issue are two book reviews, one exhibition review, and one interview. The first of the book reviews, by Samer Wanan, considers Nikolina Bobic and Farzaneh Haghighi's edited collection, *The Routledge Handbook of Architecture, Urban Space and Politics, Volume 1: Violence, Spectacle and Data*, published by Routledge in 2022. The second, by Andrew Douglas, reviews and responds to Mark Jackson and Mark Hanlen's *Securing Urbanism: Contagion, Power and Risk*, published by Springer in 2020. Sēmisi Fetokai Potauaine and ʻŌkusitino Māhina offer a Tāvāist response to the exhibition, *Oceanic Architectural Routes: The Photographic Archive of Mike Austin*, curated by Albert Refiti and shown in late 2022–early 2023 at Objectspace. The interview with Ian Athfield (1940–2015; in 2015, Sir Ath) and Sir Miles Warren (1929–2022) was conducted in the Adam Auditorium, City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi in 2012. In the wake of Sir Miles' death in 2022, it is published here as a tribute to both architects.

The Ngā Pūtahitanga / Crossings conference, the collaboration between SAHANZ and the AUHPH, and this issue of *Interstices* were all premised on inter-disciplinary dialogue. But trans-disciplinarity is now the catch-cry; the walls are set to continue coming down.

NOTES

1. Hannah Hopewell and Andrew Douglas, "Introduction: The City without Qualities," *Interstices: Journal of Architecture and Related Arts*, no. 16 (2015): 1–6.

2. Aristotle, in Roger Paden, "The Two Professions of Hippodamus of Miletus," *Philosophy & Geography* 4, no. 1 (2001): 25–26.

3. Spiro Kostof, *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

4. Robert Freestone, *Urban Nation: Australia's Planning Heritage* (Collingwood, VIC: CSIRO Publishing in association with the Department of the Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts, and the Australian Heritage Council, 2010); Julia Gatley and Lucy Treep (eds), *The Auckland School: 100 Years of Architecture and Planning* (Auckland: University of Auckland, School of Architecture and Planning, 2017); Peter Hall and Mark Tewdwr-Jones, *Urban and Regional Planning* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2019).

5. Te pūtahitanga, te waihanga, te whakamahere me ngā tāone expresses confluence and convergence (pūtahitanga); to make, build, generate (waihanga); and to plan, chart, or map (whakamahere).

6. The latticed tukutuku pattern found in wharenui (Māori meeting houses). See Julia Gatley and Elizabeth Aitken Rose (eds), *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand: 39, Ngā Pūtahitanga / Crossings* (Auckland: SAHANZ, 2023).

7. Ben Schrader, "Fabricating Identities: A Short History of Historic Preservation in Aotearoa New Zealand, 1890–1990," presented at Ngā Pūtahitanga / Crossings on 25 November 2022. Schrader is an independent public historian based in Wellington. In 2022, he was the J. D. Stout Fellow at Victoria University of Wellington Te Herenga Waka. For the followship, and in 2023, he is writing, with Michael Kelly, a history of historic preservation in Aotearoa New Zealand. In addition, his conference address is being published in John H. Stubbs, William Chapman, Julia Gatley, and Ross King, *Architectural Conservation in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands: National Experiences and Practice* (New York: Routledge, forthcoming).

8. This is exemplified by Critical Heritage Studies, which situates heritage (and history) firmly in the production of the present, as "future-making" practices. See: Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Rodney Harrison et al., *Heritage Futures: Comparative Approaches to Natural and Cultural Heritage Practices* (London: UCL Press, 2020).

ATHANASIOS TSAKONAS AND ANOMA PIERIS

Eucalypts of Hodogaya: Organic cultural diplomacy at Yokohama War Cemetery

Fig. 1 George Colville (1950). Australian war graves section at International War Graves Commission, Yokohama, Japan. [Painting, Australian War Memorial, ART26951]

Located within a former Hodogaya recreation park about 5 kilometres west of the city centre, the 27-acre Yokohama War Cemetery is the primary commemoration and remembrance site for Commonwealth Allies of the Second World War within mainland Japan. Alongside Hiroshima Peace Park and Tokyo's Yasakuni Shrine, it serves to remind both foreign nationals and locals of war's consequences. Yet beyond official narratives, its establishment in the peripheral city of Yokohama, rather than Tokyo, Japan's imperial, cultural, and political heart, remains relatively unknown.

This article aims to understand better Australia's significant role in this war cemetery's creation. Under the auspices of the Australian War Graves Service, Australian and Japanese designers and the contractors of both nations

collaborated to create a significant setting for deceased servicemen and women. Whilst ostensibly another of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission's (CWGC) many such sites throughout the world, Australian involvement offers an alternative interpretation of its conception.

Pursuing the theme of "organic cultural diplomacy," this study examines this important Australian contribution to our region through those factors leading to the allocation of the site and subsequent masterplan, asking why this cemetery differs considerably from the conventional war cemeteries. It also unveils the many unknown modernist architects, landscapers, contractors, and officials who put aside their differences and post-war sensitivities to collaborate while recording and analysing the considered detailing and construction of the memorials using local stones and cast-bronze fenestrations.

Set deep within a *hinoki* pine and *sakura*-shrouded hillscape, the former Yokohama City Children's Amusement Park (*Jido-Yuenchi*) now accommodates five national burial grounds comprising British, Australian, Indian Forces, a joint New Zealand–Canadian section, and a post-war section. Within are found the remains of 1,555 Commonwealth servicemen, casualties of the Second World War and its immediate aftermath,[1] most of whom perished whilst prisoners of war (POWs) in Japan. Australia's prominent role in overlaying this Western cemetery template on an existing parkland is evident in a backdrop of towering Tasmanian snow gum eucalypts, the whole ensemble modified with conspicuously Japanese garden features. Its hybrid outcome is equally reminiscent of two contrasting cultures of memorialisation: the uniform grid layouts of the Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves Commission—called "silent cities" by English poet Rudyard Kipling—and the forest model advocated by their counterpart, the German War Graves Commission (*Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge*).[2]

It is tempting to interpret these dispersed gridded sections as illustrating the post-war dissolution of the temporarily forged imperial force into self-conscious national identities. Australians, for example, identified as British subjects until the Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1948. Comparing the interred numbers at Hodogaya with those at Kanchanaburi, Thailand (6,858) and Kranji, Singapore (4,461) substantiates most casualties occurring in Japanese-occupied wartime territories where Australians defended British imperial interests.[3] Of the 8,031 Australian casualties of the war with Japan, Hodogaya accounts for only 277, mainly relocated from Ambon, Hainan Island, and Japan's POW camps.[4] Similarly, the stone cenotaph Yokohama Memorial within the Indian Forces section recognises the combined contribution of those from present-day India and Pakistan, whose wartime contribution has been consistently marginalised.[5] Furthermore, the post-war section occupying Hodogaya's highest ground displaced a local cenotaph and burial ground dedicated to the war-dead of Imperial Japan.[6]

This paper raises questions useful for examining what we consider Australia's most significant transnational design intervention post-war, exploring *inter alia* why its history has been neglected by architectural historians, along with the circumstances, inspirations, and people involved. Its wider commemorative context is Japan's post-war creation of the internationally recognised Hiroshima and Nagasaki peace parks, as well as the Chidorigafuchi National Cemetery (*Chidorigafuchi Senbotsusha Boen*), and the controversial Shinto Yasukuni Shrine, both in Tokyo, commemorating all those who died in service

of Japan. Historian Joan Beaumont, exploring Hodogaya as an example of how a major commemorative site might slip into a lower place in the hierarchy of war memory, attributes Australian ambivalence towards and flagging interest in this cemetery to several factors.[7] These include Japan's physical and cultural distance for veterans and next-of-kin; a visceral dislike of Japan on account of the considerable number of wartime casualties and mistreatment of POWs; and, significantly, the marginality of Yokohama for Australian narratives of the war centred on former conflict sites and/or prison camps. The notion of burying comrades and family members in Japan was repugnant to many Australians due to the inhumane treatment many prisoners endured, revealed after repatriation and from War Crimes Trials but, as Beaumont also observes, as a result of Australian racism and wartime anti-Japanese propaganda.[8] Indeed, the ambivalence of Hodogaya has compounded the anonymity of its creators, despite its international significance as the pre-eminent resting place for Commonwealth service personnel of the Pacific War. The cemetery appears as an anomaly within the broader constellation of national commemorative spaces, incongruously maintained by a foreign organisation in Yokohama, the capital city of Kanagawa Prefecture and the second largest by population in Japan. This work is a preliminary exploration of a broader topic regarding the architectural contribution to CWGC cemeteries throughout Asia, an effort at uncovering key contingent concerns and lines of analysis regarding creating and maintaining a subnational and extra-geographical commemorative space.

Approach

The abrupt end of the Asia–Pacific War on 2 September 1945, following the atomic devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, exerted extraordinary pressure on the Allied powers, including Australia. The Imperial Japanese Armed Forces surrendering throughout Southeast Asia, the Far East, Oceania, and the wider southwestern Pacific, set in motion operations to locate and liberate POWs, identify the missing, and commence recovery and burial procedures of those who had perished. The Australian War Graves Service (AWGS), from its Melbourne headquarters, and well-placed through its active graves' recovery and registration units stationed across northern Australia and liberated parts of Papua New Guinea, mobilised a wide-scale public works division by which to design and construct numerous war cemeteries and memorials throughout the wider region. Comprising recently demobilised local architects, engineers, and horticulturists, this design unit under the stewardship of Brigadier Athol E. Brown would, by mid-1946, materialise as the CWGC's ANZAC (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) Agency.

Whereas much has been written about the celebrated architects of the CWGC from its founding in 1917 and its work following the Great War,[9] these otherwise unidentified Melbourne architects reverted to their domestic careers by the mid-1950s. The legacy of their completed works, particularly Yokohama, provides an opportunity to explore an Australian design approach somewhat distinct from the traditional architectural and horticultural guidelines imposed by the London-based CWGC. Their transnational collaboration with Japanese architects, gardeners, and contractors, and use of local building materials and construction methods, are part of a larger history of Australian influence overseas—and Asian influence on Australian memorial practices post-war.

Australian intervention in this major commemorative project highlights an important point of differentiation from previous imperial collaborations, significantly shaped by its shared Pacific campaign with United States (US) forces: the urgency to defend the Australian continent and its immediate north and southwest Pacific territories. These changes defined a more bounded sensibility of Australian post-war nationhood and agency as an independent entity within the Commonwealth, as evident in Hodogaya's layout. Unlike those uniform imperial grids encompassing Britain's allies within France's Villers-Bretonneux, Egypt's El Alamein, or Thailand's Kanchanaburi war cemeteries, Hodogaya's burials are organised by nationality in segregated sections, each with their memorial and only connected by landscaped pathways. Whereas CWGC cemeteries throughout Asia are typically located at former battlefields (Kohima), POW camps (Thanbyuzayat), or alongside hospitals (Kranji), the AWGS selected an established public garden in Yokohama. Reminiscent of the inspiration to create a piece of England in a "foreign field," expressed sentimentally in Rupert Brooke's poem, "The Soldier," in Australia's case, the more careful implantation of the national presence suggests other ways of interpreting this geopolitically exceptional space.[10] These design choices and gestures indicate an emerging hybrid Australian commemorative practice rooted in the Pacific geography and open to local adaptations that are not necessarily mandated but were encouraged for CWGC cemeteries.

This study's framing draws on several recent historical studies of the Pacific War, in particular, efforts at expanding a field of inquiry previously dominated by military historians, by identifying diverse mnemonic social and cultural perspectives on the war.[11] The most recent addition to this growing research area is Huang, Lee, and Vickers' *Frontiers of Memory in the Asia–Pacific*, which includes Anoma Pieris' chapter on "organic heritage diplomacy" through an exchange of native flora between the creators of Australia's Cowra Japanese Garden and Japan's Naoetsu Peace Park, which this paper validates.[12] These examples are important precedents for politicising these sites' physical designs and material characteristics as part of a dynamic social heritage whose meanings and representations are never static—and whose organic transformations over the years negotiate memorialisation through cultural diplomacy, often based on individual design choices regarding planting and materials. They contribute to an emerging and rapidly expanding field of critical heritage studies particularly sensitised to issues of dissonant heritage,[13] and Paul Connerton's "incorporating practices," where embodied movements through gardens choreographed in ways that build associational narratives offer a deeper understanding of intangible aspects of place memory.[14] From an architectural viewpoint, landscaping and building memorials can be regarded as a similarly embodied practice. Such observations are particularly useful if we study Hodogaya's audience and the contrast between a public park, Japanese-style strolling garden, and a Western military cemetery.

Amongst the more explicit socio-spatial cues these authors investigate are tensions emerging from the creation, maintenance, and reception of such sites, greatly influenced by seminal intellectual interrogations of spaces like Hiroshima by Lisa Yoneyama and literature on places of pain and shame.[15] Many of these studies acknowledge the dual legacies of war cemeteries as recipient spaces for the remains, both of lives lost in battle and as POWs. Kenneth Helphand's *Defiant*

Gardens or Connie Chang's *Nature Behind Barbed Wire* illustrate how, in fact, embodied practices of garden-making by prisoners during the war, as acts of resilience, affirmation, or resistance, or simply as pragmatic strategies, precede these commemorative landscapes, adding depth and meaning to memorial gardens created after the war that venture beyond prescribed military designs.[16]

While equally capable of provoking reflection on war's unnecessary traumas and with it inviting reconciliatory actions, a contemplative garden space's aesthetic beauty may diminish the war's more violent residual effects on families and communities, displacing or masking sites with difficult histories. Beaumont observes the beauty of Hodogaya's garden was appropriated by Australian authorities to reassure families of those buried there.[17] This ambiguous tension, most profoundly represented at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, is equally present at Yokohama War Cemetery. As with the Cowra Japanese Garden, which in many ways inverts the commemorative hierarchy of international, national, and subnational memorials by introducing a Japanese strolling garden to an Australian country town, the cemetery at Hodogaya fluctuates between its official and diplomatic use for annual commemorative events and as a recreational space for locals enjoying the ambience created by the cultivated landscape, most prominently of towering eucalypts. Introducing eucalypts as a segue into a broader narrative of Australia's role in war graves creation post-war, this study offers insights into AWGS and its successor ANZAC Agency's involvement, the relatively unknown designers, and Hodogaya's selection for this important transnational commemorative space.

Hodogaya

One of eighteen wards in greater Yokohama, Hodogaya was a considered choice. Its Edo period location along the Tōkaidō road was encapsulated in woodcut prints by Katsushika Hokusai and Utagawa Hiroshige. The landing place for American naval officer Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853 and the capital of the Kanagawa Treaty Port from 1859, Yokohama has a long history of engaging with foreigners. In 1854 it established the Yokohama Foreign General Cemetery, containing numerous graves of foreign servicemen who had died in Japan. Similarly, upon entering Japan soon after the surrender, General Douglas MacArthur landed at Atsugi Aerodrome in the adjacent cities of Yamato and Ayase in Kanagawa. He established his initial headquarters in Yokohama while residing in the Hotel New Grand. The US Armed Forces created their largest temporary military cemetery on the Yokohama Country and Athletic Club sports fields in nearby Yamate, whilst a requisitioned building in the downtown Yamashitachō district became the central Mausoleum.[18] Furthermore, whereas the first contingent of Australian troops was stationed in distant Kure, Hiroshima Prefecture, upon arriving in February 1946, AWGS personnel were already operating alongside their US counterparts, making use of their burial grounds for consolidating Commonwealth remains. These first six months were decisive in establishing a working knowledge and logistical base in Yokohama, pending only a formal decision.

The strategic policies determining the location and composition of the permanent war cemetery in Japan were issued by the Australian Army Headquarters in Melbourne to the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF) as Memorandum No. 47325 on 4 July 1946.[19] Within the eight broad guidelines,

two key decisions underpinned the selection of Hodogaya; the first disallowed the repatriation of remains, thus necessitating the creation of overseas cemeteries, and the second appointed the AWGS on behalf of the Commonwealth Allies to establish war cemeteries in Japan.[20] Concurrently, the CWGC established the ANZAC Agency on 1 June 1946, taking over AWGS's post-war responsibility for Australasia, Borneo, New Guinea, and the southwest Pacific. Brown was promoted to Brigadier and appointed its inaugural Secretary-General.[21] Only two of the guidelines—Cemetery Site and Burials—directly affected design: the former mandated the permanent burial ground must be located within the greater Tokyo–Yokohama area and be accessible post-war for tourists and visiting relatives/next-of-kin of the deceased; furthermore, it had to lend itself to a "satisfactory beautification scheme."[22] The Burials policy directed that, where possible, the deceased would be interred by nationality, inevitably ensuring distinct spatial zones within the overall masterplan.[23]

The Australian Lt-Gen Horace Robertson's first duty, assuming command of BCOF in June 1946, was the selection of a large recreational park in Hodogaya as the site for the permanent Commonwealth war cemetery.[24] One of a number of possible sites proposed by AWGS, Robertson's "delightful little valley" met both principal criteria as set out in the guiding memorandum.[25] This 11-hectare parkland was conceived in 1923 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the promulgation of the local school system, and completed in 1929 with funds raised and donated by the City of Yokohama and the general public (including teachers and children). The undulating topography accommodated a youth house, swimming pool, archery range, and a large athletic field, amongst other facilities, and also served as ski slopes during winter (Fig. 2). An 18-metre-high stone *chūkonhi* (monument for lost souls) adorned with a bronze eagle and dedicated to the fallen soldiers and sailors of the Sino–Japanese and Russo–Japanese wars on the hillside to the north overlooked the athletic field.[26] The occupation forces soon demolished this feature because it signified Japan's militaristic ideology. Its stone blockwork, though, was salvaged and repurposed throughout the park.

Fig. 2 Anonymous (1935). The athletic field in the Yokohama City Children's Amusement Park with a Japanese memorial in the background. [Postcard, Yokohama Urban Development Memorial Museum Collection]

Designing a war cemetery

The Yokohama War Cemetery is arguably one of the CWGC's most expansive and unique commemorative sites. Initial survey drawings prepared by the US Eighth Army[27] indicate a terrain interwoven and interconnected by organic pathways following its natural contours and connecting various sporting and recreational facilities without assuming a *tabula rasa* (Fig. 3). A discordant array of individual cemetery plots was imposed on this layout. Indeed, whilst not uncommon to concentrate the dead in Commonwealth war cemeteries by their nationalities, Yokohama's physical segregation of the burial grounds coupled with recumbent instead of upright headstones suggests a willing subservience to the landscape. The architects, carefully working within the site's physical constraints, chose the most level plateaus, ensuring the terrain's minimal disruption through earthworks. Although interconnected through pathways, this segregation precluded initial ideas of a single common monument as the focal point for the cemetery (Fig. 4). Individual crosses of sacrifice and a memorial in the Indian Forces section present each national cemetery as part of a contiguous and dynamic spatial ensemble, rather than a static destination. An Australian design team was tasked with creating an idyllic setting thousands of miles from home in their former adversary's homeland.

Fig. 3 Yokohama War Cemetery layout (1952). [Drawing, National Archives of Australia, NAA A2909 AGS2-2-65 Part 2. Courtesy CWGC Archive]

Fig. 4 Aerial view of Yokohama War Cemetery (1947). [Photograph, CWGC Archive]

The ANZAC Agency's inaugural offices were in a nondescript 1920s neo-Baroque office building at 434 Collins Street, Melbourne. In keeping with the principles outlined in Sir Frederic Kenyon's 1918 report to the CWGC, titled "War Graves: How the Cemeteries Abroad will be Designed," Brown assembled a team of professional and technical staff, most of whom had returned after serving during the war. They included University of Melbourne architecture graduates Peter Spier, Brett Finney, Robert Coxhead, Clayton Vize, and Alan Robertson, and English-born horticulturist Alec Maisey.[28] Robertson had, until recently, been a prisoner in Japan. Over the following decade, this group would design and construct new war cemeteries and memorials throughout mainland Australia and beyond, including New Guinea (Port Moresby, Rabaul, Lae), Malaysia (Labuan), New Caledonia (Bourail), and Indonesia (Makassar).[29] There was also the Tatura German Military Cemetery and Japanese Military Cemetery in Cowra.

With the overseas sites, a transnational contribution of regional labour, materials, and manufacturing skills played a significant role. Post-war limitations on shipping and construction materials would see Singapore-fired clay bricks, Gosford limestone, and bronze fenestrations from Melbourne, amongst others, traverse the region to their intended locations. These architects sourced, selected, and specified their building and landscape features from within this wider regional marketplace, often having to improvise. They also provided hands-on supervision and construction knowledge to the predominantly semi- and unskilled labourers engaged by the local contractors. And having experienced the deprivations war produced, they were not burdened by the legacy of their profession's predecessors, impressing upon them prescribed imperial cultural norms of practice or patrimony. Open to new ways of building and using local materials wherever possible, these architects set aside whatever reservations they may have had regarding non-anglophone societies and opened meaningful collaboration with their counterparts. In the case of Yokohama, this fostered working

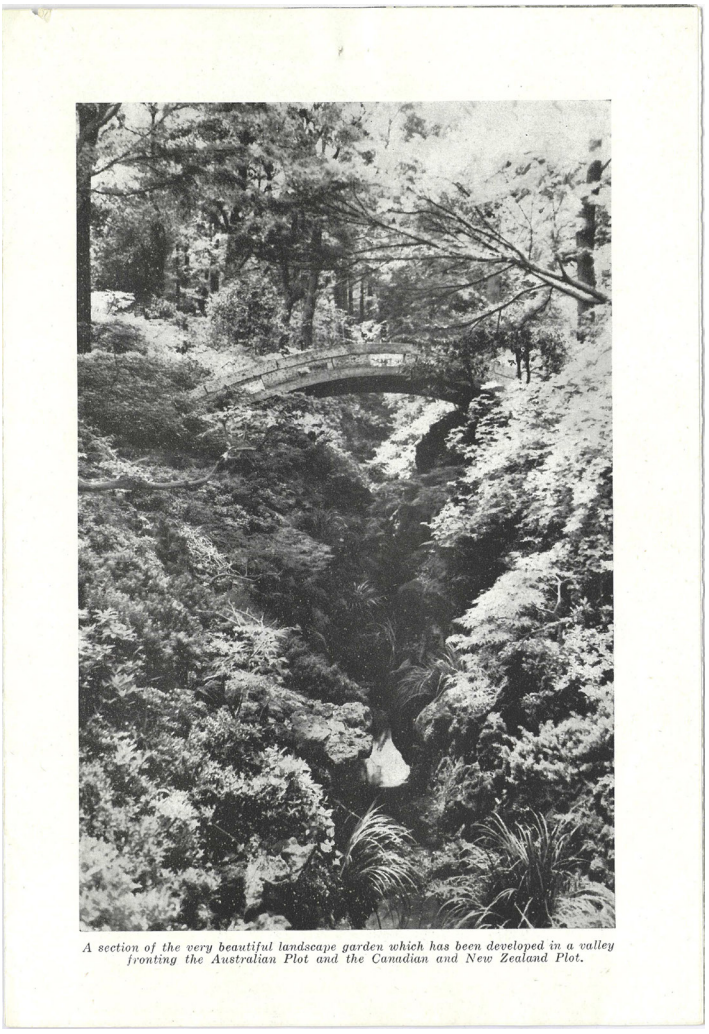

Fig. 5 View of landscaped stream and bridge (1951). [Brochure, National Archives of Australia, NAAMP742/1, 132/1/716 Yokohama War Cemetery. Courtesy CWGC Archive]

relationships with Japanese architects Yoji Kasajima and Yoshio Iwanaga, the gardeners of the Tokyo Nursery Company, and the main contractor Yabashi Marble.

This meaningful cooperation is most evident in a Japanese aesthetic sensibility underlying the final cemetery "effect" because of Maisey and architects Finney and Coxhead's conscious decisions that determined Yokohama's landscape and material culture, respectively. By way of example, Maisey, in the preliminary stages, identified two features warranting considered intervention. Firstly, an unsightly open concrete drain runs alongside the main entrance, through the valley, a former swimming pool, ending at a series of interconnecting open ponds. Following feedback from inaugural site supervisor Jack Leemon and Tokyo Nursery gardeners, local rocks lined this drain creating a dry stream *karesansui*. A small, reinforced concrete and stone curved bridge *soribashi* was constructed spanning it (Fig. 5). This Japanese "effect" was subsequently featured in the unveiling ceremony's official brochure.

Secondly, despite the prevailing sentiment that Commonwealth war cemeteries ostensibly reflected the transposed English garden, the CWGC had always provided measures to consider local conditions and climates; for sites outside Britain with varying concentrations of non-British remains to actively infuse

them with a variety of trees, shrubs, and plantings native to the deceased soldiers' origins. Consequently, silver birches and oak trees ceremonially dotted Yokohama's British section, sycamores and (curiously) eucalypts within the Canada–New Zealand section,[30] respectively, whilst Indian cedar and Himalayan oak framed the Indian Forces plot. Often symbolic, the needed cultural emphasis was accomplished whilst Maisey's vision drove the overall cemetery landscape scheme. Through thinning out overgrown shrubs and undergrowth and introducing numerous traditional Japanese tree species, including claret ash, atlas cedar, Japanese cherry blossom or *sakura*, *hinoki* pines, conifers, camphor, and cypress trees, Maisey reimagined this otherwise naturally vegetated sprawling Hodogaya parkland as a hybrid Japanese strolling garden.[31]

There were also the eucalypts, the rapidly growing species synonymous with Australia but not unfamiliar to the Japanese. In the 1870s, global recognition of the eucalypts' medicinal and anti-malarial properties saw variants of the Tasmanian blue gum, *eucalyptus globulus*, imported to Japan, occasionally even appearing within religious compounds, such as Kamakura's Buddhist Zuisen-ji Temple. A eucalyptus *hibakujumoko*, or atomic survivor tree, is located on the entrance bridge to Hiroshima Castle, having survived the blast. Renowned manga artist Keiji Nakazawa, a Hiroshima survivor, even dedicated a 1986 volume titled *Under the Eucalyptus Tree* to this species.[32] And in 1939, as a gesture to improve their deteriorating relationship, the City of Yokohama and North Sydney Council exchanged what can be regarded as nationally representative native flora. To great fanfare and media coverage, North Sydney received 80 cherry trees, whilst 100 eucalypts arrived at Yokohama Port. Similar exchanges of diplomatic flora during the pre-war era can be traced between Japan and Washington DC, as well as the exchanges mentioned above between Cowra and Naoetsu.[33] The temporal and ecological challenges of introducing and transplanting species in unfamiliar terrain and the intensive labour involved in sustaining them through extremes of climate or infestation have been well documented for these other scenarios. At the Yokohama War Cemetery, whilst officially planted within the Australian section, Maisey introduced many more eucalypts throughout, including lemon scented gums germinated from seeds on a BCOF farm in Shimogahara and Tasmanian snow gums from the cemetery's nursery (Fig. 6). Many of the former

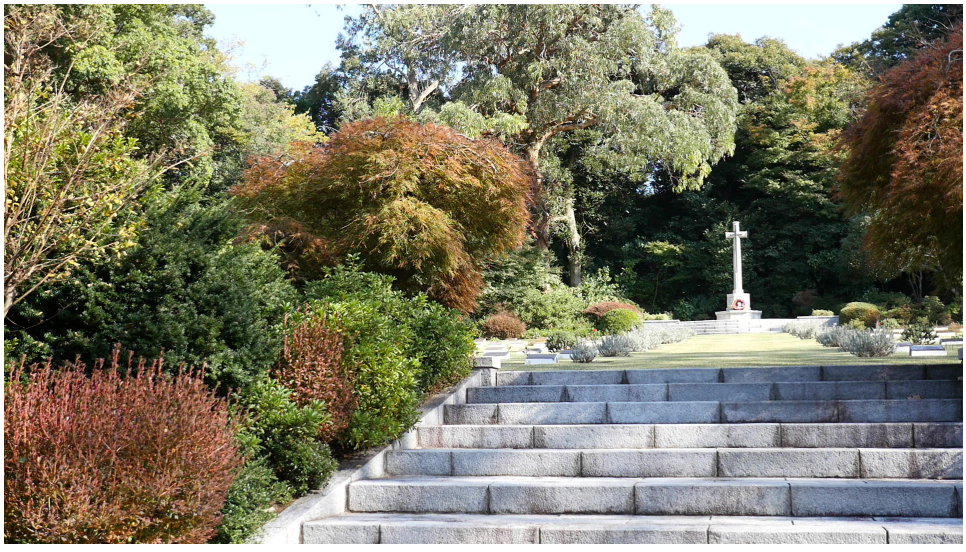

Fig. 6 Two eucalypts in the Australian section, Yokohama War Cemetery, in 2014, before Typhoon Hagibis uprooted one in October 2019. [Photograph: Athanasios Tsakonas]

didn't survive the harsh winter snow and frosts common in that part of Japan. Still, the snow gums slowly acclimatised and now tower over the entire war cemetery, imposing an unruly Australian identity on a manicured space.[34]

Although Hodogaya's monuments are somewhat limited in scale compared to CWGC monuments across significant sites in Europe, North Africa, and Asia, their collage of local materials and the detailing affirm this study's outcome. At the same time, no records have yet surfaced corroborating these findings; a thorough examination of the construction drawings and recent site investigation by Yabashi Marble reveal that the selected stone suggests a conscious Japanese cultural influence both Hokkaido-born Kasajima and University of Washington-educated Iwanaga imparted on their Australian colleagues. Unlike the emblematic homogeneity of a single stone in the architecture of many war cemeteries, sourcing materials throughout greater Japan for Hodogaya invites other geo-cultural meanings and associations into the site.

The volcanic Oya stone from the Oya-ishi region of Tochigi Prefecture used to line walls of traditional Japanese burial chambers constitutes the primary building block for this cemetery.[35] Flourishing throughout the Meiji period (1868–1912), the stone had fallen out of favour until it clad architect Frank Lloyd Wright's Imperial Hotel (1922) in Tokyo. Blue and yellow variants of *Tatsuyama-ishi*, another volcanic rock widely used for stone coffins in the Kofun period (300–538 AD), adorn wall interiors, door jambs, columns, and flooring. *Inada*, otherwise known as Himalayan granite and an important ornamental stone from Ibaraki Prefecture used extensively for pre-war civic buildings, including Hiroshima's

Fig. 7 Records Building in 2014. [Photograph: Athanasios Tsakonas]

Atomic Bomb Monument, was used for the Cross of Sacrifice.[36] For centuries, Mt Yoshino hardwood from Nara Prefecture formed the intricate structure of temples, including use for temple furniture, doors, and gates.

A *hara-kafu*-shaped transom, associated with roofing the traditional *okuruma-yose* (carriage porch) synonymous with Shinto temples, frames the doorway of the Records Building preceding the inner gates (Fig. 7). This distinctive motif in blue *Tatsuyama* stone reaffirms a Japanese design sensibility upon this otherwise foreign intervention—an otherwise subtle feature seemingly suggestive of the traditional English lychgate. Inside this room, holding the register of all those

interred, polished grey *Hototogisu* marble clads a stone lectern and a dedication panel behind it. Yabashi Marble, recommended by Iwanaga and appointed for Yokohama's main contract, were the masons for the interior stone cladding of Tokyo's National Diet building.[37]

Conclusion

This paper outlines some of the key concerns and valuable details of the several agents involved in the co-creation of the Yokohama War Cemetery as a culturally attenuated and materially hybrid, organic expression of diplomacy, a process of mutual acclimatisation to the place-making practices of a former foe. It lacks a deeper understanding, however, of the local council and community's reception of the cemetery in the war's aftermath. Given the likely economic and social burdens it might impose, the Yokohama city authorities initially questioned why such a symbolic and international memorial space was introduced to a subnational site.[38] Was maintaining distance between Tokyo's national memorials and the allied forces' sites preferable, or was Yokohama selected because of its treaty port identity and US military concentration? Was accommodating a foreign cemetery considered a spiritual burden at a time when Japanese public sentiment was "embracing defeat"?[39] Or did the mutual cultural opacity caused by Australia's (like Japan's) history of racial insulation and lack of a meaningful connection to that city circumscribe the cemetery's dissonant presence in Yokohama? In a translated *Kanagawa Shimbun* newspaper article dated 9 June 1957, on the "New Hodogaya Park"—replacing the original relinquished to the Commonwealth and nearing completion adjacent to the northern boundary—it was reported that one reason the municipality approved this new recreation ground was that the "British Commonwealth Cemetery does not have the sadness of a Japanese cemetery and its proximity should not influence the minds of the children."[40] Moreover, the introduction of many Japanese features was not always welcomed nor always sustainable. On his visit in 1960, Brown found it "very pleasing to report that the 'Japanese' character of the cemetery is rapidly being replaced by the development of the cemetery more along 'Commonwealth' lines."[41]

The architects and horticulturists developed a hybrid plan of planting and material practice to reconcile the many influences and cultural positions in cemetery design. The anonymity of these designers and the paucity of information about them may well be attributed to Australian ambivalence. Still, it also raises useful questions about the short- and long-term diplomatic purpose fulfilled by war grave sites and by those designers whose activities softened the post-war imperial footprint.

NOTES

1. Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) database, www.cwgc.org/visit-us/find-cemeteries-memorials/cemetery-details/49433/yokohama-war-cemetery (accessed 25 April 2023).

2. Sidney Hurst, *The Silent Cities: An Illustrated Guide to the War Cemeteries and Memorials to the "Missing" in France and Flanders, 1914–1918* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1929), xi; Marta Garcia Carbonero, "Green Reform, Landscape Gardening and War Cemeteries," *RIHA Journal* 152 (27 June 2017), https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2017.1.70285 (accessed 25 April 2023).

3. CWGC database.

4. Australian War Memorial: Australian Prisoners of War, Prisoners of the Japanese, www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/stolenyears/ww2/japan (accessed 25 April 2023); Joan Beaumont, "The Yokohama War Cemetery, Japan: Imperial, National and Local Remembrance," in *Remembering the Second World War*, ed. Patrick Finney (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 158–74, 161.

5. The Indian Forces section accommodates 46 identified burials; the memorial commemorates 20 members.

6. Museum of Yokohama Urban History, www.yokohamajapan.com/things-to-do/detail.php?bbid=63 (accessed 25 April 2023).

7. Beaumont, "Yokohama War Cemetery," 158–74, 166–67.

8. Beaumont, "Yokohama War Cemetery," 163–64.

9. See: Philip Longworth, *The Unending Vigil: A History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission 1917–1984* (London: Leo Cooper, 1985); Major Edwin Gibson and G. Kingsley Ward, *Courage Remembered: The Story Behind the Construction and Maintenance of the Commonwealth's Military Cemeteries and Memorials of the Wars of 1914–1918 and 1939–1945* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1989).

10. Rupert Brooke, "The Soldier, 1914," *New Numbers* 4 (1915).

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12. Anoma Pieris, "Organic Heritage Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region: Reconciliatory Landscape," in *Frontiers of Memory in the Asia-Pacific: Difficult Heritage and the Transnational Politics of Postcolonial Nationalism*, ed. Shumei Huang, Hyung Kyung Lee, and Edward Vickers, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2022), 143–61.

13. J. E. Tunbridge and Gregory Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester and New York: John Wiley, 1996).

14. Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

15. Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); William Logan and Keir Reeves, *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with "Difficult Heritage"* (London: Routledge, 2008).

16. Kenneth Helphand (ed.), *Defiant Gardens: Making Gardens in Wartime* (San Antonio, TX: Trinity University Press, 2006); Connie Chiang, *Nature Behind Barbed Wire: An Environmental History of the Japanese American Incarceration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

17. Beaumont, "Yokohama War Cemetery," 165.

18. Edward Steere and Thayer M. Boardman, *Final Disposition of World War II Dead, 1945–51* (US: Historical Branch, Office of the Quartermaster General, 1957), 426–28.

19. National Archives of Australia (NAA): MP313/5 JCOSA65, War Graves Organisation in Japan. Issued by Joint Chiefs of Staff of Australia (JCOSA) to Lt-Gen John Northcott, C-in-C of BCOF.

20. CWGC: Minutes of 273rd (Special) Meeting of IWGC, 27 September 1945, 2–7; NAA: MP313/5 JCOSA65, Cable from JCOSA to Australian Mission in Tokyo, 21 January 1947.

21. CWGC: Minutes of 280th Meeting of IWGC, 17 April 1945, 6–7; Minutes of 283rd Meeting of IWGC, 18 July 1946, 3.

22. NAA: MP313/5 JCOSA65.

23. NAA: MP313/5 JCOSA65.

24. CWGC: 7 4 1 RA 41562 PT.2, Yokohama. The site was requisitioned through US Army Procurement Demand No. JPNR 4074.

25. Australian War Memorial (AWM): PR87.167 Papers of Sir Horace CH Robertson, Wallet 3. The alternative site was Etajima in Kure, HQ BCOF. Contained the sole Commonwealth temporary military cemetery in Japan.

26. Hodogaya Ward History Editorial Committee (ed.), *History of Hodogaya Ward* (Yokohama: Hodogaya Ward 70th Anniversary Commemorative Project Executive Committee, 1997), 317–18. Also, POW Research Network Japan.

27. NAA: MP742/1, 132/1/408 Miscellaneous—War Graves policy—Japan. Survey conducted by Office of the Engineer, (US) HQ Eighth Army Construction Division.

28. Children of Brown, Finney, Coxhead, and Vize, interviewed by Athanasios Tsakonas during 2022, and CWGC Archives staff cards.

29. In 1961, Makassar's 503 graves were exhumed and reinterred in Ambon.

30. Eucalypts are not native to New Zealand but were introduced from Australia in the mid-nineteenth century.

31. CWGC: 7 4 1 RA 41562 PT.3, Yokohama British Commonwealth War Cemetery, Japan. A. E. Brown, "Report of Visit by Secretary-General to British Commonwealth War Cemetery, Yokohama," 28 June 1951, 5.

32. Keiji Nakazawa, *Under the Eucalyptus Tree*, 1st edn (Japanese language) (Tokyo: Shobunsha Publishing, 1986).

33. National Park Service, Cherry Blossom Festival, "History of the Cherry Trees," www.nps.gov/subjects/cherryblossom/history-of-the-cherry-trees.htm (accessed 25 April 2023); Pieris, "Organic Heritage Diplomacy."

34. CWGC: 7 4 1 RA 41562 PT.3.

35. Stephen Mansfield, "Oya: The Town that Turned to Stone," *Japan Times*, 17 May 2014, http://www.japantimes.co.jp/life/2014/05/17/travel/oya-town-turned-stone (accessed 25 April 2023).

36. "The Inada Granite, Japanese Traditional Light Grey Ornamental Rock," www.litosonline.com/en/article/inada-granite-japanese-traditional-light-grey-ornamental-rock (accessed 25 April 2023).

37. CWGC: Yokohama War Cemetery Drawings, along with site investigation and correspondence with Yashabi Marble Co. Ltd.

38. NAA: A5105 8/7/6 PART 1, Hodogaya Cemetery Joint Committee, Cablegram from Australian Embassy, Tokyo to Dept External Affairs, Canberra, 25 February 1953.

39. John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1999).

40. CWGC: 7 4 1 RA 41562 PT.3.

41. CWGC: 7 4 1 RA 41562 PT.3.

HAMISH LONERGAN

Participation and/or/against tacit knowledge: ILAUD, 1976–1981

Prologue: Urbino, 1979

Three grainy, black-and-white photographs of an intriguing metal arch were published in the 1979 Annual Report of the International Laboratory for Architecture and Urban Design (ILAUD). It seems to float, two curves barely visible, above the ruined wall of the Orto dell'Abbondanza in Urbino, installed by three student participants of this long-running summer workshop: Kjell Beite from the Oslo School of Architecture (AHO), James Monday from the University of California (UC) Berkeley, and Pieter Uyttenhove, part of a contingent of Belgian schools. In one photograph, we see four figures—perhaps the fourth is the local craftsperson who made the arch—straining to install it, above a precipitous drop to the carpark in the Mercatale square below. Equally intriguing is a text accompanying the images. They argued this installation would provoke Urbino's residents to react "openly and honestly" to this new city gate, as a way to mediate between their skills as designers coming from the other contexts and the "collective

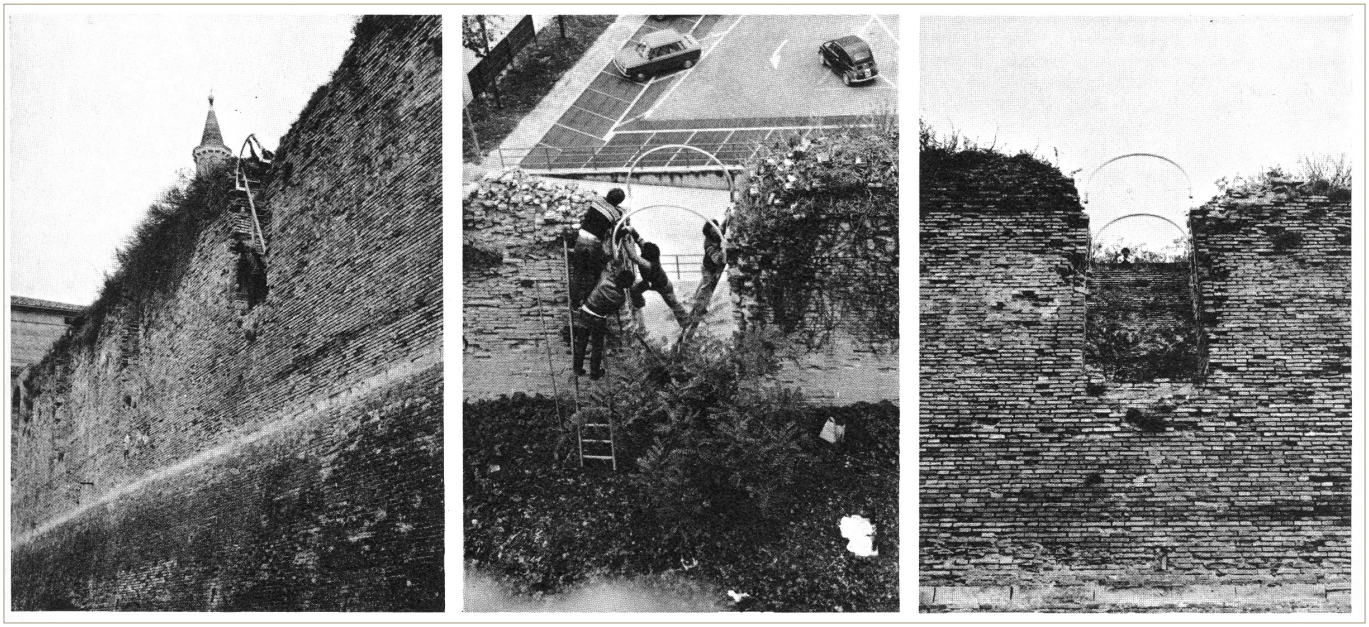


Fig. 1 Kjell Beite, James Monday, and Pieter Uyttenhove (1979). Installation titled "One to One: Project for the Orto dell'Abbondanza." [Photographs from ILAUD Annual Report, 1980. ILAUD Archive, Biblioteca Poletti, Modena]

imagination" that already existed in the city. They conclude, however, that "this remains to be seen."[1]

The project reads as an earnest attempt to engage with users across linguistic and cultural barriers, yet they had been beset with problems only hinted at in this final line. ILAUD's founder, Italian architect Giancarlo De Carlo,[2] reported that the process of finding and commissioning a craftsperson for their arch dragged on so long that it was only ready in the final week of the summer workshop. With little time for consultation and discussion, De Carlo judged that "the result was therefore scarcely significant."[3]

De Carlo had founded ILAUD as a recurring platform for architecture and planning education, operating outside traditional academic institutions. From the initial workshop in Urbino in 1976, it brought together students and educators from various European and North American architecture and planning schools alongside a revolving roster of prominent urban designers, planners, architects, theorists, and historians, including several members of Team X.[4] De Carlo insisted ILAUD was not a summer school where "traditional schools are reproduced, in a carefree holiday and travel atmosphere … but a laboratory where all the participants are equally involved in common research activity."[5] It consisted not only of the Residential Course (lectures, seminars, site visits, and a design task), but also the Permanent Activities (prepared by each school throughout the year), the real urban design projects (in Genoa in 1980 and Pistoia in 1983), all collated in publications such as the annual reports, year books, and intermittent bulletin updates. Each year, the various activities of the "Laboratory" focused on themes decided the year before: between 1976 and 1980, these themes were "re-use" and "participation," although discussions of participation continued to dominate ILAUD in later years.

Despite its ambiguous success, the metal arch offers us a view into some of the internal debates in ILAUD on this subject of participation. While the students were unable to engage meaningfully with residents, De Carlo praised the one-to-one installation, and the consultation process it enabled, as a possible future direction for ILAUD. His comments were significant because, in previous years, he had insisted that ILAUD did not expect students to actually engage in direct participatory practices at all, but instead deploy the method of "reading" the city, which had been developed over several years in ILAUD meetings and seminars: identifying the social significance of the built environment through analysis, drawing and, in particular, describing its contradictions, which might hint at existing behavioural or constructional logics submerged within the city.[6] In the 1977 Annual Report, for instance, he wrote:

> Another important principle was that of not expecting that "participation" could be concretized in a direct contact with Urbino residents (which would be next to impossible for difficulties in language, time limits, unavoidable abstraction of the topics). One should concentrate instead on "reading", that is on the attempt of understanding the real needs, the cultural traditions, the expectations, the means of expression of the Urbino community, through the perception of tensions circulating in the organizational and formal configuration of the environment.[7]

As several ILAUD members observed, there seems an impossible contradiction here, between the organisation's aims and results. Afterall, De Carlo had

deliberately framed participation in opposition to the way modernist architecture and planning had simplified and abstracted "human and social behaviour": participation, in contrast, would involve "the presence of the users during the whole course of the operation … the different phases merge and the operation ceases to be linear, one-way, and self-sufficient."[8] Indeed, architect and educator Lode Janssens from Sint-Lukas Brussels had criticised this same method of reading as a "safety-belt … a one-directional system from the observer to the observed subject … [which] gives *priority to the experiential approach of architecture* … but is no substitute for participation."[9] In this sense, the metal arch was unusual at ILAUD in attempting to do both. It "read" the Orto dell'Abbondanza and its place in the city through its double urban perspective—observing the need for a new civic entrance to the city and abstracting a form of arch already present in the area—while also attempting direct participation. Indeed, it hints that these approaches were ultimately complementary.

Understanding ILAUD

In this paper, I argue that, rather than representing a contradiction—between what Janssens characterised as a real "participatory ideology," as opposed to superficially "participatory architecture"—these approaches were united, on a more fundamental level, in their efforts to articulate new relationships between the intentions of designers and the autonomous desires of users of the built environment. In this sense, the various positions of ILAUD's participants reflected an alternative to both the top-down abstraction of modernist design, and what De Carlo and ILAUD characterised first as "formalism" and later as "eclecticism." ILAUD offers a useful microcosm through which to understand the similarities and dissimilarities of often divergent discourses on architecture and urban design—held by students, architects, planners, urban designers, and artists in the same period, from various geographic and theoretical milieus—which were, nonetheless, joined in their interest in accessing the tacit knowledge of everyday people.

I am interested in the continuity of two, seemingly oppositional, positions. The first closely aligned with De Carlo's theory of reading, interested in the material reality of the built environment as a window into the tacit knowledge, the needs and desires, of society, exemplified by the theorisation of architectural tacit knowledge at Université de Montréal, but equally the phenomenology of AHO and the disciplinarity of ETH Zürich. The second focused on Janssen's direct participation—consulting with residents who explicitly articulate their needs—supported by other participants from various schools in Belgium and from MIT and UC Berkeley. Rather than framing this as a strict division, I argue that these approaches instead represented analogous solutions to the problem of user engagement developed by more humanist architects and theorists on one hand and more technocratic architects and planners on the other. To understand the relationship of these various approaches at ILAUD, I engage in a close reading of the lecture transcripts, seminar reports, and student work published in the ILAUD annual reports. I triangulate these reports with archival documents, contemporaneous essays written by ILAUD participants, and a small body of secondary literature on these recurring workshops. In this sense, although discourses on issues such as participation were developed in other forums in the same period, I will focus on ILAUD's own understanding of these terms.

In insisting on what ILAUD's constituent school shared, rather than focusing on their disagreements, this paper represents a historical re-reading of the organisation, often running counter to the interpretation of participants themselves. For Janssens, there were clear differences between participants from different countries: "the Italian map rage; the Swiss technology; the Belgian finickism; the Spanish historicism."[10] Similar divisions were observed by the architect and Team X member Peter Smithson and by John McKean, then lecturer in architecture at the North London Polytechnic. Smithson observed that students' "approach to the problem reflected almost exactly what they have been taught. For example, the MIT people have been trained in urban analysis, the Belgian in flexible-lease methods, and so on."[11] McKean suggested that differences between students "within a continental background of 'participation' … show up the ideological gulfs which such a laboratory could bridge. Between MIT and Barcelona, Leuven and Zagreb, the theoretical (the latins [*sic*] say 'ideological') distances are immense."[12] Italian architectural curator Mirko Zardini, who had participated in ILAUD in 1978 as a student from Venice, reiterated this divide in his authoritative 1997 history of ILAUD, positioning Zürich and Barcelona on one side of an "irreconcilable" division—Zardini characterises their "more direct interest in the discipline of architecture, tinged with formalism"—with MIT and the schools from Northern Europe, which had "a greater commitment to participation, concerned largely with political and social aspects."[13]

Although these often-subtle distinctions certainly did exist at ILAUD—De Carlo actively welcomed a diversity of approaches[14]—I am interested in what brought this diverse group of schools and practitioners together for so many years.[15] Projects such as the double metal arch, combining both direct and indirect forms of participation, point to one such common thread traced by this paper: that both the humanist and technocratic positions were facets of the same turn away from modernism and towards people in architectural culture more broadly, and that both involved different kinds of political commitment.[16] It is by looking at these positions through the lens of one event, ILAUD, that we can begin to understand the relative approaches and perspectives—many of them tacit, hardly explicit in the individual pedagogical contexts—of a diverse group of designers brought together in Urbino.

Regionalism and tacit knowledge

Although the Université de Montréal officially participated in ILAUD only in 1980 and 1981, its contributions are emblematic of the more humanist approach to engagement at ILAUD. In perhaps the most succinct summation of this position, Montreal-based artist, architect, and writer Melvin Charney wrote in 1984:

> My work [is] not rooted in a Montreal regionalism but rather in the generalized condition of "regionalism" underlying all architecture: a tacit dimension of architectural knowledge which can only but exist outside the accepted idioms of an architectural community at any given point in time.[17]

In several texts and lectures in the 1970s, Charney used the term "tacit knowledge"—adapted from the work of philosopher and scientist Michael Polanyi—in order to articulate a position in opposition to transregional modernism.[18] Instead, he argued that a great deal of knowledge of the built environment—its construction and spatial organisation, of both cities and individual buildings—could not

be codified into explicit texts or directly taught in architecture schools, but was rather embodied in continuous building traditions, endemic to a particular region and passed on between craftspeople and residents. He wrote:

> … man's knowledge of the structure of the artefactual environment is embodied in his active relationship to and his active making of his physical structures … architecture attempts to objectify his knowledge of environmental structures so as to render it explicit i.e. instrumental, in the design process.[19]

The purpose of design, therefore, was to draw out this tacit knowledge of the city that already existed in the built environment and its citizens but which was, nonetheless, often suppressed by governments, architects, and planners; he accused modernist architects of regarding city sites as mere voids. This was particularly true in the context of Montreal, where anglophone elites had neglected francophone building culture.

In this sense, he implied it was unnecessary to engage in the kind of direct participation advocated by ILAUD members such as Janssens. He urged his students in the urban architecture studio he led with colleagues at the Université de Montréal—the *Unité d'architecture urbaine*—to look closely at what was already constructed in front of them.[20] In striking parallel with ILAUD's process of "reading,"[21] they redrew the "layers of the city" to seek out the physical and social traces its residents had left behind in its "material structure": the relationship of streets and plots, building forms, repeated elements such as party walls and facades, and local construction systems. Indeed, Charney seemed to imply that the full richness and complexity of our collective perception of cities and buildings—and their material reality—was not reducible to the limited range of desires and experiences that groups of individuals could express, explicitly, when engaged in participatory consultation and design processes.[22]

We can recognise something of this approach in a project at the 1981 ILAUD Residential Workshop in Urbino. A student from Barcelona, Jaume Mutlló Pàmies, specifically notes the influence of discussions with Charney on his project for a pavilion and piazza linking the new and old towns (Fig. 2).[23] Its intention to draw from existing logics of the city's squares—both the idealised painting of the *Città Ideale* in the Ducal Palace and more informal medieval spaces—could be read as a reflection of both De Carlo's reading and Charney's layering. We see this in Pàmies' observation that the Scalzi church and Accademia di Belle Arti already bounded an implied piazza, but one which lacked a civic identity because of the trees that obscured these bounding facades: a kind of contradiction in urban space, its potential revealed if these trees were removed. Moreover, Pàmies' project is unusual at ILAUD in emphasising the materiality of the construction, which repurposed simple local building methods—such as concrete foundations and lightweight metal roof sheeting—in a form resembling the rotunda of the *Città Ideale*.

Charney's references to regionalism and a relationship to environment also hint at the influence of his one-time colleague at the Université de Montréal, Alexander Tzonis.[24] Formulated in their 1981 essay, "The Grid and the Pathway," Tzonis together with Liane Lefaivre identified a *critical* form regionalism which counterposed the freedom of vernacular architecture to the top-down planning of modernism and the welfare state.[25] While remaining wary of associations with

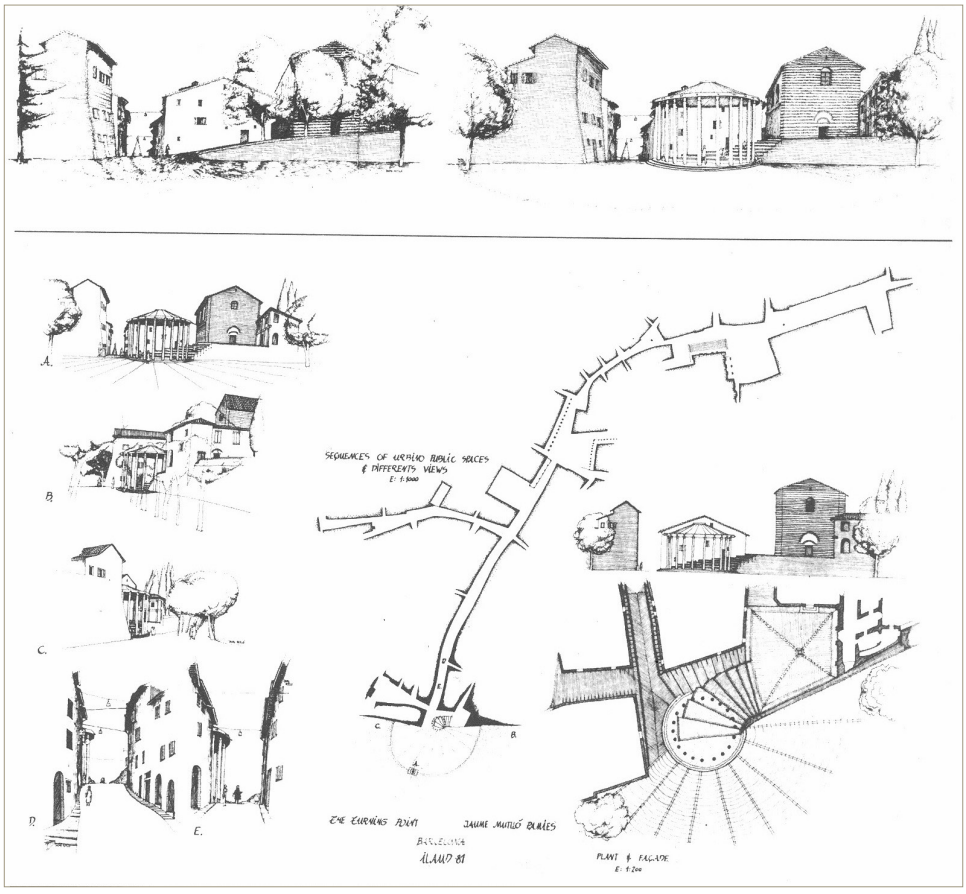


Fig. 2 Jaume Mutlló Pàmies (1981). Project titled "The Turning Point." [Drawings from ILAUD Annual Report, 1981. ILAUD Archive, Biblioteca Poletti, Modena]

populism, they argued that this interest in "typology [which] ... has not rejected a historical context" pointed the way towards a potential "new kind of relation between designer and user, without new kinds of programs."[26] In this sense, in this essay Tzonis and Lefaivre were less interested in the form of the architectural response—in the precision of its vernacularism—than in its relationship to clients and people.

We can better understand Tzonis' relationship to, and influence on, ILAUD through his participation as respondent in the "Leuven Seminar on Participatory Design," hosted by Janssens along with Marcel Smets and Jan Schreurs in 1979. According to Tzonis, many of the cases presented at the seminar isolated participatory practices from their social context. Instead, he argued for closer study of the connections between constructed architecture and both cultural meaning and social relationships.[27] At this same seminar, De Carlo had also emphasised the way "that some 'primitive' cultures and even some more modern advanced population groups ... who still possess traditional knowledge of materials and common sense of construction, know rules of formal language."[28] Therefore, while ILAUD remained anti-formalist, De Carlo and others, such as Tzonis, continued to emphasise the importance of deploying some existing forms in connecting people to their dwellings.

Phenomenology, materialism, and reading

There is a similar sentiment at play in Christian Norberg-Schulz's phenomenological approach, dominant at AHO, and the work presented by members of ETH Zürich. Norberg-Schulz, who had played an important role on ILAUD's board since its inception, most clearly staked his position in relation to the workshops in a lecture in the 1977 edition. He argued that ILAUD had hitherto focused on the "process of sharing," rather than the "content" of participation—accessing and understanding the "shared values" of dwelling and, above all, the importance of "belonging to a place"—which had generated a technocratic context in which it was difficult for designers to engage with the issue.[29] As architectural historian Jorge Otero-Pailos has argued, Norberg-Schulz's position—most famously articulated as the notion of *genius loci*—was a consciously humanist, and subjective, reaction to the supposed objectivity of modernism.[30]

At the 1978 workshop, students and tutors at ETH had also recognised the importance of collective and personal forms of identification with place. A series of panels assembled "12 theses" for participation on topics such as Ambiguity—"contradictory levels of meaning and use in architecture offer the possibilities of choice and interpretation"—and Elements of Identification (Fig. 3).[31] At the same time, as a lecture from their teacher Bernhard Hoesli made clear in 1979, this approach was, like that of De Carlo, less unequivocally anti-modernist than Norberg-Schulz, suggesting that the true legacy of modernism was a focus on "material facts" in the built environment: on closely observing use and context in material terms. As it was for students at AHO, they argued for the importance of some kind of form: for Hoesli and his colleagues, abandoning the intentionality of form was a failure of the architect's task. But this form should not be arbitrary or autonomous—not a postmodern return to "historical reference nor … structuralist-semiotic search for 'significance'"—instead one that must be combined with a sense of place and detailed knowledge of the construction systems of traditional forms.[32]

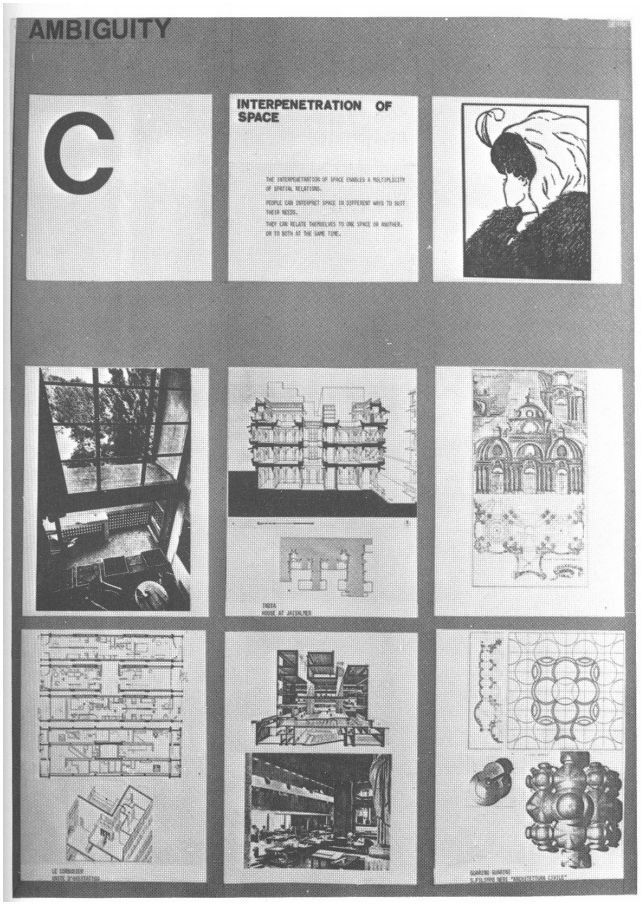


Fig. 3 Participants from ETH Zürich (1978). One of twelve thesis panels, titled "Ambiguity." [Panel and text from ILAUD Annual Report, 1978. ILAUD Archive, Biblioteca Poletti, Modena]

While I have so far suggested an equivalence between these more humanist, disciplinary positions at ILAUD and De Carlo's method of reading, there were important differences. Whereas Charney, Tzonis, Norberg-Schulz, and Hoesli regarded these approaches to participation—in close observation, materiality, regional variation, and *genius loci*—as appropriate for all architecture, for De Carlo reading was an alternative to more direct forms of participation only because of the limitations imposed by the summer workshop format: "as far as 'participation' is concerned, the users' sharing of the whole design process is essential in a real situation. But in a research work … obstacle[s] can be got around by going deeper into the 'reading.'"[33] Indeed, in the Leuven Seminar, De Carlo had argued forcefully for participation as a situation for potential power

sharing between architects, their clients, and other users of the built environment, against the backdrop of the cultural heritage of a particular place.[34]

Participation and planning

This argument aligned much more closely with the participants from the Belgian schools, and with discourses ascendant in the United States, prominently represented at ILAUD by MIT. Indeed, the Belgian convenors of the Leuven Seminar had also defined participation as "a method essentially based on human equality and dignity," rejecting the model of architect as a problem-solving specialist.[35] Instead, they called on designers to give decision-making power to users in the design process while also—acknowledging that direct participation is not always perfectly democratic—investing built forms with an openness that could be adapted by users once constructed. In this sense, they were more interested in hearing from users themselves and allowing users to change their environment in the short term, rather than interpreting context and culture through the material changes already made by inhabitants to existing buildings and urban configurations.

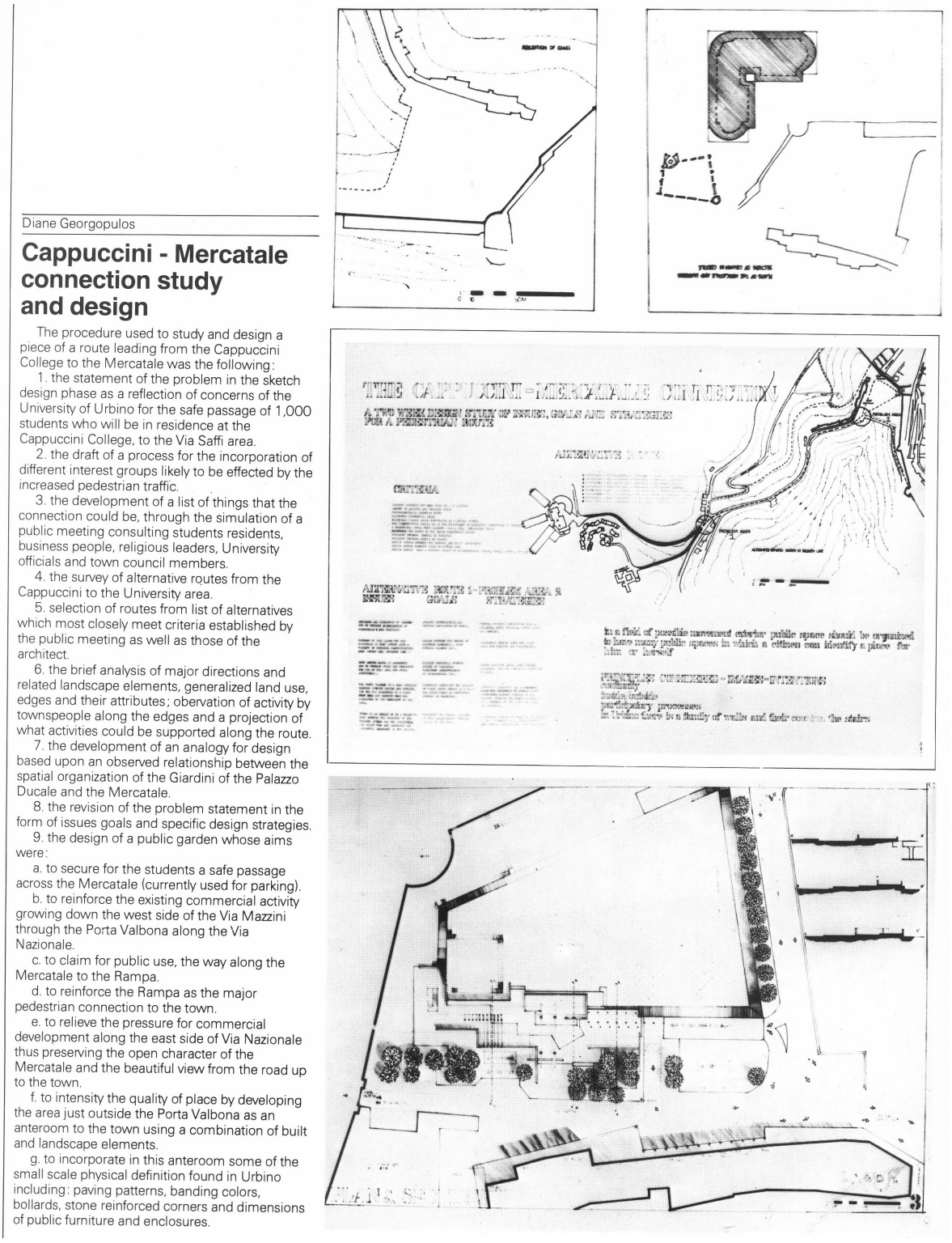
Marcel Smets, Belgian architect and urban planner from KU Leuven, put this position particularly clearly in his lecture to ILAUD 1977. While he agreed that designers should observe the city and reproduce its typologies and street systems on the urban scale—he gives Bologna's "adjoining gallerias" as an example—the scale of the individual development required real contact with residents and their needs. To do otherwise risked participation becoming an "abstraction of formal outcome of a real design process into rigid models."[36] Indeed, Smets would leave ILAUD in 1979 after playing an important role in formulating the organisation's curriculum and structure in the first four years; amongst the reasons he gave for his departure was ILAUD's overly broad definition of participation.[37]

Meanwhile, planners at MIT, such as Julian Beinart and Tunney Lee, emphasised the political component of participation. In a lecture at ILAUD in 1976, Beinart also reflected on what he called "post-hoc transformation of the form" on one side—through processes such as appropriation and self-built housing—and active user participation in the design process.[38] While Lee, like De Carlo, had acknowledged that direct participation with clients and users was not always possible in an educational context,[39] in a lecture at ILAUD in 1978 he argued for a broadened understanding of reading: one which involved observation and sketching, a deep knowledge of history and place, but one ideally combined with surveys, questionnaires, and ultimately collaboration with inhabitants.[40] For Lee, participation was nothing less than the practical outcome of class analysis: a radical reorganisation of design that undermined capitalist systems by directly serving tenants and users, rather than developers, repositioning the economically and racially disenfranchised as partners in creating their environment, rather than mere consumers.

These approaches can be detected in a project in the same year, produced by MIT student Diane Georgopulos, for a path leading from De Carlo's student housing project to the Mercatale carpark (Fig. 4). She developed a nine-step procedure which included observations of how people already walked this route and drafted a hypothetical consultation process with stakeholders. From this simulated participation, she proposed a new garden for the Mercatale which prioritised

Fig. 4 Diane Georgopulos (1978). Project titled "Cappuccini—Mercatale Connection Study and Design." [Drawings and text from ILAUD Annual Report, 1978. ILAUD Archive, Biblioteca Poletti, Modena]

the safety of students who she observed walking across the carpark and claiming space for public use by constraining commercial activities to places where it already existed along Via Mazzini. While it is difficult to grasp the project itself from her plan, the process of engagement had a level of speculative precision that matched more architecturally developed projects at ILAUD.



Diane Georgopulos

Cappuccini - Mercatale connection study and design

The procedure used to study and design a piece of a route leading from the Cappuccini College to the Mercatale was the following:

1. the statement of the problem in the sketch design phase as a reflection of concerns of the University of Urbino for the safe passage of 1,000 students who will be in residence at the Cappuccini College, to the Via Saffi area.
2. the draft of a process for the incorporation of different interest groups likely to be effected by the increased pedestrian traffic.
3. the development of a list of things that the connection could be, through the simulation of a public meeting consulting students residents, business people, religious leaders, University officials and town council members.
4. the survey of alternative routes from the Cappuccini to the University area.
5. selection of routes from list of alternatives which most closely meet criteria established by the public meeting as well as those of the architect.
6. the brief analysis of major directions and related landscape elements, generalized land use, edges and their attributes; observation of activity by townspeople along the edges and a projection of what activities could be supported along the route.
7. the development of an analogy for design based upon an observed relationship between the spatial organization of the Giardini of the Palazzo Ducale and the Mercatale.
8. the revision of the problem statement in the form of issues goals and specific design strategies.
9. the design of a public garden whose aims were:

a. to secure for the students a safe passage across the Mercatale (currently used for parking).
b. to reinforce the existing commercial activity growing down the west side of the Via Mazzini through the Porta Valbona along the Via Nazionale.
c. to claim for public use, the way along the Mercatale to the Rampa.
d. to reinforce the Rampa as the major pedestrian connection to the town.
e. to relieve the pressure for commercial development along the east side of Via Nazionale thus preserving the open character of the Mercatale and the beautiful view from the road up to the town.
f. to intensity the quality of place by developing the area just outside the Porta Valbona as an anteroom to the town using a combination of built and landscape elements.
g. to incorporate in this anteroom some of the small scale physical definition found in Urbino including: paving patterns, banding colors, bollards, stone reinforced corners and dimensions of public furniture and enclosures.

Conclusions

Charney had staked his pedagogical position—what he called Urban Architecture—in direct opposition to urban planning discourse in the United States. In planning, he saw "aesthetified, but anachronistic, positivist notions, a jargon derived from perceptual psychology, and a false conception of technology."[41] This paper considers only a small number of the projects, incidents, and figures over ILAUD's first six years, yet this cross-section suggests that this dichotomy between planning and architecture was less pronounced than Charney suggests, just as differences between technocratic and humanistic approaches to participation had more in common than Janssens implied. Although their methods might have diverged, these positions were all concerned with uncovering a type of tacit knowledge in the city and its residents that had been neglected: some forms that remained tacit in the built fabric and collective traditions, and others that were deliberately kept below the surface by earlier modernist architects, often due to institutional, racial, linguistic, and economic barriers.[42]

In this sense, although Smets was critical of the broad understanding of participation at ILAUD, even the most humanist positions in the organisation joined the most technocratic in attempting to approach users through real observation, consultation, and research, rather than simplistic assumptions and abstractions.

Moreover, in their engagement with the city and its people, this continuity of approaches staked a position in opposition not only to modernism but also to the arbitrariness of eclecticism, to return to De Carlo's term: the appropriate expression for users and place, rather than quotation or abstraction.[43] Yet, lurking behind this eclecticism is the spectre of postmodernism. In concluding, I want to speculate a little further on this complex relationship. Lode Janssens worried that ILAUD and De Carlo had never been transparent in their opposition to postmodernism.[44] This had obscured the way Charles Jencks' conception of the term shared many qualities with ILAUD's approach: particularly interests in memory, context, traditions, and participation. Similarly, McKean suggested that while members of Team X, such as Peter Smithson, "lump together and then dismiss the 'opposition,' everyone from Rossi to the Kriers [and] Jencks," other ILAUD participants hardly recognised such a strong divide.[45] Indeed, scholars have called the later writings of Norberg-Schulz postmodern; the same for Charney's art.[46] Rather than strictly respecting this stylistic label, the connections between these various planning and architectural approaches at ILAUD might imply another continuum: between modernism and what some would call postmodernism in the years to come.

NOTES

1. Kjell Beite, James Monday, and Pieter Uyttenhove, "One to One: Project for the Orto dell'Abbondanza," in *Signs and Insights: ILAUD Annual Report Urbino 1979* (Milan: ILAUD, 1980), 142.

2. Giancarlo De Carlo (1919–2005) was also a prolific editor and educator, founding the magazine *Spazio e Società* (1978–2001) and teaching at the Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia and the Politecnico di Milano. He wrote widely on issues of participation, and deployed these principles in his schemes for housing at Terni and for the University of Urbino; this connection was the reason for hosting the first ILAUD in the town. De Carlo was also an active member of Team X. See: John McKean, *Giancarlo De Carlo: Layered Places* (Stuttgart: Edition Axel Menges, 2004); Britt Eversole, "Giancarlo de Carlo (1919–2005)," *Architectural Review*, 30 January 2014, www.architectural-review.com/essays/reputations/giancarlo-de-carlo-1919-2005.

3. De Carlo, "Afterthoughts on the Design Work," in *Signs and Insights*, 107.

4. In 1979 students attended from: Berkeley, Lund, Rome, Venice, Oslo, ETSA Barcelona, Sint-Lukas Brussels, Sint-Lucas Gent, KU Leuven, MIT, AHO, Urbino, Zagreb, and ETH Zürich. Visitors and faculty included Francesco Dal Co, Sverre Fehn, Bernhard Hoesli, Donlyn Lyndon, Renzo Piano, Peter Smithson, and Aldo van Eyck.

5. Giancarlo De Carlo, "Report on the First Residential Course in Urbino. September 6–October 31 1976," *ILAUD: 1st Residential Course Urbino 1976* (Milan: Gammaoffset for ILAUD, 1977), 9.

6. Elsewhere, De Carlo writes that "in order to know how to read, you have to know how to look deep into the stratifications, you have to discover and critically select the significant signs" (author's translation). De Carlo and Franco Bunčuga, *Conversazioni Con Giancarlo De Carlo: Architettura e Libertà* (Milan: Elèuthera, 2000), 138. See also Elke Couchez, "Reading by Drawing—ILAUD 1987: A Tentative Tool for Urban Regeneration," *OASE* 107 (2020): 39–47.

7. Giancarlo De Carlo, "Design Work," *ILAUD: 2nd Residential Course Urbino 1977* (Milan: ILAUD, 1978), 73.

8. He writes that "although the Modern Movement was born in a period of great intellectual expansion, it was also a period of great simplification of human and social behavior … the problem of organizing physical space was approached with the same criteria as those used in organizing the production of commodities." Giancarlo De Carlo, "An Architecture of Participation," *Perspecta* 17 (6 August 1980): 74–79.

9. Lode Janssens, "In Order to Discuss ILAUD," *Architecture, Multiple and Complex: ILAUD Annual Report Urbino 1984* (Florence: Sansoni Editore, 1985), 166.

10. Janssens, "In Order to Discuss ILAUD," 172.

11. Letter from Peter Smithson to Giancarlo De Carlo, 13 January 1977. ILAUD Archives, Biblioteca civica d'arte Luigi Poletti, Modena. Box: Correspondence.

12. John McKean, "Week by Week," *Building Design*, 23 November 1979, 9.

13. Mirko Zardini, "From Team X to Team x: International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design (ILAUD)," *Lotus International* 95 (1997): 76–97. Other important commentaries include: Paolo Ceccarelli, *Giancarlo De Carlo and ILAUD, a Movable Frontier: The International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design from 1976* (Milano: Fondazione OAMI, 2019); Couchez, "Reading by Drawing."

14. "The diversity in approach … is to be considered as a desirable occurrence, since it gives the opportunity of enriching both the comprehension and the imagery of the problem of designing, through comparison of different points of view pertaining to different backgrounds." Giancarlo De Carlo, "Introduction," *ILAUD: 2nd Residential Course Urbino 1977*, 140–41.

15. ILAUD operated for several decades under De Carlo's leadership, in various northern Italian cities including Siena, San Marino, and Venice, continuing in a revised format even today.

16. It should be noted here that Zardini acknowledged that ILAUD itself played a role in bridging between the disciplinary and participatory positions through its focus on what Janssens called "the theory of 'equal power' … reflect[ing] the new social and political situation." Zardini, "From Team X to Team x," 85.

17. Letter from Melvin Charney to Margot Paris, 14 October 1984, Canadian Centre for Architecture, reference number DR2012:0012:096:011.

18. Charney cited Polanyi's book *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-critical Philosophy* (1958) in his influential polemical text "Towards a Definition of Architecture in Quebec" (1971) and in several other unpublished lectures and essays. See Melvin Charney, "Towards a Definition of Architecture in Quebec," in *On Architecture: Melvin Charney, A Critical Anthology*, trans. and ed. Louis Martin (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 246–64; Melvin Charney, "Notes on Architectural Hardware: Of Grain Silos, Computer Circuits and Orbiting Machines" (lecture, MIT Hayden Gallery, Boston, MA, March 1969), Canadian Centre for Architecture, reference number DR2012:0015:024:008.

19. Melvin Charney, "MEMO Series on the Architecture of an Air Force MEMOrial," 9 (unpublished essay draft, April 1970), Canadian Centre for Architecture, reference number DR2012:0012:082:006.

20. Melvin Charney, 'Confrontations in Urban Architecture,' in *Ville Métaphore Projet: Architecture Urbaine à Montréal, 1980–1990*, ed. Irena Latek (Montreal: Éditions du Méridien, 1992), 100.

21. Charney also uses the term "reading" to describe this process, but it is unclear whether he refers directly to ILAUD's method, or simply borrows the term. Charney, "Confrontations in Urban Architecture."

22. Here, Charney seems to draw on Polanyi's argument that some tacit knowledge appears so natural that we are unaware we even know it, much less are capable of describing it. Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-critical Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1958), 62.

23. Jaume Mutlló Pàmies, "The Turning Point," in *Language of Architecture: ILAUD Urbino 1981* (Milan: Sansoni Editions, 1981), 119.

24. Tzonis would soon after take up a position at TU Delft. His influence on Charney can be seen in a series of letters between the two in the 1980s, Canadian Centre for Architecture, reference number DR2012:0012:096:025.

25. On the influence of liberalism on architecture in this period as an alternative to centralised modernist planning, especially disciplinary interest in vernacular architecture, see Anthony Fontenot, *Non-design: Architecture, Liberalism, and the Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021).

26. Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, "The Grid and the Pathway," *Architecture in Greece* 15 (1981). Republished in *Times of Creative Destruction: Shaping Buildings and Cities in the Late C20th* (London: Routledge, 2016), 128.

27. Jan Schreurs, Marcel Smets, and Lode Janssens, eds., *Leuven Seminar on Participatory Design* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Acco, 1981), 50.

28. Schreurs, Smets, and Janssens, eds., *Leuven Seminar*, 57.

29. Christian Norberg-Schulz, "Dwelling Participation Place," in *ILAUD: 2nd Residential Course Urbino 1977* (Milan: ILAUD, 1978), 147–48.

30. Jorge Otero-Pailos, "Architectural Phenomenology and the Rise of the Postmodern," in *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*, ed. C. Greig Crysler, Stephen Cairns, and Hilde Heynen (London: SAGE, 2012), 136–51.

31. Marc Angelil et al., "Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule: Presentation of the Permanent Activities," in *Participation and Re-use: ILAUD Annual Report Urbino 1978* (Urbino: ILAUD, 1979), 28–30.

32. Bernhard Hoesli, "Participation: Eclecticism or Functionalism," in *Signs and Insights*, 58–59. As another ETH tutor, Tobi Stockli, noted in 1977, this emphasis on architectural design at the school was partly a reaction to a preceding period dominated by other approaches. Reported in Donlyn Lyndon, "Architectural Education," *ILAUD: 2nd Residential Course Urbino 1977*, 71. Although not stated here, this included the sociologist Lucius Burkhardt's influence on the school in the early 1970s. See Irina Davidovici, *Forms of Practice: German–Swiss Architecture 1980–2000* (Zürich: gta-Verlag, 2018).

33. De Carlo, "Introduction," *ILAUD: 2nd Residential Course Urbino 1977*, 5.

34. De Carlo, "Annex 1: Further Notes on Participation with Reference to a Sector of Architecture Where it would Seem Most Obvious," in *Leuven Seminar*, 71–78.

35. Schreurs, Smets, and Janssens, eds., *Leuven Seminar*, 12.

36. Marcel Smets, "How a Participatory Approach of Design can Nevertheless Result in Authoritarian Planning," *ILAUD: 2nd Residential Course Urbino 1977*, 149.

37. Letter from Marcel Smets to Giancarlo De Carlo, 24 October 1979. ILAUD Archives, Biblioteca Civica d'Arte Luigi Poletti, Modena. Box: Correspondence.

38. Julian Beinart, "Three Research Studies on Participation," *ILAUD: 1st Residential Course Urbino 1976*, 51.

39. See Edward Robbins et al., "The Client in Architectural Education: Three Interviews at M.I.T.," *Journal of Architectural Education* 35, no. 1 (6 August 1981): 32–35.

40. Tunney Lee, "Notes on Architecture and Social Justice," *Participation and Re-use*, 35–37.

41. Charney, "Confrontations in Urban Architecture," 101; Tunney Lee and Lawrence Vale, "Resurrection City: Washington DC," *Thresholds*, no. 41 (6 August 2013), 112–21, www.jstor.org/stable/43876503.

42. Building on Polanyi's theory, sociologist Harry Collins differentiated between "collective" tacit knowledge, which cannot be made explicit because it forms a web of complex reference points within a community, and "relational" tacit knowledge, which could be made communicated explicitly in theory but remains tacit in practice due to social forces. Harry Collins, *Tacit and Explicit Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

43. ILAUD would turn more explicitly to the issues of eclecticism after 1981. See Giancarlo De Carlo, "Multiplicity of Language vs. Eclecticism," in *1982 Year Book: Multiplicity of Language vs. Eclecticism* (Florence: Sansoni Editions, 1983), 121–24.

44. Janssens, "In Order to Discuss ILAUD," 169.

45. McKean, "Week by Week."

46. Otero-Pailos, "Architectural Phenomenology and the Rise of the Postmodern"; Mark Cheetham and Linda Hutcheon, *Remembering Postmodernism: Trends in Canadian Art, 1970–1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

LUKE TIPENE

Diagrams in the field: Three conceptual approaches in the entries for the 1979 Australian Parliament House design competition

The 1979 Australian Parliament House design competition is a significant episode in the history of the relationship between architecture, urbanism, and Australian democracy. Competition entrants were tasked to exemplify principles of Australian democracy in parliamentary architecture, with little guidance from the competition brief about what those principles were supposed to be. This vacuum of values was accompanied by a physical vacuum of urban and civic spaces surrounding the site for Parliament House, on Capital Hill in Canberra. Together, they established a design challenge of isolation that foregrounded issues concerning the objectification of architecture and a fixation on interior planning in the compositional arrangement of each entrant's design scheme.

Each entrant's scheme was unique. Yet, on reviewing the remaining competition material for 324 of the stage-one competition entries from the National Archives of Australia, three shared conceptual approaches to this design challenge are identified.[1] These approaches are described as Autonomous, Symbolic, and Representational, and are introduced by examining their appearance in common compositional relationships between architecture and urban planning in many of the entrants' schemes. The presence of these approaches is significant as they reveal risks and potential benefits in attempting to exemplify democratic principles in the compositional arrangement of entrants' architecture and urban designs.

The Griffin Plan for Canberra

The 1912 Griffin Plan for Canberra, by Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony Griffin, is commonly understood as a major influence on the relationship between Canberra's urban plan and the designs developed for the 1979 Australian Parliament House design competition. The idea of the Griffin Plan's influence on competition entrants' design schemes has been examined most extensively in two essays by Andrew Hutson.[2] In both essays, Hutson considers the influence of the historical Griffin Plan on three aspects of the Parliament House design competition: on the political sensitivities regarding the contested site selection, preceding the competition;[3] on entrants' designs that appear to embrace or oppose the Griffin Plan;[4] and on the Committee of Assessors' selection of finalists and winning design schemes.[5]

Hutson's examinations are deeply insightful. Yet, both essays imply an equivalent sense of significance for the Griffin Plan between those who developed the competition brief—the Joint Standing Committee on the New and Permanent Parliament House (JSCNPPH) with the National Capital Development Commission (NCDC)—the competition entrants, and the Committee of Assessors. This equivalence suggests, for instance, that the historical significance of the Griffin Plan and political sensitivities concerning the contested site selection for the new Parliament building—prior to the competition—translated into an equivalent sensitivity in entrants' proposed design responses, and equivalent sensitivity during the Assessors' deliberations.

Such equivalence requires careful consideration. For, on reviewing the remaining 324 competition entrants' design reports in the National Archives of Australia, 96 make no reference to the Griffin Plan.[6] An additional 77 reports make only single passing references to the Griffin Plan, generally as introductory remarks. Together, both groups make up just over half (173) of all competition entries.

Recognising this, it is important to acknowledge that the idea of equivalence omits the examination of potential discordances between the significance ascribed to the Griffin Plan by those who wrote the brief, developed designs, and assessed the competition. Addressing this possibility of discordance, rather than equivalence, presents an opportunity to examine what other impacts Canberra's 1979 urban composition—beyond the legacy of the Griffin Plan—had on 324 competition entrants' designs schemes.

Turning to the competition brief, there are several points to support the possibility of discordance for the significance of the Griffin Plan between those who wrote, responded to, and assessed the competition. In the 170 pages of the brief, for example, there are no references to the contested site selection that preceded the competition, its political sensitivity, or departure from the 1912 Griffin Plan—a point Hutson acknowledges.[7] Further—and conspicuously for a document of such political importance—the brief makes no reference to qualitative principles of Australian democracy to undergird competition entrants' design responses. This absence extends to a lack of qualitative information about the significance of the Griffin Plan beyond its geometric arrangement of urban precincts and landmarks.[8] Only one quotation at the introduction of volume two of the brief links a reference to Australian democracy with the Griffin Plan.[9] Yet, this quotation is prefatory, and occluded by 34 pages outlining pragmatic attributes of the Griffin Plan's 1979 incarnation, such as site information, infrastructure, geometric urban features, geography, views, and climate information (Fig. 1).[10]

The absence of qualitative principles regarding Australian democracy and the Griffin Plan enables discordances in the brief between conflicting recommendations for a Parliament design, specifically regarding site sensitivity and the monumentality of architectural form in relation to the Griffin Plan. For instance, Volume 1 Section C of the brief, entitled "Views to the Site," recommends a "sufficiently powerful" building, "to firmly establish and mark the critical apex of Griffin's triangle."[11] Yet, Volume 2 Section E, entitled "Symbolism," uses rhetorical questions to foreground considerations of a parliament building's scale on the site: "What would be the connotations—in the mind of the visitor—of a building with a monumental scale, sited on a hill? Does significance necessarily mean bigness?"[12]

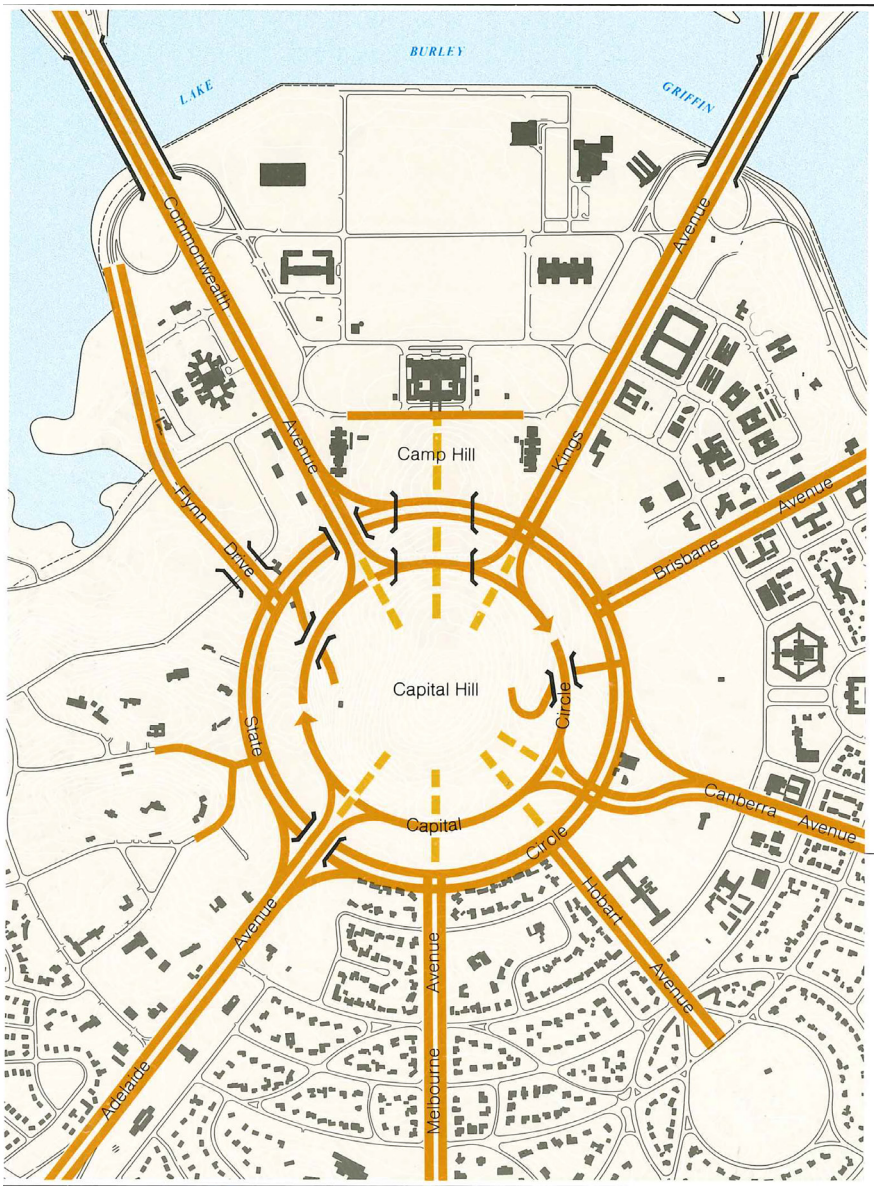


Fig. 1 Transport opportunities from the 1979 incarnation of the Griffin Plan, outlined in the Parliament House design competition brief. [National Archives of Australia, NAA: A8107, 1]

Other discordances exist between the "emphasis" of the "assessment process" outlined in the competition brief and the "Criteria for Assessment" used during the Committee of Assessors' selection process.[13] Specifically, regarding sensitivities towards the Griffin Plan and the inclusion of symbolic democratic references. The Committee of Assessors' final report from 1980, for example, describes the criteria to "reinforce Capital Hill as the focus of Griffin's plan for Canberra and his concept of siting the most significant national building at the apex of the Parliamentary Triangle," and to "express in a symbolic way the unique national qualities, attributes, attitudes, aspirations and achievements of Australia."[14] Conversely, the competition brief makes no equivalent reference to the significance of the Griffin Plan or Australia's unique democratic qualities in the "assessment process."[15] Instead, it describes the "major determinant of the symbolic quality of the building will be its massing."[16] This discordance is further exacerbated by the surprising revelation that the Committee of Assessors only developed the criteria of assessment *during* their assessment of the stage-one entries.[17]

These examples of discordances are important because they suggest limits to the implied equivalence ascribed to the Griffin Plan by those who wrote the brief and assessed the competition. Further, these examples raise important questions about what information was available to whom and when—particularly regarding the competition entrants, who were not privy to the criteria of assessment prior to the date of submission, and who used the competition brief as their chief source of information for the design project. The site sensitivity and historical significance of the Griffin Plan, described by the Committee of Assessors, was largely absent in the brief itself. As a result, discourse concerning the Griffin Plan likely had little impact on many of the entrants' design responses. Hutson similarly notes this possibility when referring to efforts by the Committee of Assessors to cement the "Griffin legacy," despite its use in many entrants' schemes as little more than "a rhetorical device."[18]

Other architectural approaches to Canberra's urban plan

If the Griffin Plan was used as little more than a rhetorical device, what material impact did Canberra's 1979 urban plan have on competition entrants' design schemes? And, in the absence of any guiding principles on Australian democracy from the competition brief, how might the compositional arrangements of entrants' architectural/urban planning responses reflect considerations of Australian democracy?

These questions are examined by considering what information about Canberra's urban plan was actually available in the brief for competition entrants. Despite the inclusion of a comparison between the Griffin Plan's 1912 and 1979 incarnations in the brief, it is inaccurate to suggest the 1979 urban plan for Canberra reflected its 1912 conception. One significant difference between its 1912 and 1979 incarnations is the proposed placement of Parliament House on the most prominent topographical point in the Canberra basin, Capital Hill. Despite Capital Hill's location outside the zone the Griffins' intended for government buildings, Hutson outlines the political machinations that finally led to its selection in 1974.[19] Similarly, James Weirick's 1989 criticism of the competition, its winning scheme, and its political context, describes this historical episode of site selection as the "blood and guts of politics" in Canberra's urban planning.[20] Regardless of how it came to be chosen, it is important to consider the impact this site had on the architectural and urban planning strategies of the competition entrants' schemes.

One major impact of the Capital Hill site is its physical distance from existing civic settings of Canberra. Weirick suggests the parliamentary decision to use Capital Hill significantly impacted any Parliament House design by establishing irreconcilable issues of urban isolation:

> [Capital Hill had] no program of future land use, no indication of future urban form, no principles for future growth and change, no acknowledgement of anything like the flux of city life intruded upon the enormous emptiness of the site … The official culture of Canberra, by 1979, had produced a situation in which the *New Parliament House* was to be built to an exceedingly lavish brief on the most isolated, most prominent site in the city; in a total urban design vacuum; and as quickly as possible.[21]

Beyond the rhetoric of the Griffin Plan, Weirick's comments illustrate the significant material impact this site had on competition entrants' design responses. The physical distance of Capital Hill from Canberra's civic precincts presented a critical design challenge that would require all entrants to confront the building's isolation from its urban context. And, perhaps more critically, to confront the public and political perceptions of physically isolating the building intended to exemplify Australia's seat of parliamentary democracy at a distance from its people.

The impact of this isolation on the architectural/urban planning arrangements of entrants' design responses is clearly illustrated when comparing Weirick's criticism to more general criticisms of urban planning from the period. Weirick's comments, for instance, resonate with Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter's broader criticism of modern and contemporary urban planning in their 1978 essay, "Crisis of the Object: Predicament of Texture."[22] In this essay—published one year prior to the Parliament House competition—Rowe and Koetter suggest the social failings of 1970s urbanism originated in changing approaches to compositional relationships between architectural and urban spaces over the twentieth century. The critical inference of their compositional analysis is that "[t]he matrix of the city has become transformed from continuous solid to continuous void."[23] Effectively, the proliferation of empty space between buildings in modern and contemporary cities propagated a social disillusionment of civic spaces, what they describe as the "disintegration of the street and of all highly organized public space."[24] One cause they identify for this isolating phenomena is an inward reorientation of architectural design processes towards more sophisticated approaches to interior space planning, supported by maturing twentieth-century rhetoric on the functional efficiency of interior space.[25]

In the context of the Parliament House site, Rowe and Koetter's analysis suggests two key and problematic characteristics for competition entrants attempting to address the challenge of urban isolation. The first is the objectification of architecture due to the site's separation from civic relationships. Objectification in this instance refers to the reduction of architecture's complex civic contribution to little more than its visual appearance. By selecting Capital Hill, urban or civic pressures from adjacent structures and landmarks were replaced with an urban vacuum. As Rowe and Koetter imply, any architecture conceived in such a vacuum would need to contend with its own preconception as a "free standing object in the round."[26] The impact places "immensely high premia upon the building as 'interesting' and detached object," which would reduce the building's contribution to civic discourse to little more than the signs and meanings attributed to its appearance at a distance.[27] Or, as Weirick put it: "[m]issing was anything but token commitment to the democratic experience."[28]

The second problematic characteristic challenging any entrant's design response is a type of interior fixation. Fixation in this instance refers to an inflated emphasis on the functional efficiency of interior space planning above all other design considerations. Capital Hill's isolation limited the capacity of external factors to impact the design of a Parliament, enabling an *interior turn* to validate design decisions by foregrounding emphasis on effective interior space planning. Rowe and Koetter similarly introduce the idea of an interior turn in response to urban isolation. Applying ideas from housing to civic contexts, they describe how "external public space had become so functionally chaotic as to be without effective

significance, then—in any case—there were no valid pressures which it could any longer exert."[29] The result was that the "configuration of housing now evolved from the inside out, from the logical needs of the individual residential unit … [that would] no longer be subservient to external pressures."[30] This interior turn is evident in the brief, with the entire second volume—74 pages of Sections E and F—devoted to systems diagrams, matrices, and bar charts illustrating the specified "functional links" between all interior spaces for the Parliament design.[31] Combined, these two sections of the brief constitute the majority of design considerations.

Weirick alludes to this interior fixation when recounting how the "exceedingly complex brief was issued, to which entrants were given just over four months to respond"; implying the highly diagrammatic emphasis on interior pre-planning and limited time reduced entrants' capacity to significantly depart from the pragmatic interior planning conditions.[32] He similarly recognises the impact of both problematic characteristics—the objectification of architecture and interior fixation—for all competition entrants' design responses, describing how:

> The lack of urban context for the Capital Hill site suggested a built form derived from the road pattern, the form of the hill itself, the surrounding empty paddocks and memories of the Griffin Plan. The need to "fast track" design and construction left detailed resolution of the interior and its itinerary to some later moment.[33]

Three conceptual approaches to Canberra's parliamentary architecture and urban plan

Addressing how these two key and problematic characteristics were mitigated by competition entrants reveals three common conceptual approaches to the challenge of isolation. Described here as Autonomous, Symbolic, and Representational, the three approaches demonstrate different considerations of Australian democracy in compositional relationships between architectural and urban planning, and can be introduced by closely examining the remaining 324 competition entrants' design reports and drawings.

The "Printed Report" for each entrant's submission was an A4-size booklet that accompanied the "Display Material" (up to ten sheets of architectural drawings of various orthogonal and perspectival views, and up to eight photographs of a site model).[34] The report was required to be up to 30 pages in length—yet many exceed this specification—and separated into eleven sections: Form, Structure, Finish, Planning, Circulation, Flexibility, Chambers and Circulation Spaces, Site, Roads, Services, and Cost. As outlined in the brief, the purpose of the report was to provide a "concise account of the design approach," and "concentrate on illustrating the essential concepts in the most direct way."[35] Overwhelmingly, these instructions are fulfilled by the first section of each report, entitled "Form," and any introductory remarks, together providing a concise summary of each entrant's conceptual approach to the competition brief.

Reading the introduction and Form sections of 324 reports reveals the common conceptual approaches that undergird the detailed and nuanced characteristics of each entrant's submission. Autonomous approaches refer to concepts that make little or no reference to democratic values and instead focus on explaining

the internal logics of their own architectural/urban planning compositions. Symbolic approaches refer to concepts that use symbolic and metaphoric references to embed abstract notions of democratic values in their compositions. And Representational approaches refer to concepts that foreground democratic ideals not emphasised in the competition brief to establish the foundation for their compositions. Of the 324 reports, 116 primarily emphasise Autonomous approaches, 142 primarily emphasise Symbolic approaches, and only 41 primarily emphasise Representational approaches. Most schemes refer in some way to notions of the other approaches they do not primarily emphasise, yet surprisingly only 22 competition submissions are too nuanced to recognise their primary emphasis. And only three reports were not categorised because they do not include a Form section.

The architectural/urban planning arrangement of each scheme is apparent in their Display Material drawings. In these drawings, how each entrant addresses the two key and problematic characteristics of Capital Hill's isolation—the objectification of architecture and an interior fixation—closely reflects the conceptual approach they primarily emphasise in their reports. A useful way to demonstrate this is by reviewing examples of entrants' work as exemplars of each of the three conceptual approaches.

The Display Material for Scheme 305, by competition team Goyette, Cole, and Lynch, for instance, exhibits properties that emphasise an Autonomous conceptual approach (Fig. 2). The design is conceived as a pentagonal-based parabolic dome, or "pentadome" of "skylights and solar panels," beneath which a

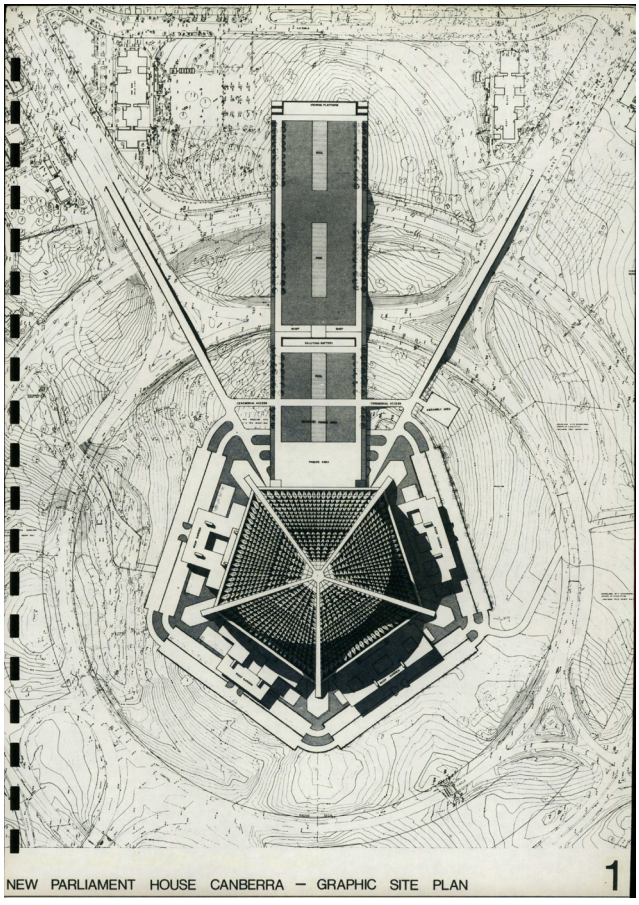


Fig. 2 Goyette, Cole, and Lynch (1979). Scheme 305. Rendered site plan for the Australian Parliament House design competition. [From *Printed Report—Scheme 305*, National Archives of Australia. Courtesy of Goyette, Cole, Lynch, and Rupp]

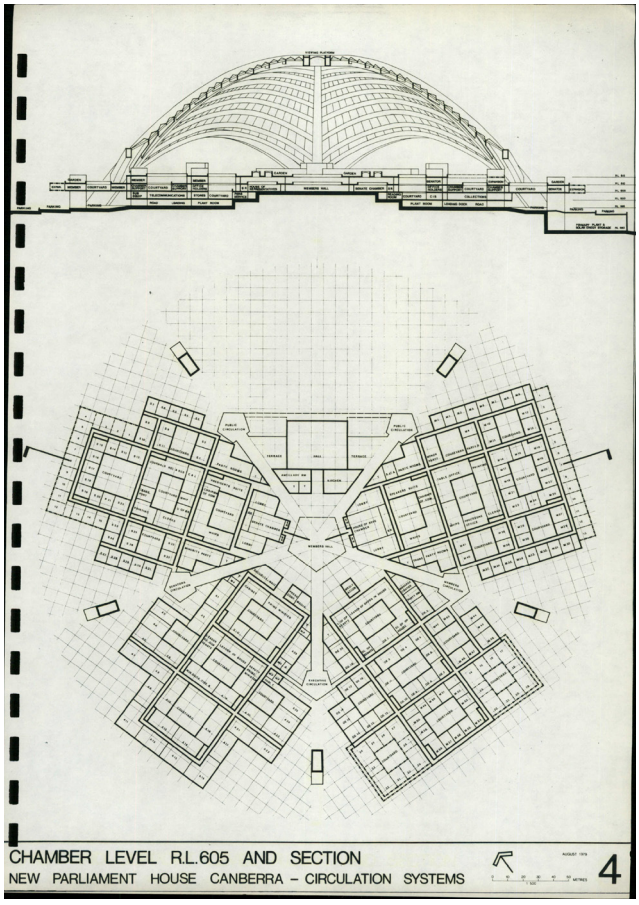


Fig. 3 Goyette, Cole, and Lynch (1979). Scheme 305. Interior plan and section for the Australian Parliament House design competition. [From *Printed Report—Scheme 305*, National Archives of Australia. Courtesy of Goyette, Cole, Lynch, and Rupp]

parliament building emulates the same pentagonal arrangement in plan.[36] The Form section of the printed report makes passing references to symbolism and local landmarks, yet the text primarily emphasises the "permanent, unchanging building form" of the "pentadome."[37] No references are made to democratic principles, yet the dramatic presence of the pentadome's formal appearance is notionally associated with national pride, described as embodying "Australia's present and future strength as a leader among the nations of the world."[38]

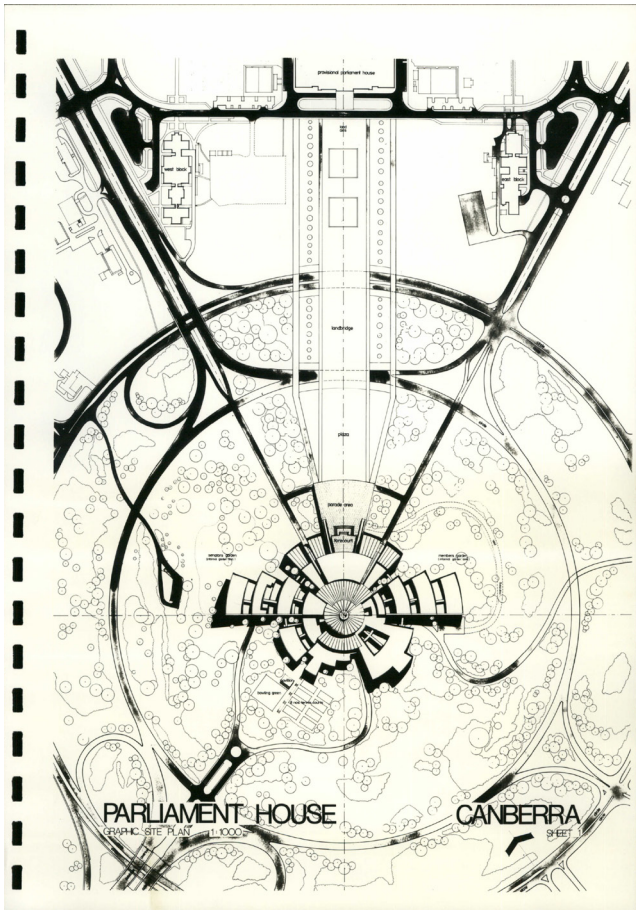
In terms of addressing the two problematic characteristics of the isolated site, this Autonomous conceptual approach appears to exacerbate the objectification of architecture and interior fixation. Effectively conceived as an architectural object in the round, the planning arrangements of both dome and building are largely rotationally symmetrical. They exhibit little compositional consideration of external environmental factors, nor civic or urban consideration other than an alignment of the building's entry to the land axis of Canberra's urban plan. The building's resultant formal appearance is highly self-contained, giving the sense it could been designed for any location.

The interior space planning for Scheme 305 is emblematic of a fixation on functional efficiency above other design considerations (Fig. 3). The building's four wings are almost identical in their interior arrangement and follow a repeated grid layout. The commitment to a single interior planning arrangement enables each enclosed space (offices, meeting rooms) to maintain identical access to an arterial corridor on one side and a cloistered courtyard or external view on the other. The result is an efficiency of interior space planning that prescribes the placement of activities and users, based on the formal pentagonal arrangement of the plan. Similar responses to the objectification of architecture and interior fixation are apparent in many schemes that emphasise Autonomous approaches, including Scheme 169 by P. Riddle, Gillman, Gary, Clapp, and Sayers, or Scheme 235 by C. Wojtulewicz.

A scheme that strongly emphasises a Symbolic conceptual approach is Scheme 8 by Synman, Justin, and Bialek (Fig. 4). The design was conceived from the assemblage of separate component parts that reference and interpret local urban features and landmarks of Canberra. The scheme itself consists of a radial plan centred on the intersection of the land axis and two arms of the parliamentary triangle axes on Capital Hill. In elevation, a prominent dome feature of the scheme mimics a "similar element atop of the War Memorial" to "reinforce the land axis by repetition" of the nearby landmark.[39]

In terms of addressing the two problematic characteristics of the site's isolation, this Symbolic approach contests—rather than exacerbates—the objectification of architecture and interior fixation. The scheme achieves this by adopting and internalising surrounding civic and urban features into the composition of its architectural form. The axial geometry of the Griffin Plan's 1979 incarnation is heavily emulated in the compositional alignment of the building's centre, orientation, and wings, enabling its plan to act as a spatial metaphor for the historical significance ascribed to these urban features. This internalisation of the urban plan's abstract geometry is a design strategy repeated extensively across many entries emphasising Symbolic approaches, including Scheme 58 by G. Breen, Hawke Breen, and Associates Pty Ltd, or Scheme 298 by Kenneth P. Finn.

Internally, fixation on the plan's functional efficiency gives way to the symbolic



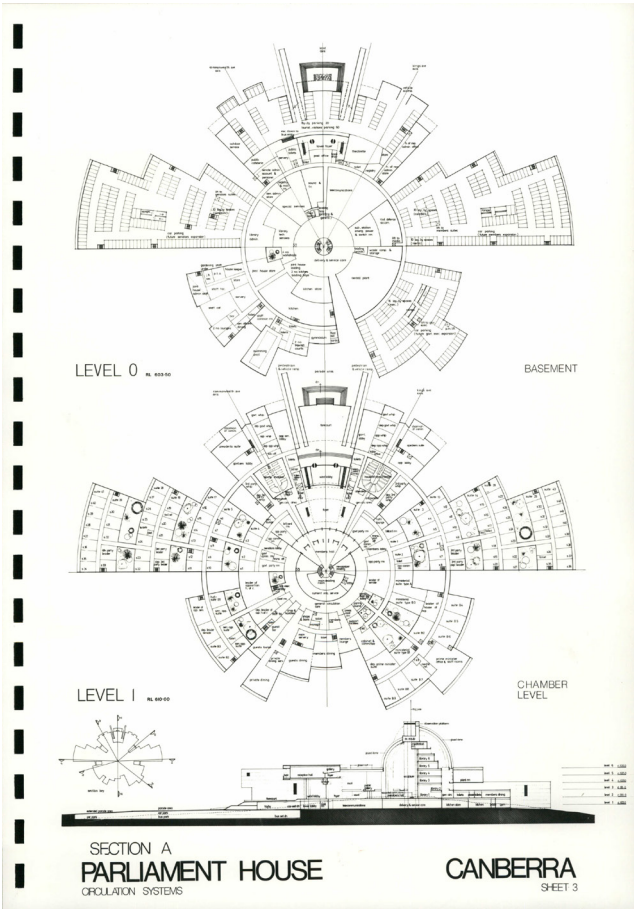


Fig. 4 Synman, Justin, and Bialek (1979). Scheme 8. Rendered site plan for the Australian Parliament House design competition. [From *Printed Report—Scheme 8*, National Archives of Australia. Courtesy of Synman, Justin, Bialek Architects Pty Ltd]

Fig. 5 Synman, Justin, and Bialek (1979). Scheme 8. Interior plans and section for the Australian Parliament House design competition. [From *Printed Report—Scheme 8*, National Archives of Australia. Courtesy of Synman, Justin, Bialek Architects Pty Ltd]

arrangement of its interior elements with the internalised features of the urban plan (Fig. 5). The symbolic alignment, for instance, of the Senate and House of Representatives Chambers along the urban axes of the parliamentary triangle breaks their traditional linear alignment, outlined in the competition brief. The Synman, Justin, and Bialek team describe this deviation as necessary to "[s]trongly [reinforce] the axes" of the Griffin Plan's 1979 incarnation, and expound the metaphor of urban connection by providing an "immediate recognition and commentary for approaching visitors."[40] In section, the metaphor of connection is further extended by mimicking the War Memorial's landmark dome to "[reflect] shapes already evident in the urban design" of Canberra.[41] Similar metaphoric imitations are common in many schemes emphasising Symbolic approaches, including references to the Southern Cross, as in Scheme 160; references to the bicameral system of parliament, as in Scheme 236; or references to topographical features of the Australian landscape, as in Scheme 2.[42]

An entry that strongly emphasises a Representational conceptual approach is Scheme 148 by competition team R. Drexel, Architect (Fig. 6). Characteristic of many entries with a high Representational emphasis, this scheme describes the paramount importance of the Australian people's democratic right to participate in government and the foundational role of public representation in the design of a parliament. The Drexel team's report explains how "ideally Parliament House 'belongs' to the electing public and in this sense should be conceived as a public space."[43] This design consists of a mostly orthogonal structure with no single, formal strategy to determine its overall compositional arrangement. Different

wings are oriented towards various external features such as entry roads, solar access, and views. Internally, the principle feature of its interior planning is its very large, open interior spaces, covered by a high roof supported on a repeating column grid (Fig. 7). Enclosed spaces (such as chambers, offices, and meeting rooms) within this large interior space appear almost as small interior pavilions, oriented to the various angles of the building's different wings. Passage between these interior pavilions is facilitated by wide ascending stairways, passageways, and elevated or flying walkways through the voids of the open interior space.

This Representational approach addresses the site's isolation by contesting the objectification of architecture and interior fixation. Yet, unlike Symbolic approaches, these characteristics are contested by developing experiential strategies for public engagement, not by internalising surrounding urban features as spatial metaphors. Focusing on generating a "sense of place," this design is conceived more as an urban interior rather than an isolated object in the round, a reclassification that erodes its potential perception as an objectified architectural form for an impression of a place of public gathering.[44] As described by the Drexel team, the "concept is analogous with a European town square wherein the civic buildings are contained but is generally a large gathering space for the townspeople," creating the "feeling that this landmark is not a distant and untouchable object, but a place to approach, enter and in which to spend time, in a variety of ways."[45]

This reclassification of parliamentary architecture as an urban interior returns its interior planning arrangement to a pattern of solids and voids very similar

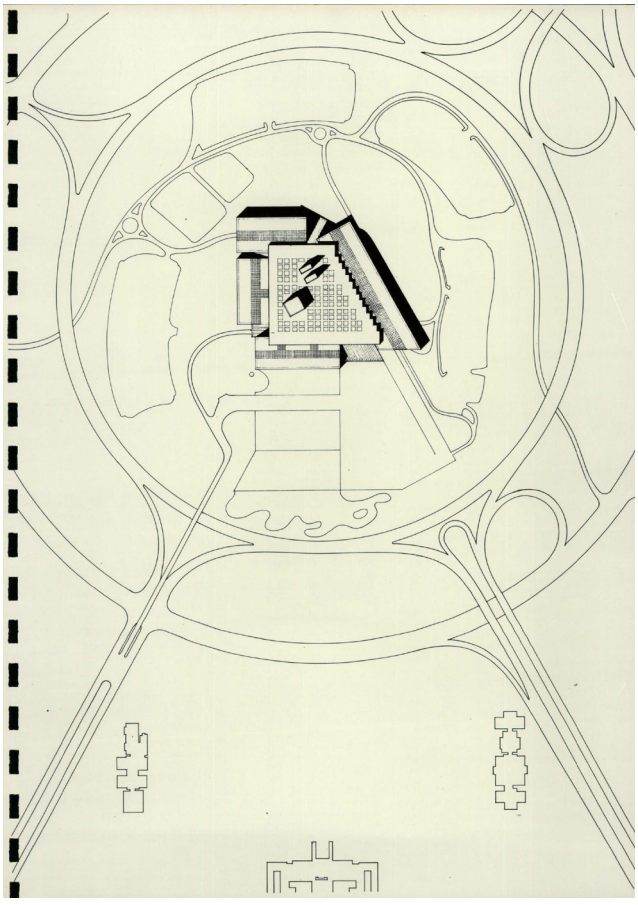


Fig. 6 R. Drexel (1979). Scheme 148. Rendered site plan for the Australian Parliament House design competition. [From *Printed Report—Scheme 148*, National Archives of Australia. Courtesy of R. Drexel, Architect]

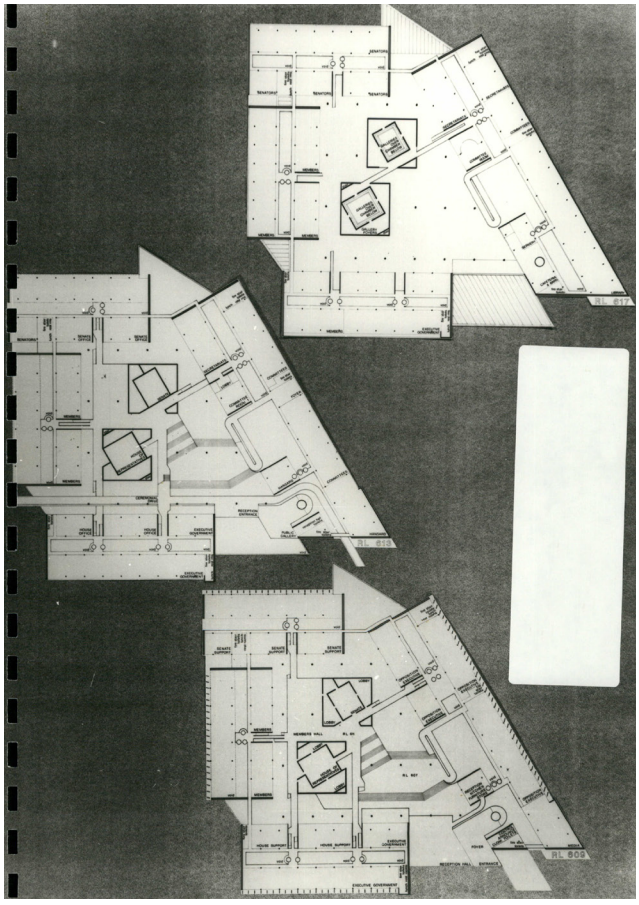


Fig. 7 R. Drexel (1979). Scheme 148. Interior plans for the Australian Parliament House design competition. [From *Printed Report—Scheme 148*, National Archives of Australia. Courtesy of R. Drexel, Architect]

to the traditional cities that Rowe and Koetter suggest were lost to the vacuous spaces of modern and contemporary urbanism. Ideas of urban interiors are common in many schemes that emphasise Representational approaches, including references to parliamentary designs as a "nodal point," or a "small town," as in Schemes 150 and 86, respectively; references to interiorised urban elements such as "pedestrian street[s]" in Scheme 86, interior "radiating avenues," and amphitheatres, as in Schemes 122 and 130, respectively; "open Plaza and forum," as in Scheme 156; or the proliferation of "internal activities, particularly to the casual visitor," as described in Scheme 187.[46]

Returning to Scheme 148, its interior appears to forgo a fixation on functional efficiency for largely undesignated interior public spaces, establishing compositional ambiguity as sites for public engagement. The report described its interior spaces as "implicitly visually accessible and 'open' in that one can see through the building to all the wings … contiguous with the focal point of the parliamentary system, made manifest for all to see and participate therein."[47] The link between spatial ambiguity and public engagement is common in many schemes that emphasise Representational approaches, foregrounding a capacity for the Australian public to determine the use of space through shifting episodes of their occupation. This point is well demonstrated by Scheme 130, suggesting the need to "provide facilities for the Australian people to express viewpoints by open display and demonstration, by public oratory, and by presentation of petitions," a place "for ceremonies," as well as for "demonstrations and for displays."[48]

Finally, in several schemes emphasising Representational approaches, decisions about the building's alignment with Canberra's urban plan and landmarks emanate from considerations of occupants' interior experiences. Scheme 150, for instance, aligns the orientation of its interior space planning with "external views … interesting and exciting external conditions" in efforts to support the "mental wellbeing of staff during working hours."[49] This emphasis on occupants' experiences reverses the emphasis on the exterior urban setting prevalent in Symbolic approaches. It brings the external environment into Parliament's urban interior as views, local features, and sunlight, to cultivate sophisticated interior experiences, rather than mimetic spatial metaphors of connection. As the Drexel team put it, "the form/landscape relationship always 'leads' into the building, always emphasising the openness and the accessibility of this grand landmark."[50]

Conclusion: Interpretations of Australian parliamentary democracy in architecture and urban planning

Each entrant's design is unique. Yet, when considered in response to the challenges of the site's isolation, the three identified conceptual approaches—Autonomous, Symbolic, and Representational—are apparent in the methods used by many entrants to address an objectification of architecture and interior fixation. Recognising these conceptual approaches offers valuable insight into different interpretations of Australia's parliamentary democracy instantiated in the architectural and urban planning arrangement of each entrant's scheme. The literal composition of solids and voids in each entrant's drawings illustrates their decisions about the appearance, meaning, and participatory qualities of democracy foregrounded by each conceptual approach. It is important to consider these interpretations, as they demonstrate risks and potential benefits for democratic

practices when architecture and urban planning is employed to speak for the rights of others.

Scheme 305, for instance, uses a primary focus on formal structure and interior efficiency, that excludes its urban setting. Its dramatic and resolute appearance links ideas of Australia's parliamentary democracy to impressions of detached authority. The Goyette, Cole, and Lynch team embrace this impression, suggesting their design celebrates "strength" indelible to Australian national identity.[51] Like many schemes emphasising an Autonomous conceptual approach, the objectification of architecture and interior fixation reduce complexity in planning to clear prescriptions of use and defined interpretations. By extension, the more emphatic this conceptual approach, the more it appears to diminish impressions of Australian democracy to suggestions of idealised stability.

Scheme 8, by Synman, Justin, and Bialek, internalises Canberra's urban plan and landmarks to introduce metaphors of urban connection. Despite this distinction from Autonomous approaches, this Symbolic conceptual approach similarly emphasises the formal structure of the scheme's appearance and rigid interior arrangement. By relying on spatial metaphors to communicate ideas of urban connection, complexity in planning is again reduced by attempts to prescribe the building's meaning, rather than its use, in the compositional arrangements of its architecture and interior conditions. Such Symbolic conceptual approaches ossify impressions of Australian democracy in abstract ideals, built directly into Parliament's form. A process that appears to displace an emphasis on human experience for political posterity in planning decisions and, by extension, diminishes the indelible link between Australia's parliamentary democracy and public participation.

The fact that Scheme 148, by R. Drexel, Architect, is first and foremost conceived as a public space with users' experience front of mind speaks to impressions of Australian democracy as an egalitarian construct, epitomised by people's representation in parliament. In many ways itself an idealised abstraction, what differentiates such an approach from Symbolic—or even Autonomous—conceptual approaches is its hesitation to attempt to reduce the complexities of use and meaning to formal structures and prescriptive planning. Like many schemes emphasising a Representational conceptual approach, undesignated planning in urban interiors introduces ambiguity into the spatial arrangement. Weirick criticised similar ambiguity in the competition's eventual winning scheme, suggesting it evades—rather than declares—democratic ideals. Perhaps he's right in that instance, yet ambiguity in planning that invites public participation leaves the space for the public to decide. Democracy's unending struggle between declaration and evasion, "freedom and tyranny," is the impression of Australia's parliamentary democracy that such spatial ambiguity affords.[52] A type of complexity in planning that literally makes open space for people to gather, participate, and choose when to rule or be ruled.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank the National Archives of Australia, Doris Cole, Ralph Drexel, SJB Architects, and Brook McDonald for their generous support and resources.

NOTES

1. 329 competition entries were originally submitted. Material for 324 is available at the National Archives of Australia. See The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, *Two Stage Design Competition: Assessors' Final Report* (Canberra: The Commonwealth Government Printer, 1981), 12.

2. Andrew Hutson, "Square Peg in a Square Hole: Australia's Parliament House," *Papers on Parliament*, no. 55 (February 2011); Andrew Hutson, "The Ghosts of the Griffins and the Competition for a New Parliament House," *Fabrications* 23, no. 1 (2013): 86–115.

3. Hutson, "Square Peg," 90–94; Hutson, "The Ghosts of the Griffins," 90–94.

4. Hutson, "Square Peg," 99–108; Hutson, "The Ghosts of the Griffins," 94–111.

5. Hutson, "Square Peg," 97; Hutson, "The Ghosts of the Griffins," 112.

6. Excluding references to Lake Burley Griffin.

7. Hutson, "The Ghosts of the Griffins," 94.

8. Parliament House Construction Authority, *Parliament House Canberra: Conditions for a Two-stage Competition*, vol. 1 (Canberra: National Capital Development Commission, 1979), 47–49.

9. Parliament House Construction Authority, *Two-stage Competition*, vol. 2, 2.

10. Parliament House Construction Authority, *Two-stage Competition*, vol. 1, 46–80.

11. Parliament House Construction Authority, *Two-stage Competition*, vol. 1, 67.

12. Parliament House Construction Authority, *Two-stage Competition*, vol. 2, 15.

13. Parliament House Construction Authority, *Two-stage Competition*, vol. 2, 6; *Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, Assessors' Final Report*, 3.

14. Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, *Assessors' Final Report*, 3.

15. Parliament House Construction Authority, *Two-stage Competition*, vol. 2, 6.

16. Parliament House Construction Authority, *Two-stage Competition*, vol. 2, 15.

17. Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, *Assessors' Final Report*, 3.

18. Hutson, "The Ghosts of the Griffins," 100, 112.

19. Hutson, "Square Peg," 90–94; Hutson, "The Ghosts of the Griffins," 90–94.

20. James Weirick, "Don't You Believe It: Critical Response to the New Parliament House," *Transition* Summer/Autumn (1989): 10.

21. Weirick, "Don't You Believe It," 14. Original emphasis.

22. Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage City* (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 1978), 50–85.

23. Rowe and Koetter, *Collage City*, 56.

24. Rowe and Koetter, *Collage City*, 56.

25. Rowe and Koetter, *Collage City*, 52–58.

26. Rowe and Koetter, *Collage City*, 56.

27. Rowe and Koetter, *Collage City*, 58.

28. Weirick, "Don't You Believe It," 14.

29. Rowe and Koetter, *Collage City*, 56.

30. Rowe and Koetter, *Collage City*, 56.

31. See diagram legends in Parliament House Construction Authority, *Two-stage Competition*, vol. 2, 7–84.

32. Weirick, "Don't You Believe It," 51.

33. Weirick, "Don't You Believe It," 17.

34. Parliament House Construction Authority, *Two-stage Competition*, vol. 1, 83–85.

35. Parliament House Construction Authority, *Two-stage Competition*, vol. 1, 83.

36. Goyette, Cole, and Lynch, *Printed Report—Scheme 305* (Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 1979), 1–2.

37. Goyette, Cole, and Lynch, *Printed Report – Scheme 305*, 1.

38. Goyette, Cole, and Lynch, *Printed Report—Scheme 305*, 1.

39. Synman, Justin, and Bialek, *Printed Report—Scheme 8* (Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 1979), 2.

40. Synman, Justin, and Bialek, *Printed Report—Scheme 8*, 1–2.

41. Synman, Justin, and Bialek, *Printed Report—Scheme 8*, 1.

42. Wiacek and Fajans, *Printed Report—Scheme 160* (Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 1979), 1; Arnold, Smith, and Jones, *Printed Report—Scheme 236* (Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 1979), 3; R. F. Pierce, *Printed Report—Scheme 2* (Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 1979), 2.

43. R. Drexel, Architect, *Printed Report—Scheme 148* (Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 1979), 1.

44. Drexel, *Printed Report—Scheme 148*, 2.

45. Drexel, *Printed Report—Scheme 148*, 1, 3.

46. G. Killoran and Associates, *Printed Report—Scheme 150* (Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 1979), 3; Michael A. Harris, *Printed Report – Scheme 86* (Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 1979), 3; McKain, Bossley, Armstrong, Wardle, Smith, and Leong, Architects, *Printed Report—Scheme 122* (Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 1979), 1; Hall and Bowe Pty Ltd, *Printed Report – Scheme 130* (Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 1979), 1; P. Gilby, Howard, and Wegman, *Printed Report—Scheme 156* (Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 1979), 1; Joyce Nankivell Bonaldi Group, *Printed Report—Scheme 187* (Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 1979), 1.

47. Drexel, *Printed Report—Scheme 148*, 1–2.

48. Hall and Bowe Pty Ltd, *Printed Report—Scheme 130*, 1.

49. G. Killoran and Associates, *Printed Report—Scheme 150*, 3.

50. Drexel, *Printed Report – Scheme 148*, 2.

51. Goyette, Cole, and Lynch, *Printed Report—Scheme 305*, 1.

52. Weirick, "Don't You Believe It," 20.

SUSAN HOLDEN AND OLIVIA DAW

Watershed or whimper? The Australian Year of the Built Environment, 2004

Fig. 1 Year of the Built Environment logo. [Courtesy of Warren Kerr]

The announcement that 2004 would be designated the Year of the Built Environment (YBE) was an important declaration by Australian governments of the role of the built environment for future environmental sustainability. It provided an impetus for a whole-of-government perspective on built environment issues that also raised the spectre of past attempts at a federal urban policy agenda. It had been a long interval since the short-lived Commonwealth Department of Urban and Regional Development (DURD, 1972–75) initiated by the Whitlam Labor Government that sought to raise the profile of urban governance as a national policy priority, and the Hawke–Keating Labor Government's Building Better Cities Program (1991–96) that piloted a model for intergovernmental collaboration catalysing the role of Australian cities in economic development.[1] If those previous schemes focused on the role of the federal government in coordinating more strategic resource distribution and incentivising high-quality urban development, what would the impetus of sustainability bring?

One of the main priorities of YBE was to activate community engagement in sustainability issues. In this respect, it aimed to cement emerging sustainable principles as a central tenet of urban development. This vision was articulated by the Governor-General Major General Michael Jeffery, patron-in-chief of YBE, at its national launch at the 5-star rated green building 30 Bond in Sydney: "I believe this can be a watershed year that will provide impetus for positive built environment outcomes to flow on to the community for years to come."[2] With 2004 also a federal election year, there was a political context to the activities and debates of YBE, and associated industry-wide calls for a coordinated policy agenda. Yet in the lead up to the October election, the Urban Design Forum signalled the lack of ongoing political commitment:

> The Year of the Built Environment is a whimper, the election year Budget offers little more, with practically no leadership for sustainable infrastructure and communities. Despite the rhetoric, recent road allocations well outpace public transport, and Australia's response to the international Kyoto Protocol expectations for reduction of greenhouse gases is mostly smoke and mirrors.[3]

Despite being one of the few national attempts at coordinating resources and

attention around built environment issues, there has been little analysis of YBE or its impact. This paper draws together dispersed data on the events and outcomes of the year, and interviews with select protagonists, to present an account of YBE and analyse the initiative in relation to the evolution of built environment policy in Australia.[4] To some extent YBE was a politically opportunistic attempt—in the lead up to a federal election—to focus attention and resources on the emerging imperative of environmental sustainability at a time when the concept was gaining popular momentum. Its expansive program of events, exhibitions, and demonstration projects engaged communities and industry as crucial actors in achieving sustainable built environments. However, YBE was also the outcome of a concerted effort in the architecture profession, led by Warren Kerr as Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA) WA Chapter President (2001–03) and National President (2004–05), to more effectively influence the quality of the built environment and its legacy for future generations. One of its most important legacies was the re-establishment of Government Architect roles and the strategic connection of these roles through the Government Architects Network of Australia (GANA). That YBE has been somewhat forgotten in the professional record can be attributed to more than just the well-recognised problem of institutional amnesia.[5] It also reflects how the environmental sustainability agenda was stalled in Australia by the politicisation of climate change.

A national approach to sustainable cities

The 2003 Australian Government Inquiry into Sustainable Cities 2025 and subsequently initiated Sustainable Cities Program provided an important political context for YBE.[6] The Inquiry came about as a recommendation of the second State of the Environment Report of 2001, which recognised the key role of cities in achieving sustainable futures and established a policy impetus for the evaluation of urban environments as part of a broader sustainability agenda.[7] During the 1990s, sustainability discourse advanced globally after the United Nations Brundtland Report, *Our Common Future* (1987), popularised the concept of a limit to growth and the term entered policy lexicon.[8] During this so-called "sustainability decade," Australia made significant political commitment to advancing sustainability, albeit with varying levels of success in operationalising policy.[9]

The sustainability agenda placed the built environment in direct relation to the natural environment and recast the value of a national approach to urban governance. Indeed, the Inquiry identified the lack of a national approach to policy and strategic coordination for the urban environment as a barrier to achieving more sustainable outcomes.[10] In contrast to the integrated approach for the protection and management of Australia's natural environment, the Inquiry identified that most government programs and constitutional power relating to factors influencing urban sustainability were coordinated at a state or local level without "high-level, strategic coordination."[11] The federal government committed $168.5 million in its 2003–04 budget "to protect the nation's built heritage and help make urban life more sustainable."[12] The Sustainable Cities Program was a headline initiative, receiving $40 million of funding over five years to "ensure understanding of, and action for, sustainable Australia."[13] Federal funding was also made available under the Distinctively Australian program and the Cool Communities program that linked the Australian Greenhouse Office with NGOs and communities.[14]

The Federal Government's engagement with built environment issues provided an opportunity for the RAIA to advance its agenda for sustainable development and design excellence. The RAIA made a submission to the Inquiry,[15] and they played a central role in initiating and subsequently organising YBE, in large part through the successful lobbying activities of Warren Kerr. During his term as RAIA WA Chapter President (2001–03), Kerr had developed the idea for a Year of the Built Environment, motivated by the desire to see more cohesive and effective built environment policy in Australia and the architecture profession make a bigger contribution to urban governance. He was inspired by the 2002 Year of the Outback, which aimed to highlight the importance of regional and remote Australia and was commemorated with a special $1 coin. Kerr had extensive experience with government, having worked as a graduate for the Commonwealth Department of Works and then later for the WA Building Management Authority, and he used his experience and networks, also developed through his leadership roles with the RAIA and the Australian Council of Building Design Professions (BDP), to garner support for YBE initially in WA, then from the other states, and ultimately from the Office of the Prime Minister.[16] In the lead up to the federal budget delivered in May 2003, the Commonwealth Government endorsed the initiative as a national activity, recognising an opportunity for policy announcements in an election year and, in turn, 2004 was officially designated the Year of the Built Environment.[17] Responsibility for the year was then delegated to the Australian Department of the Environment and Heritage.

In the National Environment Budget Statement 2004–05, David Kemp, Australian Government Minister for the Environment and Heritage, outlined that one of the focuses for the year was the development of national standards for the sustainability of the built environment and working towards the adoption of a national approach to "policies, partnerships and programmes."[18] More specifically, this included legislation for national water efficiency labelling and standards (WELS), reviewing additional standards for toxic gas, sulphur, and ground-level ozone standards, and the aim to strengthen environmental aspects of building codes and standards, as well as ensuring access to community and decision makers to national information regarding the urban environment.

As the RAIA National President for 2003–04, David Parken chaired the National Steering Committee for YBE, while Kerr, who succeeded Parken as RAIA National President (2004–05), headed up the WA Steering Committee, which had its headquarters in the Western Australian Department of Housing and Works.[19] The YBE National Steering Committee established seven themes for the year: Towards Sustainable Communities; Healthy Environments; Excellence in Building; Our Built Heritage; Imagining the Future; Design for All; and Building Regional Communities.[20] A National YBE Exemplars and Awards Program showcased and celebrated exemplary people, places, and organisations under these themes. Ten awards were given at a Gala event in November 2004, including the newly revised and illustrated edition of the *Burra Charter* published in 2004, and Council House 2 (CH2)—Australia's first Green Building Council 6-star rated building—completed in 2006 for the City of Melbourne (Table 1). The strategy of using exemplars to demonstrate tangible approaches to achieving sustainability in the built environment also informed the numerous built projects that were sponsored during YBE.

Category	Winners	Commendations
Towards Sustainable Communities	Ché Wall	Ecospecifier, and Inkerman Housing Project, VIC
Healthy Environments	ARUP OATSIH Capital Works Program	Humitec, Burnie City Walking Track, TAS, and Wangka Wilurrara, SA
Excellence in Building	Federation Square, VIC, and Walsh Bay, NSW	
Our Built Heritage	*Burra Charter*	Adelaide City Council Heritage Incentive Scheme, SA, and Canterbury Primary School, VIC
Imagining the Future	Council House 2, VIC, and Chris Johnson and the *Houses of the Future* exhibition, NSW	
Design for All	Archicentre, and John McInerney	Smart Housing Queensland
Building Regional Communities	Broken Hill Heritage Cultural Tourism Program, NSW	Tahune Forest Airwalk, TAS, and Queensland Heritage Trails

Table 1 YBE 2004 National Awards and Exemplars Program. [*Year of the Built Environment, 2004*, electronic resource (Perth, WA: YBE 2004, 2003)]

In addition to the *Burra Charter* being acknowledged in the YBE national awards program, the Australian Government also published *Adaptive Reuse: Preserving our Past, Building our Future*, which showcased exemplary projects, and there was a strong focus on heritage-themed activities and events in several states.[21]

Education was another important focus of YBE, and an opportunity to advance initiatives developed with prior government support. In Victoria the Designers in Schools initiative was reintroduced.[22] The NSW Chapter of the RAIA explored ways to advance the Built Environment Education (BEE) program.[23] A web-based School Sustainable Design Tool was launched in Queensland. Developed in collaboration with the Department of Education, it enabled students to learn about sustainability and contribute information showcasing their hometowns.[24]

An extensive program of events gave momentum and shape to the year itself. A nationally coordinated website allowed the numerous events and exhibitions organised during the year by diverse groups to be supported by YBE, if not financially, then through endorsement by the YBE State Secretariats, as well as numerous related events to be opportunistically brought under the YBE banner.[25] Youthquake was a national gathering of under-35-year-old future leaders of the property and construction industries that focused on developing a sustainable vision for Australia in 2050, and there were several national- and state-based forums and symposiums on specific built environment issues including coastal urbanisation, project housing, and child-friendly cities.[26] The Museum of Brisbane hosted *The 200km City* exhibition, organised by Peter Spearritt and The Brisbane Institute, which highlighted the pressures of population growth in South-East Queensland and the role of strategic planning frameworks in shaping sustainable settlement patterns.[27] Tasmania's events program focused on built and landscape heritage with a four-part debate series staged across the year. Topics included "old buildings are better than new ones," and "suburbs: the great Australian dream has turned into a nightmare." (Fig. 2)

Fig. 2 Tasmania YBE Debate Series poster. [https://web.archive.org/web/20050616084907/http://www.wsa.tas.gov.au/ybe/YBE%20DEBATE%20Poster%201%20%202%20.pdf, accessed 16 May 2022; courtesy of the Tasmanian Conservation Trust]

Sydney hosted a YBE City Talks lecture series across the year with high-profile international speakers, including UK-based sustainability expert John Doggart with Australian architect Danielle McCartney,[28] American urban studies theorist Richard Florida on his recently published book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002), and architectural theorist Beatriz Colomina, director of Princeton University School of Architecture, who was in Australia as a keynote speaker for

the Biennale of Sydney. The Honourable Paul Keating spoke in this series in a debate on the Future of Sydney Harbour, a hot topic in the lead up to the East Darling Harbour urban design competition.[29] Another significant international visitor was Sir Stuart Lipton, chair of the UK Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE), who visited Sydney in February 2004. Lipton brought CABE to the attention of an Australian audience, and it became something of a benchmark for those pondering the legacy of YBE for Australia.

YBE legacy projects

A focal point of YBE at both national and state levels was the promotion of exemplars through awards, educational material, and demonstration projects. The *Houses of the Future* exhibition was a flagship demonstration project led by NSW State Government Architect Chris Johnson. Johnson and his team, which included Sara Stace and Meredith Bennion, chose the lens of the home to address issues of sustainability, where they believed most people had experience and understanding of the built environment.[30] Following the well-established modernist tradition of housing exhibitions, they commissioned six futuristic houses that were displayed on the Sydney Opera House forecourt from 15–31 October 2004.[31]

Fig. 3 *Houses of the Future* on the Sydney Opera House forecourt (2004). [Photograph by John Gollings AM, Gollings Photography Pty Ltd]

Each house was designed by a different architect, made from a different base material, and aimed to provoke new thinking on the future of domestic space.[32] Placing focus on the home was a tangible way to demonstrate lessons on environmental sustainability while showcasing design and material innovation. (Fig. 3)

The houses promoted sustainability through their use of materials, design for pre-fabrication, and incorporation of passive environmental design strategies and rainwater recycling.[33] Each house was required to conform with BASIX, a new building sustainability index being adopted in NSW in 2004 to ensure that new residential dwellings would be designed and built to use 40 per cent less drinking-quality water and produce less greenhouse gas emissions than average homes.[34] According to Johnson, there was some anxiety and resistance around

the introduction of BASIX, so the *Houses of the Future* exhibition additionally served to demystify the new tool.[35]

Johnson also aspired to influence mass market housing and the exhibition aligned with the topic of the 2004 NSW Premier's Forum on Suburban and Project Housing. The houses were delivered by Multiplex and a key goal for the exhibition, influenced by Colomina's visit, was to have a broad impact via mass media coverage where Johnson hoped the projects would capture the imagination of the public and generate images of the possibilities of housing that would "outlast the reality" of the exhibited buildings.[36] Johnson's accompanying book, *HOMES DOT COM: Architecture for All*, placed the experimental houses from the exhibition and principles of sustainable design in relation to the ubiquitous "project home" and the broader context of Australian suburbia.[37] Over 75,000 people visited the exhibition, and extensive media interest through television, newspapers, magazines, and major websites brought international attention to YBE.[38] Accompanying *Houses of the Future*, the YBE Secretariat assisted the Australian Institute of Landscape Architects (AILA) and the Sydney Botanic Gardens in developing *Gardens of the Future*, an exhibition that addressed similar issues.[39]

The focus on demonstration projects continued in Victoria, where the City of Melbourne and Archicentre renovated two terrace houses in the inner-city suburb of Carlton. *The Terraces* sought to provide tangible "consumer education" on design, construction, and sustainability. The Victorian Building Commission was a partner in this demonstration project and provided secretariat support for YBE activities in Victoria, and was involved in several legacy projects. They partnered with Heritage Victoria to publish the first edition of *What House Is That?*, a booklet highlighting key housing styles in Victoria, that aimed to improve design literacy and appreciation of the value of Victoria's built heritage.[40]

In Queensland, the single dwelling was also the focus of exemplar projects, with the Queensland State Government committing half a million dollars to support the construction of sustainable homes around the state, a program that extended The Smart Housing initiative established by the Department of Housing in 1999 to promote sustainability in the design and construction of housing in the private sector.[41] Thirty-four local councils expressed interest in developing their own demonstration projects under the Sustainable Homes Program, a collaborative partnership between state and local governments and housing industry organisations.[42] Thirty projects were realised, occupying all four of Queensland's climate zones defined in the Building Code of Australia (BCA), and each home was open for a minimum of six months for public viewing.[43]

Adding to Queensland's YBE legacy projects, Wayne Petrie, who served as Chair of the YBE Steering Committee in Queensland for the Department of Public Works, developed the initial vision for the Architectural Practice Academy (APA) during the year.[44] As former president of the RAIA Queensland Chapter, Petrie recognised the need to offer graduates ongoing education outside of academia and developed the experimental program to give graduates an opportunity to lead architectural projects overseen by mentors in the profession.[45] Federal YBE funding was used for the Academy's establishment, and it was supported by Minister Robert Schwarten.[46] The APA ran from 2005 to 2012, admitting six graduates each year for a two-year period, with the office functioning like a small practice as an independent unit within government while receiving assistance

from the Project Services Division. It also functioned as a design-focused internship program in the public service, exposing new graduates to careers in the public sector, while ensuring they gained the post-graduation experience required to achieve professional registration.[47] The APA contributed to the design of some of the Sustainable Houses in regional locations (Fig. 4). In 2011, under the new Liberal National Party Government, funding for the APA ceased.[48]

Fig. 4 Jo Macleod (2004). The Zilzi Sustainable House by the APA. [Photograph by John Casey, courtesy of Queensland Department of Energy and Public Works]

Built environment governance after YBE: Design leadership and design policy

While the promotion of exemplars was seen as a powerful way to encourage behavioural change in the broader community, the goal of long-term influence through policy was a bigger challenge and ultimately subject to the contingencies of political cycles.[49] YBE did provide a framework for the built environment professions to collectively recognise the lack of strategic government leadership on built environment issues, if not to explicitly interrogate why, as Susan Oakley wrote during the year, "an urban policy discourse [had] not been sustainable in Federal Government."[50] The Planning Institute of Australia (PIA) took the opportunity to launch a revised version of its 2001 national policy statement, *Liveable Communities: How the Commonwealth can Foster Sustainable Cities and Regions*, which also formed the basis of its submission to the Sustainable Cities Inquiry, and called for coordinated national policy to rectify what Jago Dodson described as the "policy of wilful neglect" that had characterised the years since Building Better Cities.[51] For Kerr, too, the lack of cohesive and coordinated urban policy had been an important motivating factor behind YBE, and informed his parallel lobbying for state and city architect positions in WA and nationally.

As part of YBE 2004, Western Australia developed a State Sustainability Strategy, which brought an explicit sustainability focus to the strategic whole-of-government approach to policy development that was occurring at state level across Australia.[52] The WA Strategy was intended to lead to the adoption of a dedicated

built environment design policy, which had been developed in draft form by the RAIA WA Chapter in the lead up to YBE in 2003, but this was thwarted by a change in leadership of the Labor Government, and of the Minister for Public Works role.[53] While a dedicated design policy would take another seventeen years to arrive,[54] YBE was nonetheless a catalyst for decisive action on the establishment of a State Government Architect position in WA, with Geoffrey London commencing in 2004. Kerr claimed this as one of the most tangible legacies of YBE for the state:

> In Australia, there is no government policy on the built environment, and the appointment of a government architect to advise ministers on issues to do with the built environment such as heritage, procurement, public-private partnerships and pilot projects is a step in the right direction.[55]

This had been one of Kerr's priorities as RAIA WA Chapter President and National President and he used these roles to lobby jurisdictions across Australia. As part of the launch of YBE in the Northern Territory, Chief Minister Clare Martin announced the establishment of an NT Government Architect position and Bob Nation was appointed.[56] Victoria would follow in 2006, with John Denton appointed, and by 2010 all states and territories in Australia had a Government Architect position.[57]

In the lead up to YBE only NSW and Queensland had Government Architect positions. NSW was the only state in Australia where the Government Architect position had been maintained since the colonial era.[58] In Queensland the position was re-established in 1999, with Michael Keniger appointed to the role in a part-time capacity. A significant task of Keniger's tenure was to begin to define a new kind of advisory-focused Government Architect role. This shift was also acknowledged in the RAIA WA Chapter's development of a draft policy for the built environment that identified an important role for governments as "custodians of design excellence" and the potential for government architects to advise and assist governments in this responsibility.[59] Keniger advised several states on the definition of the position in Queensland, including WA, Victoria, and NT, and contributed to the establishment of an AIA Government Architect Policy (2008).[60] This ad-hoc approach to knowledge sharing was formalised during YBE with the establishment of the GANA. Queensland hosted a second meeting of the GANA group in 2005, cementing it as an annual event.[61] In the ongoing absence of national leadership in urban policy and strategic planning, GANA represents one of the few mechanisms for the national coordination of the architecture profession working in government.

Following visits to Australia by representatives of the UK's Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment,[62] CABE would become a significant international benchmark for the development of design-led built environment governance in Australia in subsequent decades. In 2005, members of the RAIA NSW Chapter YBE Future Directions Committee called for an independent Built Environment Foundation as a meaningful legacy of YBE, taking inspiration from CABE.[63] While this did not come to fruition, CABE's practices and research have nonetheless informed the development of design review processes and design policy in Australia. Sustainability principles have been embedded in the design principle developed by government architects who guide the design review process for public buildings and infrastructure, state-significant projects,

and housing. The extent to which design-led built environment governance can influence strategic planning and procurement, and address some of the sustainability challenges associated with the mass housing market that Chris Johnson was concerned with during YBE, for example, remains an ongoing challenge.

Not to be outdone, New Zealand proclaimed 2005 as the Year of the Built Environment there, with a similar collaborative framework between central government, the New Zealand Institute of Architects, and other local government agencies and professional institutes, with over 200 activities held across the year.[64]

Watershed or whimper?

In the July/August 2022 issue of *Architecture Australia*, the YBE award-winning Council House 2 was revisited by Stephen Choi.[65] Revisiting this project almost 20 years after its inception gives some perspective on how the sustainability discourse has evolved in the architecture profession. This special issue of *AA* on the power of regenerative design coincided with the delayed release of the 2021 State of the Environment Report, after a five-year period in which Australia has seen catastrophic bushfires and floods.[66] While the release of the report prompts outrage and grief at the 'lost years' since Australia took an early leading role in the sustainability discourse in the 1990s and highlights the fraught political dimension to Australia's sustainability journey, it is also clear that the climate crisis requires a fundamental shift in thinking and action. Sustainability is now, in fact, almost a cliché, and as the *AA* special issue makes clear, the challenge is to move "beyond sustainability" and beyond the unproductive distinction between the natural and built environment that persisted in YBE. While YBE recognised the key role of cities in achieving a sustainable future, there is now recognition of the crucial role of biodiversity in natural and built environments, including urban ecosystems. While YBE saw heritage conservation as a parallel endeavour to the development of ecologically sustainable design, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is now calling for a broader definition of heritage to encompass its potential to catalyse climate action and social cohesion.[67]

YBE may not have been a "watershed year," and no commemorative coin was issued, but neither was it a whimper. Both Kerr and Johnson identified the development of design policies and the involvement of architects in built environment governance as important long-term goals. Many of the methods explored during YBE to promote the value of good design—such as identifying and awarding exemplary projects, supporting demonstration projects, and promoting public discourse and education—remain valid public policy tools. While the long-recognised challenges of overcoming siloed professional activity and achieving joined-up policy may persist, one of the main legacies of YBE has been in the incremental shifts in built environment governance processes that have made a greater role for architects to contribute design intelligence in the form of advocacy and advice to government. It remains for the architecture profession to further embrace the sphere of design governance in Australia as an avenue to achieve a greater impact on the design quality of the environment. The immense cultural change required to underpin climate adaptation remains ahead of us all.

NOTES

1. Tom Uren (Minister for Urban and Regional Development, 1972–75) was a YBE ambassador in NSW and Keating would re-enter the fray with a national lecture on the future of Sydney Harbour as part of the NSW YBE events program. Chris Johnson and Elizabeth Farrelly, "Year of the Built Environment: A Conversation," *Architectural Theory Review* 9, no. 1 (2004): 97–111; "The Harbour of the Future," *Architecture Bulletin* 3 (2004): 7–8.

2. Michael Jeffery quoted in "National Year of the Built Environment – 2004: A Year to Build On," *Ecos*, no. 119 (2004): 8.

3. Bill Chandler, "Is the Federal Government Relevant," *The Urban Design Forum*, no. 66 (2004): 1.

4. Interviews conducted under two larger projects: Design Governance and the Architecture Profession (ethics approval: 2022/HE000293) and Leadership in Design Governance: The Future of Advocacy and the Diversification of the Architecture Profession (2021/HE000992).

5. Alastair Stark and Brian Head, "Institutional Amnesia and Public Policy," *Journal of European Public Policy*, no. 10 (2019): 1521–39; Laura Tingle, "Political Amnesia: How we Forgot to Govern," *Quarterly Essay*, no. 60 (2015): 1–86.

6. Australian Government, Department of the Environment and Heritage, *Inquiry into Sustainable Cities 2025: Submission by the Department of the Environment and Heritage* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2003): 3; Australian Government, House of Representatives Standing Committee on Environment and Heritage, *Sustainable Cities* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2005): 21–22.

7. Australian State of the Environment Committee, *Australia State of the Environment 2001* (Canberra: CSIRO Publishing on behalf of the Department of the Environment and Heritage, 2001). See also *Inquiry into Sustainable Cities 2025*, 5–7. The first State of the Environment Report (1996) was initiated by Paul Keating on the back of Australia signing the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC, 1992) at Rio's Earth Summit and reflected Australia's international leadership and credibility in the climate change arena at that time.

8. United Nations, *Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future* (New York, 1987).

9. Martin Brueckner and Christof Pforr, "The Rise and Fall of Sustainability in Western Australian Politics: A Review of Sustainable Development Under the Western Australian Labour Government Between 2001 and 2008," *Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy* 7, no. 2 (2011): 3.

10. Australian Government, Department of the Environment and Heritage, *Inquiry into Sustainable Cities 2025*, 19.

11. Australian Government, Department of the Environment and Heritage, *Inquiry into Sustainable Cities 2025*, 17. The RAIA made a submission to the Inquiry, prepared by the new National Environment Committee chaired by Lindsay Johnson. Lindsay Johnson, "Design Sustainability," *Architecture Bulletin* 1 (2004): 16. Johnson and RAIA National President David Parken (2003–04) also appeared before the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Environment and Heritage during the Inquiry. See *Architecture Australia*, May (2004).

12. David Kemp, "YBE04," *Queensland Planner* 44, no. 1 (2004): 2.

13. David Kemp, *A Sustainability Strategy for the Australian Continent, Environment Budget Statement 2004–05* (2004): 44.

14. "National Year of the Built Environment – 2004," 8.

15. The Royal Australian Institute of Architects, "Inquiry into Sustainable Cities: Submission to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Environment and Heritage," December 2003.

16. Warren Kerr, interview 28 July 2022. The initial idea for a national Year of Architecture was part of Kerr's successful election platform for the RAIA National Presidency. To secure Federal Government support, Kerr communicated directly with Arthur Sinodinos, Chief of Staff to Prime Minister John Howard.

17. "Year of the Built Environment 2004, Introduction," *The Architect* 1 (2004): 13. In addition to project and program funding from the Australian Department of the Environment and Heritage, $500,000 was committed to help celebrate the year.

18. Kemp, *A Sustainability Strategy for the Australian Continent*.

19. Alongside the National Steering Committee, each state nominated a State Steering Committee to oversee the program for the year. Steering Committees included representatives from across the built environment professions and were typically supported by a relevant State Government department. State Governors were approached to be YBE patrons and some states nominated notable public figures as YBE ambassadors. State Steering Committees were led by: Chris Johnson, NSW Government Architect (NSW); Warren Kerr (WA) with support from the Department of Housing and Works; Wayne Petrie (QLD) with support from the Department of Public Works; in Victoria (VIC) initiatives were driven by the Department of Public Works and overseen by the Minister for Planning; and in Tasmania (TAS) initiatives were driven by the Governor. Little is documented on the initiatives of South Australia (SA), Australian Capital Territory (ACT), and Northern Territory (NT). *Architect South Australia* 18, no. 5 (2004): 8–10.

20. "National Year of the Built Environment – 2004," 8.

21. Commonwealth of Australia, Department of the Environment and Heritage, *Adaptive Reuse: Preserving our Past, Building our Future* (Canberra, 2004).

22. Earlier iterations of this program had been supported by the Australia Council for the Arts.

23. Beverley Garlick, "BEE is Up and Running Again," *Architecture Bulletin* 1 (2005): 22–23.

24. Queensland Parliament, *51st Parliament Weekly Hansard* (2004): 3816.

25. The national and state YBE websites have been discontinued and can be accessed via web archive. See: www.ybe2004.nsw.gov.au; www.builtenvironment2004.org.au; www.ybe2004.qld.gov.au; http://www.wsa.tas.gov.au/ybe (accessed 16 May 2022).

26. Some notable symposiums included: the National Coastal Urbanisation Symposium, Gold Coast, 29 March 2004; the NSW Premier's Forum on Suburban and Project Housing, Paramatta, April 2004; and the Creating Child-Friendly Cities Symposium, Brisbane, 28–29 October 2004.

27. Peter Spearritt and K. Gum, *The 200km City: From Noosa to the Tweed* (Brisbane: The Brisbane Institute, 2004).

28. Doggett and McCartney also conducted a national seminar tour supported by the RAIA Continuing Education Unit in conjunction with the Australian Greenhouse Office.

29. Johnson and Farrelly, "The Harbour of the Future," *Architecture Bulletin* 3 (2004): 6–9. Jack Munday also contributed to this debate and was a YBE ambassador in NSW.

30. Johnson and Farrelly, "Year of the Built Environment," 97–111.

31. Chris Johnson, "Houses of the Future and the Mass Media," *Architecture Bulletin*, no. 3 (2004): 33. Johnson made specific mention of Harry Seidler's 1954 House of the Future and Alison and Peter Smithson's House of the Future, which Beatriz Colomina had lectured about during her visit to Sydney in 2004.

32. The six houses were: Steel House by Modabode (Sarah Bickford and Paul Lucas); Clay House by Environa Studio (Tone Wheeler); Concrete House by NSW Government Architect Office (Peter Poulet and Michael Harvey); Timber House by Innovachi (Stephanie Smith and Ken McBryde); Glass House by J. Muir & UTS; and Cardboard House by Stutchbury & Pape (Col James).

33. "Houses of the Future: The Brief," YBE 2004 Houses of the Future, www.housesofthefuture.com.au/hof_houses01.html (site discontinued, accessed via internet archive 16 May 2022).

34. "Why be Environmentally Sustainable?", YBE 2004 Houses of the Future, http://www.housesofthefuture.com.au/hof_what03.html (site discontinued, accessed via internet archive 16 May 2022).

35. Johnson and Farrelly, "Year of the Built Environment."

36. Johnson, "Houses of the Future and the Mass Media," 31.

37. Chris Johnson, *HOMES DOT COM: Architecture for All* (Sydney: Government Architect's Publications, 2004).

38. *Architecture Bulletin*, no. 1 (2005): 2.

39. *Architecture Bulletin*, no. 1 (2005): 2.

40. Victorian Building Commission, *Celebrating Our Built Environment Annual Report 2003–04* (2004): 15.

41. "Triple Bottom Line," Smart and Sustainable Homes, www.sustainable-homes.org.au/02_design/triple.htm (site discontinued, accessed via internet archive 29 July 2022).

42. "About us," Smart and Sustainable Homes, www.sustainable-homes.org.au/01_aboutus/index.htm (site discontinued, accessed via internet archive 29 July 2022).

43. "Projects," Smart and Sustainable Homes, www.sustainable-homes.org.au/01_aboutus/index.htm (site discontinued, accessed via internet archive 29 July 2022).

44. Michael Keniger, "Mind the Gap: The Architectural Practice Academy," *Architectural Review Australia* 92, no. 16 (2005).

45. Charles Rowe, "The Legacy of the Architectural Practice Academy," *Architectural Review*, 5 March 2015, http://www.australiandesignreview.com/architecture/the-legacy-of-the-architectural-practice-academy (accessed 20 June 2022).

46. Rowe, "The Legacy of the Architectural Practice Academy."

47. A government-sponsored intern program for architectural graduates was also implemented in Western Australia. Warren Kerr, email correspondence, 2 August 2022.

48. Rowe, "The Legacy of the Architectural Practice Academy."

49. YBE was a catalyst for some advancements in national regulation and standards. Some key achievements cited by Kerr that were advanced during YBE include the Australasian Health Faculties Guidelines (AHFGs) which established national standards for hospital design, and a national review of Architects Acts and approach to Continuing Professional Development. Warren Kerr, email correspondence, 2 August 2022.

50. Susan Oakley, "Politics of Recollection: Examining the Rise and Fall of DURD and Better Cities through Narrative," *Urban Policy and Research* 22, no. 3 (2004): 300.

51. Planning Institute of Australia, *Liveable Communities: How the Commonwealth can Foster Sustainable Cities and Regions*, February 2004; Jago Dodson, "Pushing Planning in the Year of The Built Environment," *Queensland Planner* 44, no. 1 (2004): 12.

52. Kuntal Goswami and Rolf Gerritsen, "Policy Life Cycle Analysis of Three Australian State-Level Public Policies: Exploring the Political Dimension of Sustainable Development," *Journal of Development Policy and Practice* 6, no. 1 (2021): 9–35.

53. Royal Australian Institute of Architects (WA Chapter), *Policies for the WA Architecture Profession*, June 2003. Supplied by Warren Kerr. See also Marsha Jacobs. "Kerr Looks to Develop Understanding," *Business News*, 5 March 2005, www.businessnews.com.au/article/Kerr-looks-to-develop-understanding.

54. Western Australian Department of Planning, Lands and Heritage, *State Planning Policy 7.0: Design of the Built Environment* (Perth: Western Australian Planning Commission, 2019).

55. Jacobs, "Kerr Looks to Develop Understanding."

56. *The Architect*, 1 (2004): 13.

57. There was no architect appointed to the role in the Northern Territory after 2009, and the role was subsequently abolished. The position was also discontinued in Tasmania after Peter Poulet left in 2012. Government Architect positions have been maintained in NSW, Queensland, Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia, and the ACT.

58. The Office of the NSW Government Architect transitioned to operating primarily in an advisory capacity in 2016.

59. RAIA WA Chapter, *Policies for the WA Architecture Profession*, 8, 17.

60. Michael Keniger, interview 23 June 2022. See also Michael Keniger, "Queensland Government Architect," *Architect Victoria* (December 2000): 18–19.

61. Queensland Parliament, *51st Parliament Weekly Hansard* (2004).

62. Francis Golding visited Brisbane as a keynote speaker at the Making of the Public Realm Conference convened by Keniger in 2000, one of his first initiatives as Queensland State Government Architect. Sir Stuart Lipton visited Sydney during YBE for the YBE City Talks lecture series.

63. Caroline Pidcock, "News," *Architecture Bulletin* 1 (2005): 3; Chris Johnson; "Year of the Built Environment Overview," Year of the Built Environment website, http://www.ybe2004.nsw.gov.au/ybe2004.asp (site discontinued, accessed via internet archive 29 July 2022).

64. "2005 Year of the Built Environment: Celebrating our Cities and Towns," www.beehive.govt.nz/release/2005-year-built-environment-celebrating-our-cities-and-towns (accessed 29 July 2022). The year aimed to inform government initiatives such as the Sustainable Development Programme of Action and Urban Affairs portfolio.

65. Stephen Choi, "Revisited: CH2 (2006), Design Inc in Collaboration with the City of Melbourne," *Architecture Australia* 111, no. 4 Beyond Sustainability (2022): 86–93.

66. I. D. Cresswell, T. Janke, and E. L. Johnston, *Australia State of the Environment 2021: Overview*, Independent report to the Australian Government Minister for the Environment, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2021, DOI: 10.26194/f1rh-7r05. Although handed down in 2021, this most recent iteration of the five-yearly report was not publicly released until July 2022 after the May federal election saw the Albanese Labor Government take office.

67. Climate Change and Cultural Heritage Working Group International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), *The Future of Our Pasts: Engaging Cultural Heritage in Climate Action* (ICOMOS, Paris: 2019), https://indd.adobe.com/view/a9a551e3-3b23-4127-99fd-a7a80d91a29e (accessed 12 July 2022).

CAROLYN HILL

The "soft edge": Heritage, special character, and new planning directives in Aotearoa cities

In 2000, historian Gavin McLean wrote a chapter entitled "Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze: A Brief History of New Zealand's Heritage Movement 1890–2000," as part of the book *Common Ground?*, an exploration of Aotearoa's heritage and public places.[1] McLean's title refers to the New Zealand government's 1896 protection of Ship Cove, one of Captain Cook's early anchorages in Queen Charlotte Sound. The heavily forested site was to be "retained in its natural state as nearly as may be,"[2] and hence sans sheep.

From these earliest reserves for places of historical interest and scenic beauty, McLean charts the development of heritage concerns in New Zealand into the turn of the twenty-first century. I build on McLean's analysis, exploring the trajectories of heritage-making in this country into the present day. In doing so I foreground the place-claiming role of heritage in a settler colonial nation-state, where settlers came to stay permanently and assert sovereignty over Indigenous peoples and lands.[3] The paper traces legislative and regulatory change regarding historic built form in urban environments, with a focus on "special character," a policy descriptor for concepts of existing amenity and architectural coherence within older neighbourhoods. This planning tool constructs the "soft edge" of

Fig. 1 Carolyn Hill (2023). Special character in Freeman's Bay, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. [Photograph]

heritage, as it is deeply formative of public perceptions of heritage even as it is distinguished from it in policy terms.

Exploring Aotearoa's largest metropolitan area, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland, I study how the area's district plans have defined and formulated rules about matters of historic urban form and trace the widening policy separation between statutorily itemised "historic heritage" and area-managed "special character." I argue that these descriptors may be rigidly delineated in terms of statutory policy, but they remain fluid in terms of how architectural rules are applied and how people perceive their "protected" status. Contestation between retaining special character and enabling urban intensification brings processes of heritage-making into sharp focus and presents opportunities for other claims to the city to be heard.

Historical context

The New Zealand government's first legislative foray into historic place protection was via the Scenery Preservation Act in 1903. The act set the foundation for contemporary understandings of heritage as a public good, proclaiming that preservation was "for an inalienable patrimony of the people of New Zealand."[4] Initially centred on Eurocentric preservation of Māori sites (pā, battle sites, stone walling, etc.) and scenic landscapes, the act was the counterpart to numerous acts in the late 1880s that had enabled European claim and settlement of Māori land.[5] As European development transformed landscapes, formerly living environments of Māori, often forcibly abandoned, were reimagined as "historical monuments"[6] in picturesque scenes. Heritage policy was established on the back of alienated Indigenous land.

Interest in conserving "pioneer history" such as redoubts, blockhouses, and early European buildings also grew in the early 1900s as these structures were progressively demolished to make way for new architectural forms. A keen sense of civic pride and desire for settler permanence were bound into these processes of creative destruction,[7] as colonial centres strove to keep abreast of architectural fashion internationally.[8] The same motivations caused New Zealand's urban intelligentsia to emulate contemporary British ideals regarding historic preservation.[9] New development and heritage-making together affirmed settler cities' embedment on the land.

While urban historic conservation societies proliferated in this period, acts of Parliament and government funding focused on historical and scenic reserves through the early twentieth century, with lobbying for architectural preservation largely rejected or passed to local authorities. This changed as the country approached the 1940 centennial of colonisation, stimulating new interest in New Zealand's history and heritage and paving the way for the country's first Historic Places Act in 1954.[10] However, McLean and others note that this milestone did not prove decisive in terms of central government leadership in the heritage field. While the heritage sector continued to grow from the 1950s to the 1980s with the founding of local history and heritage groups, open-air museums, and increasing public interest, the Historic Places Act had ambiguous overlaps with other acts (Fig. 2), limited statutory powers, and piecemeal financial support.[11] The free market reforms and property boom of the 1980s fully exploited this permissive regulatory environment, resulting in urban transformations at an unprecedented rate and scale.[12]

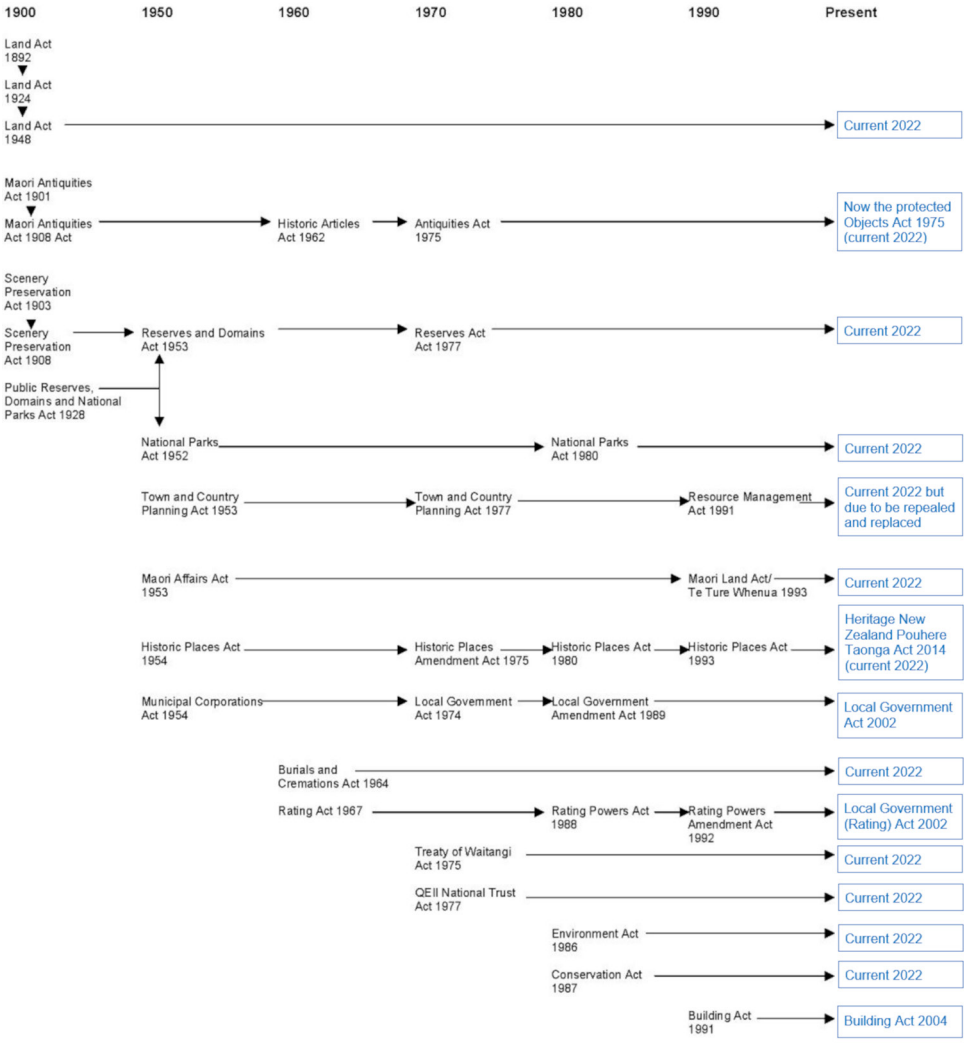


Fig. 2 Vanessa Tanner (2002). Evolving and interrelated legislation applicable to historic heritage identification and management. [From Tanner, "An Analysis of Local Authority Implementation of Legislative Provisions for the Management and Protection of Archaeological Sites." Reproduced with permission. Additions in blue by Carolyn Hill]

McLean's analysis concludes with key reviews into New Zealand's heritage management in the late 1990s, which called for a more integrated and consistent approach, clearer legislative framework, and stronger mandates.[13] However, aside from the establishment of a Ministry for Culture and Heritage, there was limited uptake of the reports' recommendations into the early 2000s, with one planner suggesting that the new ministry only compounded an already complex "maze of government, NGO and Territorial Authority responsibilities."[14]

This historical context speaks to the equivocal role of heritage in New Zealand's settler colonial context. Political prevarication on heritage issues emerges with the earliest scenery preservation acts and continues through the twentieth century. On one hand, the young country sought to be at the forefront of modern conservation theory, with city leaders increasingly cognisant of voter concerns for historic places. On the other, urban centres strove for modern development in continual processes of ordering and commodifying the land. While continually in conflict, heritage-making and new development were both tied to the ontological security of migrant populations, a claim to "home," where settlers could feel in control of their surroundings and be collectively confident of their place within it.[15] As explained by Eva Mackey, these certainties:

> ... are grounded in delusions of entitlement. ... They are socially embedded, unconscious expectations of how the world will work to reaffirm social locations, perceptions, and benefits of privilege that have been legitimated through repeated experiences across lifetimes and generations. Even though they are "fantasies," they have powerful effects in the world through their materialization in law.[16]

Together, planning constructs of heritage-making and creative destruction mutually demonstrated the success of settler enterprise as part of Western modernity. As McLean's study indicates, and as extended through this paper, this is a continued structural reality rather than resolved past.

Early planning legislation, "historic interest," and amenity

Unlike archaeology, which has been centrally managed under progressive historic places acts (and by the Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act since 2014), protective mechanisms for historic architecture and urban environments have been vested with territorial authorities. This was legislated for through various town planning acts and then, from 1991, the Resource Management Act (RMA). These acts' role in shaping and reflecting majority public perceptions of heritage, amenity, and character is important context for Aotearoa's existing systems of historic place management, particularly as they apply to present-day special character areas.

Identifying and managing urban character has a legacy as long as that of built heritage in Aotearoa's planning history. The country's first town planning act (the Town-planning Act 1926) holds the first traces of both, stipulating that town and regional planning schemes must address "the preservation of objects of historical interest or natural beauty" (Schedule 4) and the relationship of proposed buildings to their surrounds, "their density, character, height, harmony in design of facades" (Schedule 2).

Its replacement, the Town and Country Planning Act 1953, introduced the idea of "places" (as well as objects) of historical interest or natural beauty.[17] These preservation requirements were grouped under "amenities," a term which was given legal definition: "those qualities and conditions in a neighbourhood which contribute to the pleasantness, harmony, and coherence of the environment and to its better enjoyment for any permitted use."[18] While the term "heritage" was unused in this act, "amenities" was used eighteen times. Notably, councils were given the right to refuse consent for "detrimental work," which included detracting from neighbourhood amenities.[19] The act also defined "character" as intrinsically connected to amenity, stating that "the term 'character', in relation to the use of any land or buildings, shall be construed with regard to the effect of that use upon the amenities of the neighbourhood."[20]

The next town planning act (1977) again did not use the term heritage. However, it did begin to develop concepts of non-monetary value, including giving councils power to conserve "areas of special amenity value."[21] Councils' responsibilities to preserve or conserve were also broadened to include:

> (i) Buildings, objects, and areas of architectural, historic, scientific, or other interest or of visual appeal:

(ii) Trees, bush, plants, or landscape of scientific, wildlife, or historic interest, or of visual appeal:

(iii) The amenities of the district.[22]

Items of interest were no longer grouped under the umbrella term "amenities," as was the case in the 1953 Act. Along with the insertion of the word "scientific," this shift in hierarchy reveals a growing move towards scientistic framing of historic places. Expert assessments based on technical criteria conferred sites with heightened significance beyond the notions of "pleasantness, harmony and coherence"[23] that shaped amenity concerns. These changes set the scene for the emergence of heritage as a specialised discipline, and an ideological distinction between historical artefacts ("heritage") and urban form ("special character").

The Resource Management Act and the emergence of heritage

The decoupling of heritage and amenity in terms of definition and management was amplified by the RMA and its 2003 amendment. Recognised both domestically and internationally as a ground-breaking approach to sustainable resource management, the RMA was the first planning act to adopt the concept of "historic heritage," following the lead of the 1980 version of the Historic Places Act. However, it was not until 2003 (in delayed response to the heritage reviews of the late 1990s) that the term was elevated from Section 7 "other matters" into Section 6 "matters of national importance," and provided with a specific definition in Section 2.[24]

This elevation placed historic heritage alongside other matters already recognised as nationally important, including the relationship of Māori to their ancestral lands and protecting outstanding natural features and landscapes. It also concluded its conceptual separation from amenity values: defined as "those natural or physical qualities and characteristics of an area that contribute to people's appreciation of its pleasantness, aesthetic coherence, and cultural and recreational attributes,"[25] amenity has remained as an "other matter." It is under this matter that special character sits, as territorial authorities seek to have particular regard to the maintenance and enhancement of amenity values as required by Section 7. However, concepts of heritage, amenity, and character remain deeply entangled in Aotearoa cities. How this evolving legislative context has played out in Aotearoa's largest city, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland, is now explored.

Application in Tāmaki Makaurau

In the 1950s, just prior to the creation of Auckland's first district scheme,[26] two events occurred which shaped the physical, cultural, and social direction of the city. First, the forced displacement of the hapū (kinship group) Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei from its ancestral home at Ōkahu Bay, and second, the partial clearance of Freeman's Bay under an urban reclamation scheme.

The first event was catalysed by the British royal tour in 1953–54. The impending visit actioned the eviction of Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei from its last remaining urban landholding in 1951 (see Figs 4 and 5). Described as a "dreadful eyesore" in an increasingly prestigious waterfront location, the hapū's village at Ōkahu Bay

was considered detrimental to a favourable impression of the city.[27] The forcible relocation of whānau and destruction of their homes completed the systematic alienation of the tribe’s ancestral lands that had covered the entire isthmus.[28]

Fig. 3 James D. Richardson (ca. 1920). Ōkahu Bay, the papa kāinga (ancestral home settlement) of Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei. Visible here is a 1910 municipal sewer that had already severed the tribe from the bay. [Photograph, Auckland Libraries Heritage Collection, 4-1039]

Fig. 4 Auckland Council Geomaps (1940). Ōkahu Bay, Tāmaki Makaurau (red arrow). The Melanesian Mission buildings (orange) can be seen in Selwyn Reserve, Mission Bay. [Aerial photograph]

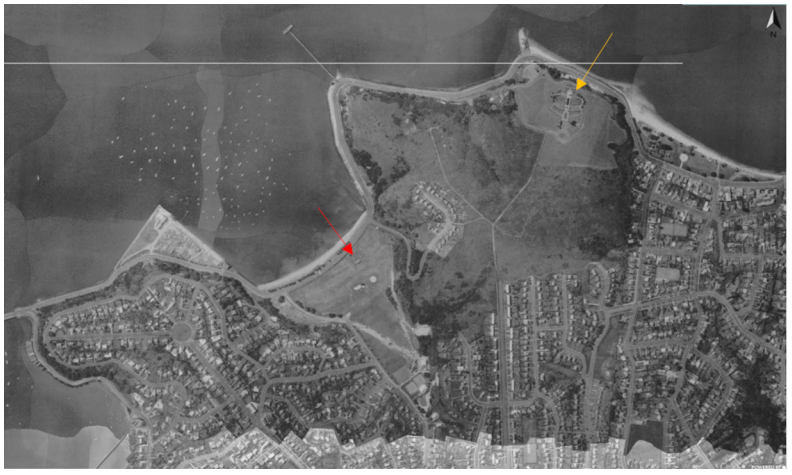


Fig. 5 Auckland Council Geomaps (1959). Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei’s homes have been cleared from Ōkahu Bay, with the church and graveyard (red arrow) the only tribal structures remaining. Civic beautification works, including a memorial fountain and planting, are evident at Mission Bay, and the Michael Joseph Savage memorial (orange) has been installed on Bastion Point. [Aerial photograph]

Fig. 6 Auckland Council Geomaps (1940). Inner Auckland and Freeman's Bay, with Reclamation Area (orange). St Matthew's Church, listed as a Place of Historic Interest in the 1958 district scheme, can be seen in the north (red arrow). Myers Park, established in 1915 as part of a city beautification scheme, is also indicated (green). [Aerial photograph]

Fig. 7 Auckland Council Geomaps (1959). The area mid-transformation. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century houses to the west (yellow) escaped demolition. The area gentrified from the 1970s and has been protected under special character provisions since the 1990s. [Aerial photograph]

Fig. 8 Whites Aviation Ltd (1966). Partial activation of urban reclamation in Freeman's Bay. [Photograph, Alexander Turnbull Library, WA-66159-G]

In the same year, the Town Planning Board declared Freeman's Bay a "Reclamation Area" under the Housing Improvement Act of 1945.[29] Dilapidated housing was to be replaced by modern terraces, green space, and industry in a scheme similar in urban vision to the preceding *Te Aro Replanned*, the Architectural Centre's highly influential proposal for inner Wellington.[30] The resultant slum clearance disproportionately affected Māori and transformed Auckland's inner urban landscape (Figs 6 and 7) and social structure.[31]

It was in this context that Auckland's first district scheme, proposed in 1958, listed fifteen sites of "historic interest and natural beauty," including the Supreme Court, the Melanesian Mission buildings in Mission Bay, an old barrack wall on Princes Street, and various church properties.[32] Eurocentric perceptions of visual appeal were a key driver both in the selective protection of historic fabric and in urban regeneration initiatives that shaped Auckland in this period.

The events of Auckland's planning directions in the 1950s are a reminder of the power of the built environment in reinforcing dominant identities and in silencing others. Planning policies given effect at Ōkahu and Freeman's Bay speak to deeper motivations than the obvious civic pride in modern tenets of historic conservation, municipal hygiene, and urban transformation. They also reflect a

consolidation of settler ontological security in New Zealand cities. Correct reverence of a selectively inscribed past, and creative destruction for a suitably modern future, were two sides of the same coin as Eurocentric embodiments of spatial continuity and order bolstered (prosperous Pākehā) public confidence.[33] The country's centennial had been celebrated, difficult pasts had been tidied into nostalgia,[34] and city architecture increasingly declared a modern and mature urban landscape.

Auckland's next district scheme (Operative 1970) is notable for introducing "special character," a planning tool that followed international models of suburb-scale protection.[35] Covering parts of Epsom, Remuera, and St Heliers Bay, these inner suburban areas were identified for their "pleasant spaciousness, high standard of development, extensive and mature planting, and generally established reputation," and would be "maintained at their established density to prevent deterioration resulting from incompatible redevelopment."[36]

While the spatial coverage of formally recognised special character was limited under this district scheme, it grew under later plans as the 1970s and 1980s saw significant gentrification at the inner-urban edge. Post-war construction of new suburbs across Auckland's isthmus had meant that areas such as Ponsonby, Freeman's Bay, and Herne Bay were cheap rental housing options for urban Māori and Pacific immigrant working-class populations.[37] From the 1970s, however, these neighbourhoods attracted significant numbers of professional Pākehā homebuyers due to their relative affordability, urban vibrancy, and proximity to the city.[38] Aged architecture was part of the charm, and new residents eschewed the intensification opportunities of the district scheme, choosing to renovate rather than redevelop their dilapidated properties. This transformation of place from "junk to art and then on to commodity"[39] progressively fragmented and displaced working-class communities to Auckland's outer suburbs[40] and influenced perceptions of value regarding historic urban form.

By the time of the second review of Auckland's district scheme (proposed in 1977 and made operative in 1981), these areas were also recognised for their special character. Alongside Parnell, where residential use and harbour views were to be preserved, Grafton, Freeman's Bay, and Ponsonby Road were specifically zoned for rehabilitation of existing architecture to enhance residential amenity. Provision was also made to preserve the character of early suburban commercial centres.[41]

It was also in the 1981 district scheme that the term "heritage" was used for the first time. This change in terminology from "historic interest" was in line with the newly promulgated 1980 Historic Places Act. Categorised into a hierarchy and with a wide range of assessment criteria,[42] the scheme reflected the increasingly scientistic approach to heritage that was encapsulated in the Town and Country Planning Act 1977. While formally identified ("scheduled") historic heritage buildings, groups, and objects covered only 90 sites across the isthmus,[43] the scheme continued to expand its special character-related controls. Zoning provisions were used to preserve older residential areas with high architectural integrity (Residential A) and mature landscape qualities (B) across St Mary's Bay, Epsom, Remuera, and St Heliers.[44]

The 1991 district scheme and the 1999 District Plan (Isthmus Section) continued these trends and steadily extended the heritage schedule. The expansion of

heritage and special character coverage sought to address growing majority public concerns with rapid urban change born out of New Zealand's transformation from welfare state to free market economy.[45] The 1999 plan was notable for its clear explanation of what was then interpreted as the "continuum" of heritage and special character:

> The special character zones sit within a continuum of provisions in the Plan. While heritage is distinct from character, both contribute to the continuum of legacy environmental attributes. The highest level of protection is by the scheduling of specific heritage buildings within the Plan, followed by the Conservation Areas, and then the controls within special character zones.[46]

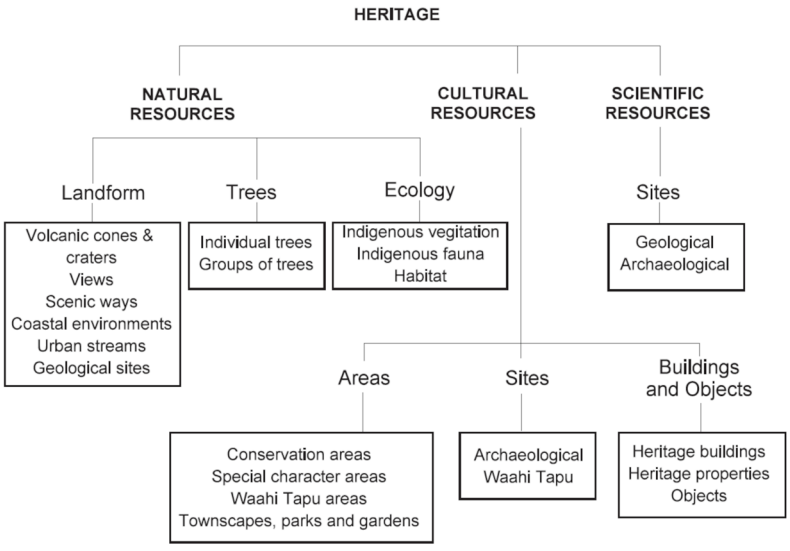


Fig. 9 Auckland City Council (1999). The extent of heritage, as diagrammed in the 1999 District Plan, Part 5C. Note the use of the word "resources," in accordance with the RMA. [Diagram from Auckland City District Plan (Isthmus Section) Operative 1999]

This continuum was evident in the inclusion of "special character areas" under the broad umbrella of heritage (Fig. 9), and in terminological differences and similarities between Part 5C (heritage) and Part 7 (residential zones, including special character). While the key objective for heritage was "to recognise and *protect* resources of natural, cultural and scientific heritage value," for special character, it was "to identify, *maintain and enhance* the recognised character and amenity of residential environments."[47] However, while heritage scheduling was a planning tool applied to protect individual sites, and special character was a zoning mechanism to retain visual amenity, both drew on ideas of scarce legacy to be retained for future generations.[48]

Activity status rules under the 1999 plan also allowed for similar implementation outcomes across heritage and special character. For example, while modifications to a scheduled property were assessed as a fully discretionary activity, this activity on a special character property was a restricted discretionary activity, implying a theoretically lower level of protective management.[49] However, the breadth of matters of discretion coupled with rigorous design guidelines embedded in the plan (Fig. 10) made the difference between these assessment types very narrow in practice.

The 1999 plan's lack of firm boundary between "heritage" and "special character" both in planning policy and practical application was considered manageable in light of the urban conditions of the period. As the plan itself explained,

> The standard residential zones accommodate the community's demand for additional housing on the Isthmus. These zones are dispersed throughout the Isthmus. They will provide varying opportunities for increases in the resident population, as well as facilitating the development of a range of residential housing types and environments.[50]

The implication was that the capacity of the remainder of the city to absorb housing demand meant that special character zones could be justifiably retained "as a scarce legacy … to be appreciated by future generations."[51] This planning framework perpetuated common (and continuing) perceptions that "special character" and "heritage" were synonymous, with similar expectations for their conservation. This soft edge—heritage in practice but not in name—was to prove more challenging as pressures of population growth, transportation, food production, and cultural inequity became more visible from the turn of the century.

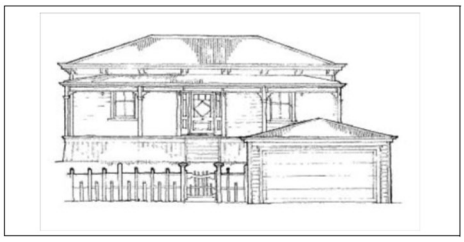


Figure 52: A roofed double garage will only be approved where there is sufficient elevation and separation from the house (minimum 2 metres) to enable the house to remain a dominant element in the streetscape. A good indicator of this is whether all the front windows can be entirely seen in elevation.

Figure 55: In this the gable on the garage creates an additional level of dominance. It also starts to create a new streetscape of garaging. It would *not* be consistent with the guidelines.

Fig. 10 Auckland City Council (1999). An example from Appendix 13: Architectural Design Guidelines for the Residential 1 and 2 Zones. Such guidance became de facto "acceptable solutions" for special character modifications in terms of how the plan's rules were implemented. [Auckland City District Plan (Isthmus Section) Operative 1999]

The Auckland Unitary Plan and current directions

In 2010 the Auckland region was amalgamated to form a single metropolitan authority. The consolidation of one regional and seven local authorities made the city New Zealand's largest by far, both in geographic area and population. The new Auckland Council notified its first proposed Unitary Plan in 2013, and it became "operative in part" in 2016.[52] The process of Unitary Plan creation combined tight notification timeframes with a scale and complexity previously unknown in the country's planning history.

The policy approach to matters of historic urban form was largely to "roll over" places previously recognised in the eight legacy plans. While this meant that there was little change in what was scheduled as heritage across the region, the process itself was complex due to legacy plan variability in assessment criteria, categorisations, and coverage hard-won through protracted community engagement.

Importantly, the Unitary Plan was prepared in the context of the 2003 RMA amendment, which had legally defined "historic heritage" and elevated it to a matter of national importance. The plan therefore sharpens the policy boundaries between historic heritage and special character. There is increased explanation as to why individual places are scheduled, with statements of significance identifying particular heritage values (defined by assessment criteria) and explaining historical and cultural contexts. The purpose of scheduling as a protective policy instrument is clearly articulated and given effect to via objectives, policies, and rules.[53] There is also substantial explanation of the region's special

character areas, now managed via overlays over a compatible zoning rather than via zoning itself. The stated purpose of these area-wide (rather than site-specific) provisions is to maintain and enhance identified collective character (via demolition and design controls) rather than individual building conservation per se.[54]

The Unitary Plan therefore carves a clear policy distinction between historic heritage and special character, with the former "protected" as a matter of national importance (RMA Section 6(f)) and the latter "maintained and enhanced" as an amenity matter (RMA Section 7(c)). Yet as with legacy plans, planning standards for special character properties have created an implementation environment that blurs this distinction. Relatively minor alterations can be heavily scrutinised under the restricted discretionary activity assessment criteria,[55] leading to community astonishment and opposition when substantial redevelopment (also restricted discretionary) is approved. It is therefore not surprising that the legislative distinction between special character and heritage has had limited translation into people's lived perceptions of historic urban environments. This soft edge continues to be described by politicians and laypeople as heritage, with its historic built fabric being seen as having important value for urban identity and legacy.[56]

Contestation of the purpose and meaning of special character has amplified in Tāmaki Makaurau since 2020, when the central government released the National Policy Statement on Urban Development (NPS-UD). Taking precedence over local government plans, the NPS-UD seeks to streamline housing supply in existing metropolitan areas to address the country's acute housing need.[57] Tier 1 councils (Auckland, Hamilton, Tauranga, Wellington, and Christchurch) are required to enable buildings of at least six storeys in proximity to urban centres, areas that usually coincide with cities' oldest suburbs.[58] The NPS-UD objectives have been further accelerated by the Resource Management (Enabling Housing Supply and Other Matters) Amendment Act 2021. This bipartisan RMA amendment requires Tier 1 councils to apply medium-density residential standards (MDRS) across residential areas, enabling substantially higher urban density than most current zones allow.[59]

Both the NPS-UD and MDRS provide a limited range of "qualifying matters" to their provisions. Matters of national importance (including historic heritage) are among them, but special character overlays and existing amenity are not. Rather, the NPS-UD pointedly emphasises *future* amenity, stating that:

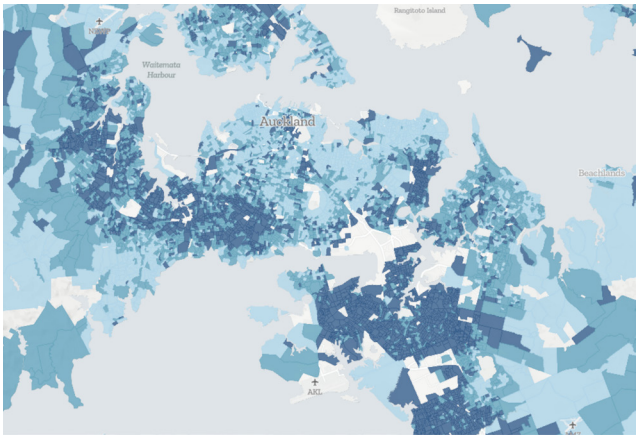
> **Policy 6(b)** (decision-makers must have regard) that the planned urban built form in those RMA planning documents may involve significant changes to an area, and those changes:
>
> (i) may detract from amenity values appreciated by some people but improve amenity values appreciated by other people, communities, and future generations, including by providing increased and varied housing densities and types; and
>
> (ii) are not, of themselves, an adverse effect.[60]

The NPS-UD clearly foreshadows the proposed replacement of the RMA itself, the Natural and Built Environments Bill, which was introduced to the House of Representatives in 2022. While continuing to conserve heritage places, the bill excludes any reference to existing amenity, instead stipulating that plans must

provide for "well functioning urban areas that are responsive to the diverse and changing needs of people and communities."[61]

These changes have been met with strong opposition in urban centres. In Auckland's consultation on proposed Unitary Plan amendments to address the NPS-UD, over 70 per cent of respondents supported ongoing protections for special character areas.[62] The issues have become increasingly political and divisive along intergenerational, social, and cultural lines, primarily due to the amplification of spatial inequity that special character areas have contributed to. In particular, analysis by the New Zealand Infrastructure Commission in 2022 suggests that the low-density zoning of Auckland's inner residential areas (partially determined by special character policy) has inflated the city's house prices by 41 per cent. Furthermore, Auckland Council research in 2020 found a 4.3 per cent price premium for special character properties, indicating "the attractiveness for buyers of living in a stable streetscape of historic character."[63]

While less than 5 per cent of the Auckland region's property parcels are covered by a special character overlay,[64] this increases to over 40 per cent of the inner isthmus, creating a deep entanglement between character and affluence (Fig. 11).[65] As has been observed across settler colonial cities internationally,[66] gentrification processes have also continued to amplify spatial inequality along ethnic lines, with Pākehā heavily represented in inner Auckland, and Māori and Pasifika predominately outside the isthmus (Fig. 12).[67]



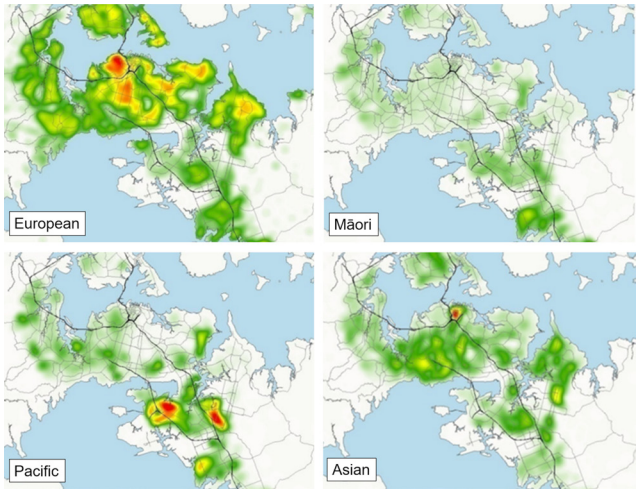


Fig. 11 Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity (2022). "Superdiversity": Auckland's income diversity from pale (high-income) to dark (low-income). [Analytical map from https://superdiv.mmg.mpg.de/]

Fig. 12 Amanda Gilbertson and Carina Meares for Auckland Council (2013). Ethnicity population density heat maps. [Analytical diagrams from Auckland Council Technical Report 2013/012 (2013), 15]

It is important to note that special character designations are only part of a complex array of factors affecting gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau, with neo-liberal governance structures, post-industrial transition, and state enablement (in the form of zoning changes, public-private investment, state housing sale or new-build, developer facilitation, etc.) all shaping ongoing and new forms of gentrification.[68] However, the valorisation of special character has had a powerful influence on the city beyond aesthetic commodification. It has bolstered settler ontological security within Indigenous land, both through the social, cultural, and racial displacement it has contributed to and through the limitations it places on alternative futurities.

This reality is deeply unsettling to narratives of heritage-making as a public good. The commensurability of heritage and special character in terms of public

perception means that historic urban fabric (whether scheduled or not) can be positioned as part of New Zealanders' collective identity, a legacy for future generations. "Heritage" can therefore be a politically palatable way to lobby against change.[69] The relationship of historic form-related planning provisions with spatial and cultural inequity—and the part that heritage architects, planners, and policymakers play—has remained largely uninterrogated through the evolutions of Tāmaki Makaurau's planning framework. However, the unprecedented engagement of central government in city-level planning policy has roused heated debate, amplifying heterogenous voices previously unheard.

Some examples of these voices are the action and lobbying by community housing providers, young people, and marginal communities in responding to the NPS-UD and calling for more housing in accessible locations. Architects and urban designers are raising future amenity concerns and creating examples of future amenity in action. Mana whenua (Māori with territorial authority) are reviving urban land as contemporary papa kāinga, reclaiming deep heritages as kōrero tuku iho (traditions passed down) rather than built artefacts.[70] The ontological security of the settler city is being shaken as the meaning, action, and purpose of heritage-making is called into question and, potentially, redefined.

Conclusion

Historic heritage identification and management has shifted significantly over time, from grand monuments to a much more diverse range of place types and storying. However, at its soft edge, special character is increasingly contentious. Its valorisation of relatively narrow narratives and timeframes and its suburb-scale protections have contributed to growing spatial inequity in Aotearoa's cities, experienced acutely in Tāmaki Makaurau. As this article has shown, the reason why special character neighbourhoods are still here, while many others are not, is not an accident of history but a progressive reinforcement of established amenity through central and local planning; heritage in practice if not in name.

By examining the evolving history of central and local government policy related to historic urban environments, I have demonstrated the equivocal role of heritage in New Zealand's settler colonial context, as processes of heritage-making and creative destruction have been bound together in claiming the permanence and modernity of the settler state. This duality is a continuing structural reality as competing voices currently debate divergent visions for the future of Aotearoa's urban form. Historic built environments continue to have power in reinforcing dominant identities, but central government directives are disrupting this ontological security. The NPS-UD, MDRS, and the proposed replacement of the RMA itself create opportunities for new city legacies as the meaning and purpose of heritage is brought into sharp focus. Special character may no longer mean clusters of early residential architecture; instead, it may be about reinvigorating papa kāinga, supporting pockets of diverse culture, enabling critical mass to fortify city life. Heritage architects and planners will need to come with open hands as heritage-making is considered anew.

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TOM COLLINS, WITH ANDREW DOUGLAS

Spectral urbanism

Fig. 1 Whites Aviation (1965). Construction of the southern motorway viaduct, Newmarket. [Photograph, WA-63226-F, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington]

An estimated 15,000 houses disappeared from the path of the motorway network implemented in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland during the 1960s and 1970s, each forcibly acquired and demolished by the New Zealand government.[1] Substantially emptying parts of the inner-city suburbs of Grafton and Newton, and displacing some 50,000 residents in the process, this action was justified by the government as "slum clearance."[2] Over the following decades, the Central Motorway Junction proceeded to erase its own destructive origin from Auckland's collective memory through additions, planting, and a general habituation to the 'new reality.' Invariably, urban violence became historical indifference.[3]

Renovation as storytelling

This violence cannot be undone, and although Auckland will bear the motorway's concreted and asphalted scars long into its future, an ameliorating justice can be achieved by summonsing up a deeper grasp of history and place here. This project intends such a contribution in the form of an architectural proposal for a historic wallpaper archive facility and a pedestrian bridge permitting traversal to one of the now forested but otherwise inaccessible traffic islands at the centre of Grafton Gully's motorway interchange. What links these two programmes is

the recalling of lost histories: the first relating to wallpaper samples recovered from now lost or renovated villas and bungalows; the second delivering physical as well as imaginative access to the precise site of a lost villa in the Gully itself. While the proposal is speculative (although not unbuildable), it enacts a form of tangible renovation by re-narrativising a site otherwise shorn of its backgrounding stories. Historian of everyday practices, Michel de Certeau, writes, "through stories about places, they become inhabitable. Living is narrativizing. Stirring up or restoring this narrativizing is thus also among the tasks of any renovation."[4] Architecture, too, tells stories and stories do more than describe; they put something in motion. At their best, stories make for Certeau an art of *coup*-making; striking a blow or making a cut.[5] In this they carry a certain *mētis*—what the Greeks thought of as practical wisdom or cunning.[6] As such, this creative design research has sought to cunningly cut through the brute mundanity of this transport corridor, finding in it a turning point from which an original violence can be made perceivable. If, as Certeau argues, "*[m]ētis* in fact counts on an accumulated time, which is in its favour to overcome a hostile composition of place,"[7] it is through an amassing of stories that I have sought to renovate the infrastructural mass and indifference cemented into the Gully.

The implanting of a wallpaper archive here, at the base of the city's oldest cemetery, offers, through the most fragile of historical traces, a pivot calling up an ocean of lived settings and interior moments. Against the absurdly vast nature of the transport infrastructure defining this place, the catalyst for the archive is in fact the need to house, beyond a couple of cardboard boxes precariously holding them, wallpaper samples gathered informally by Salmond Reed Architects since 1994 (Fig. 2). Salvaged by the architects from historic building alterations, the collection was eventually analysed and catalogued by an archaeologist with the ambitious aim of providing a working measure for New Zealand's interior colonial heritage.[8]

Fig. 2 Tom Collins (2022). Salmond Reed Architects' provisionally stored historic wallpaper collection. [Digitally edited photograph]

Coiled beneath the Grafton Bridge

Yet a consolidation and protection of wallpaper traces in the recovering bush of Grafton Gully adjacent to a cemetery, a quarter of which was destroyed by motorway construction in the 1960s, is half the story.[9] The wallpaper archive is coupled with a new pedestrian bridge, both of which compose, in plan, an open circle, and a tangent (Fig. 3). While the archive's poured in-situ concrete volume references the existing Grafton Bridge arching overhead—itself an

innovative ferro-cement structure at the time of its completion in 1910—the pedestrian bridge is a timber and steel structure that projects outwards from the archive, circling beneath Grafton Bridge, but above the motorway, before reversing at a tangent back towards the motorway island (Fig. 4). The lightweight framing and diagonal bracing of the pedestrian bridge recall an earlier timber and cable-stayed bridge constructed in 1884 but demolished to make way for its ferro-cement replacement.

Fig. 3 Tom Collins (2022). Wallpaper archive and pedestrian bridge site plan, aerial photographs from 1963 and 2017. [Digital collage]

Fig. 4 Tom Collins (2022). Site model, western bridge embankment at rear, scale 1:500. [Expanding foam, rubber, MDF, acrylic, paint, recycled weatherboards, 520x520x600 mm]

The plan form of the proposed architecture also nods to the turning circle of a car at speed, a key determiner of the curvilinear language of the motorway itself. Contrarily, the structure of the pedestrian bridge intends a delicate filigree found with the prospect-gathering nature of the verandas of villas and bungalows—the typology that overwhelmingly constituted Auckland's lost suburbs (Fig. 5). If traditionally the veranda is reserved for the front elevations, themselves shielding and shading private domestic spaces behind, the proposed freestanding bridge imagines itself as a detached veranda whose inwards-facing orientation makes apparent both the absence of a supporting house and the outward scattering of suburban housing made possible by the motorway and suburbanisation it enables. By marking out a territory of absence this way, the bridging architecture

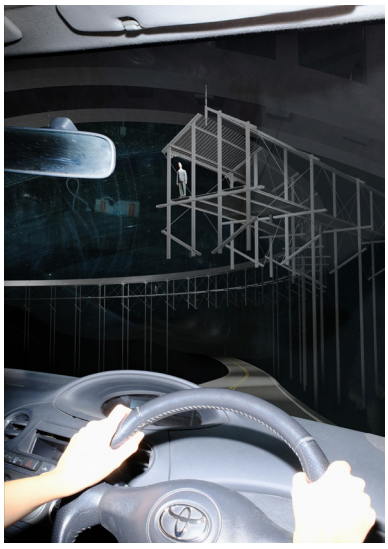
Fig. 5 Tom Collins (2022). Motorist's perspective looking south, underneath the interlocking bridges. [Digital collage]

Fig. 6 Tom Collins (2022). Wallpaper archive vault interior. [Digital render]

Fig. 7 Tom Collins (2022). Car interior, passing underneath the bridge. [Digital render]

implies a kind of Bermuda Triangle, a place of disappearance but also mysteriousness as lure.

Visitors enter the archive from the lower cemetery's existing Waiparuru Nature Trail, before walking counter-clockwise, as if back in time, down a curving corridor towards a skylit vault (Fig. 6). Inside the vault is a wall of vertical file drawers containing the wallpaper collection. With capacity to expand, an amalgamation with parallel collections, such as that held by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, is imaginable. The archive's subterranean placement sees the wallpaper fragments secured within the cemetery's burial ground—a worthy and appropriately colonial resting place. Here, a deathly connotation fittingly recalls the houses from which they were torn, and indeed, the houses that once belonged to the site.



Access to the pedestrian bridge and the journey out into the Gully are achieved through a clockwise reversal up a ramp to the archive's roof. From there, visitors step across onto the timber bridge traversing through the bush before emerging from the treetops to walk out over the motorway. At a tangent point positioned directly above the motorway's centreline, the bridge's two mono-pitched roof profiles come together to create a homely gable, complete with a crowning finial (Fig. 7). If this makes apparent the lost villas of this place, the finial references that provocatively used by Peter Middleton on his own modernist house formerly located only a stone's throw away but forcibly relocated with the motorway's arrival.[10]

At the pedestrian bridge's furthest end, descent to the motorway island is contained within a villa-esque volume, itself extruded upwards from the precise footprint of one of the demolished houses previously occupying the Gully (Fig. 8). Formed by an open-framed structure and clad externally in suspended metal mesh, this curtained facsimile of the villa houses an elevator and an in-situ concrete staircase cast using aggregates from the earth excavated for the wallpaper archive. In this way, the architecture's materiality suggests a subterranean closing of the loop initiated by the aerial walkway above.

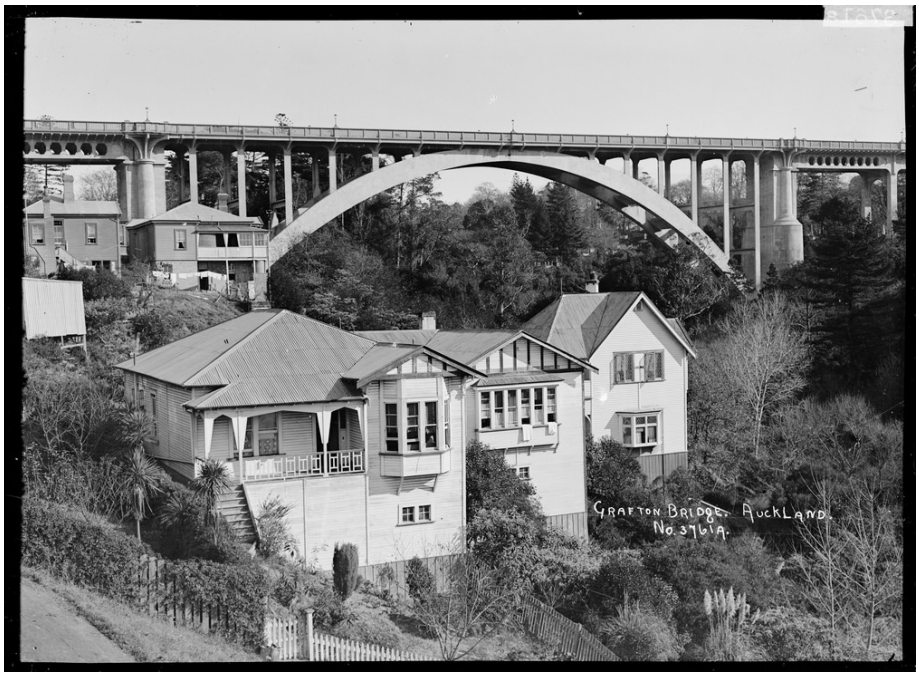


Fig. 8 William Archer Price (ca. 1913). Houses of Grafton Gully, eventually to be cleared. The footprint of the rear centre-left house has been extruded in the proposed architecture. [Photograph, 1/2-001653-G, Alexander Turnbull Library]

The motorway island itself is a contradictory place: on one hand, it has been isolated from occupation for decades, and has consequently grown into a pseudo-Eden, suggestive perhaps of Aotearoa's pre-human occupancy. On the other hand, it is continuously surrounded by traffic, noise, and exhaust fumes—a far cry from any paradisical or arcadian ideal. What visitors may do on the motorway island is difficult to say and I have imagined it as a kind of vacancy—a place to be singularly beheld and experienced much like the "Zone" in Andrei Tarkovsky's *Stalker* (1979). In this way the architecture can be understood as an approach or frame for beholding whatever kind of 'nature' this recovering place is becoming. Like Grafton Bridge upon its construction in 1910, at stake is an attendance upon a "historic ground newly revealed beneath its span."[11]

Philosopher Martin Heidegger argues that bridges offer something of a spatial and elemental knotting together of what he terms "the fourfold."[12] As he puts it, the bridge "allows a space into which earth and heaven, divinities and mortals are admitted. The space allowed by the bridge contains many places variously near or far."[13] To Heidegger's claims I would add that bridges also span time, and do so across times both near to and far from the present. Historian Helen B. Laurenson writes, "bridges such as those over the Grafton (Cemetery) Gully and the Waitemata Harbour not only represent a connection with the future, they also symbolise the metaphorical span of memory. They are a link by which the present can revisit the past."[14] Following Laurenson, the journey to the motorway island can be understood, beyond the obvious spatial displacement it makes possible, as being both temporal and cognitive. It permits a journeying both backwards and forwards in time, arriving at a realm where the past is remembered and the future is made imaginable anew.

This temporal journey draws on the spiralling narrative of Chris Marker's science-fiction film *La Jetée* (1962). In it, a man haunted by a vivid childhood memory he can't quite grasp—the image of a woman and the shooting death of a stranger running towards her on the airbridge at Paris Orly Airport—is

made the subject of experimental time travel in the aftermath of World War III. Circumstances eventually require the man to choose refuge either in the future or the past. Lured towards the latter by the prospect of renewed love, he discovers, too late, that the man being shot in his childhood memory is in fact his future adult self. As such, *La Jetée* reveals, amongst many things, the inevitability of the past's complex hold and return.

Reworking this temporal complexity, I imagined the pedestrian bridge of my own project similarly luring visitors backwards in time against the grain of an infrastructural rush towards the future Auckland has willed for itself. The draw in this case is the false memory of a precolonial Eden used to market settler life in Aotearoa, but now curtailed in this setting to a series of motorway islands—so it is told, themselves once harbouring fruit orchards surrounding the houses of the Gully.[15] This bounteousness, of course, cannot help but be tangled up with arcadian visions that have so coloured and corrupted the colonial and suburbanising projects run up in New Zealand, and for which the motorway network is a further enabler. In another correspondence, the pedestrian bridge of my project *is* the airbridge at Orly airport—the site where the past shows up in an accounting that perpetually undercuts the present.

Fig. 9 Tom Collins (2022). Descent onto the unknowable terrain of Grafton Gully's forested motorway island. [Digital collage]

Fig. 10 Tom Collins (2022). Model arrangement, western bridge embankment on left, scale 1:100. [Timber balusters, timber moulding, wallpaper, MDF, concrete, steel, thread, stocking, polymer, acrylic, paint, 2400x1050x1000 mm]

A note on representation

Lure and lapse then are the gestures driving the project (Fig. 9). I have concluded that representing the motorway island betrays it. In this I have followed Paul Carter's argument, that in making place for things, it is best to "leave what is done unfinished, fuzzy round the edges, ambiguous and subject to growth and decay."[16] While I have deployed the past as lure, Carter's advice on place-forming indicates how incompletion is also lure for that yet to come. Lapse in fact is leaving open. On this basis I offer another lapse through the project: a refusal of all conventional orthographic drawings to represent it. Without plans or sections as such, models and images are left to tell their stories, leveraging along the way off the inscriptions and deviations that persist quietly and secretly here.

In some sense, the ambiguity and abstractions permitted by this media fulfil the architecture's requirement. Through them, *the architecture is constructed in our minds*, recalling the past and daring us to challenge the future. By seeking to house the city's collective memories and ambitions, the project enacts both memorial and future-building functions through its re-narrativisation of a past once lost.

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ELLA JONES, WITH SIMON TWOSE

Drawing Ground

Fig. 1 Ella Jones (2022). *Ground's Architecture*. [Physical model, detail]

Aotearoa New Zealand now recognises non-human natural entities as having personhood: Te Urewera, Whanganui Awa, Taranaki Maunga. As such, the significance of natural entities to Māori, such as rivers (awa), mountains (maunga), and regions (rohe), can and have been afforded legal identity by the New Zealand parliament.[1] In turn, boards of governance have been established by those with ancestral association to protect the enduring interests and rights of such natural entities. Given the significance of this recognition, the motivation for this work is to understand the evolving relationships of humans to the living, breathing ground. To do this I have engaged drawing as a thinking tool, and myself as drawer/researcher, acknowledging my lens as a Pākehā (or non-Māori) author of the drawings. The ground explored in this project is referred to as *Ground* in recognition of its personhood. The drawn design research undertaken here charts a turbulence implicated in relationships between Ground and me, and points to a necessary shift in how architecture and Ground are considered.

Whakapapa connects Māori to their environment, with human, wildlife, flora, and natural entities in complex intra-relation.[2] My connection to Aotearoa, and to Ground (or Whenua) is complicated in that I don't whakapapa to the soil here.[3] Despite being born and raised in this place, I don't feel connected to Ground and have feelings of uncertainty, guilt, and even fear about engaging with my

Fig. 2 Ella Jones (2022). *Ground's Thickness*. [Physical model, detail, experiential view]

relationship to it in Aotearoa, a phenomenon described in detail by author Jen Margret.[4] My approach in this project has been to commence with these feelings and thereby to better understand my relation as a Pākehā to Ground in Aotearoa.

Given this, the "Drawing Ground" project was envisaged as a collaboration, where designing was co-authored through a drawing process combining multiple gestures by both Ground and me. Through the imagined co-production of multiple drawing experiments, the aim was to shift settler colonial perspectives on how we interact with Ground and explore ways in which architecture might achieve reciprocity with Ground as co-drawer and delineator of space.

This work questions how people relate to non-human natural phenomena in Aotearoa. In response to this question, the drawing research employed the openness of the architectural sketch as an active medium for research, by working with turbulent conceptual currents and dynamic gestures of graphite on paper in pursuit of what Jeanette Pacher and Christine Phall have referred to as "thinking through [drawing] action."[5] Modelling was also used in the research as a way of embodying and spatialising the sketched marks, exploring imagined occupation, scale, light, and atmosphere within the drawings. These physical acts of drawing and modelling enabled the design experiments to be meditative, with the objective of overcoming my anxiety about making claims to Ground, and with revealing complex currents in my relation to Ground.

As a design-led research project, "Drawing Ground" began by exploring the relationship of my body to Ground through a series of speculative sketches that culminated in an installation. Secondly, the insights gathered from

Fig. 3 Ella Jones (2022). *Ground's Architecture.* [Sectional sketch of redrawn Dominion Museum building, graphite on paper]

these sketches led to the development of a small-scale pavilion above an existing walkway in Prince of Wales Park, Newtown, Wellington. Thirdly, the project culminated in a re-sketching of the historical Dominion Museum in Buckle Street, also in Wellington. In this final project, the museum's mass and solidity was dissolved and its relation to Ground reimagined through intense, turbulent graphical interventions. These prompt a re-thinking of the presence and agency of Ground, calling into question how architecture is grounded and how this stabilising in fact subdues Ground. The museum re-design tests how architecture might collaborate with Ground, permitting and admitting its ongoing agency throughout a drawing/design process. In "Drawing Ground," multiple drawing experiments allowed questions to be posed by the drawing processes themselves, engaging agencies of action closely allied to art practice; as Kayla Anderson suggests, "art initiatives ... stimulate critical thinking rather than simulate action,"[6] thereby allowing questions to emerge from the work. The work was not intended to fix and provide solutions to overarching societal concerns, but to use architecture as a way of thinking about the complexities within contemporary relations of Pākehā and Ground.

The following summarises the detailed engagements undertaken within the drawings.

Experiment 1: Ground's mapping

The first investigation sought to understand the inherent bias in conventional representational techniques of drawing Ground. Maps and surveys are representations of the ground, depicting information biased towards human occupation and dominance over this natural resource. Subversive sketch mapping experiments were explored that sought to destabilise practices of mapping. These were intended to contest conventional hegemonic practices in representing Ground (Fig. 4).

The many exploratory mapping sketches were arrayed in an installation, enabling them to be read bodily, through participants engaging with them from

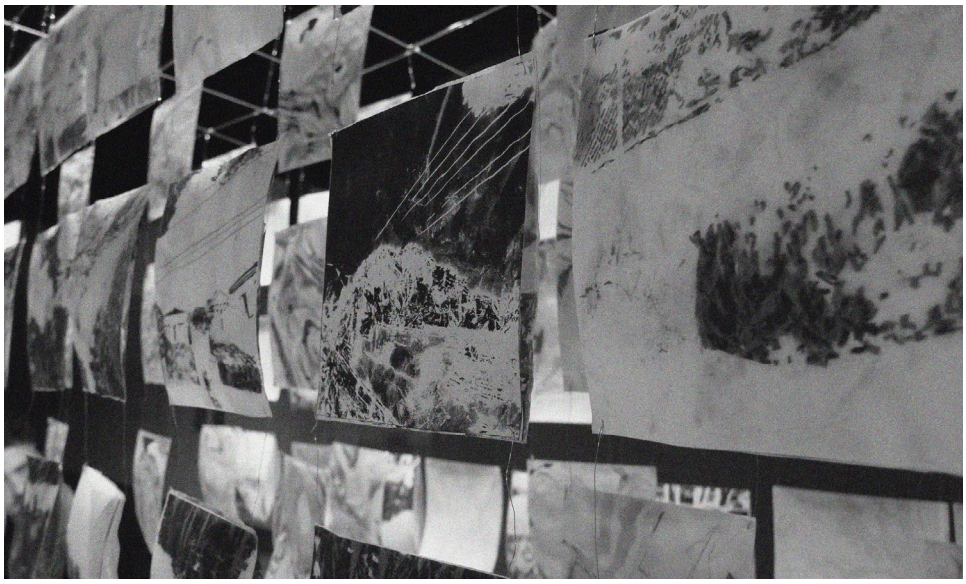


Fig. 4 Ella Jones (2022). *Ground's Mapping*. [Photograph of installation, detail]

Fig. 5 Ella Jones (2022). *Ground's Surface*. [Graphite on paper, manipulated in Photoshop]

multiple perspectives. Due to the visual complexity of the layered maps and parallax of viewpoint, moving around the installation revealed different readings of Ground. My sketch mapping promoted a physical, bodily engagement with Ground and encouraged me to think about my situated perspective. The spatialisation of these sketched maps also allowed them to be read by others through both representational and embodied means.

Experiment 2: Ground's surface

The second investigation considered the aesthetic potential of the surface of Ground, focusing on an old walkway in Prince of Wales Park, Newtown. Through a surface tracing method, drawings mapped intricacies of exposed soil atop the depth of Ground. Tracing paper was laid on the exposed soil and graphite struck across the sheet to record its texture. These surface trace sketches were manipulated digitally to emphasise the gritty texture captured by the graphite and tracing paper (Fig. 5).

The outcome was a series of three mixed-media drawings capturing intricacies in the surface of Ground. These remain open to interpretation; they were sketched abstractions of Ground's surface dynamics. The strong tonal contrast within each composition allowed surface traces to be intensified and thus attention drawn towards subtle intricacies in the surface of Ground. This method of drawing gave insight into how the texture of Ground can inform drawing.

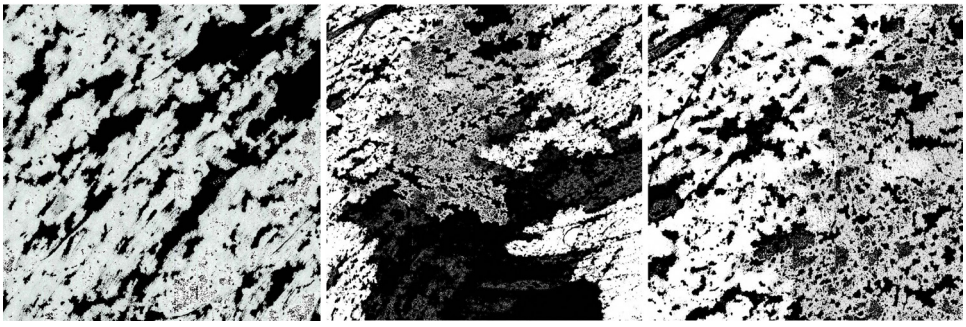


Fig. 6 Ella Jones (2022). *Ground's Thickness*. [Physical model]

Experiment 3: Ground's thickness

The third investigation considered architectural possibilities when Ground, as a thickness or deep material, is given agency in acts of design. The work leveraged sketch methods developed in the previous investigations, and aimed to draw tensions present in Ground as a thickness, rather than solely a surface.

The experiment used abstracted sketches of the thickness of Ground to create elements hovering above it; sketches became material elements floating above Ground, creating a canopy or pavilion floating above the existing park walkway (Fig. 6). The canopy was designed as a three-dimensional section drawing, but rather than representing Ground as one solid line, the section cut is fragmented and constructed by a cloud of 800x210x270 mm panels, each formed from sketches of the topography. An array of small steel rods pinned into the soil support this cloud of physical sketch elements. The work challenged the linearity of a single ground line as a means of representing a natural entity. The canopy extended my personal enquiry into human–Ground entanglement by engaging architecture as a three-dimensional proposition, though without imposing built form on Ground itself. The ambiguous nature of the architectural outcome aimed to draw attention to complex entanglements between Ground and me; the aim was to coalesce an architectural poetic from this delicate tension.

Fig. 7 Ella Jones (2022). *Ground's Architecture.* [Sectional sketch of redrawn Dominion Museum building, graphite on paper]

Experiment 4: Ground's architecture

The fourth investigation took an existing building and programme, the Dominion Museum building in Buckle Street, Wellington, and its use as a creative arts centre, and employed it as a vehicle to discuss Ground's remediation through architecture. Ground's agency, concealed and kept quiet below the concrete bulk of the building, was engaged with to redraw the building, and to render it as a co-authored architecture.

Drawing, modelling, photography, and digital collage were used interchangeably in a process of imagining Ground's (co-authored) architectural agency. Unlike the previous experiments, the investigation at Buckle Street responded to an existing architecture. Completed in 1936, the Dominion Museum Building by Gummer and Ford Architects was designed to consolidate nationalism beyond colonial beginnings. It was commemorative of a partial shift from Empire, following the First World War. I choose to re-sketch and destabilise this nationally historic building as a way of dismantling my own settler colonial preconceptions and understandings. In redesigning/redrawing the building, I engaged the practice of drawing architecture to further an exploration of my and architecture's relation to Ground.

Fig. 8 Ella Jones (2022). *Ground's Architecture.* [Sectional sketch of redrawn Dominion Museum building, great hall, graphite on paper]

Sectional cuts allow the drawings to engage with the thickness of Ground, and this method was employed to think through how Ground beneath the existing building could be reactivated. A series of sectional drawings of the museum were sketched, progressively increasing in scale and architectural complexity. These were understood as sites of thinking, providing critical space for construction and questioning,[7] and for allowing the depth of Ground to have agency. At stake was a questioning of the "thick complexity of the cultural processes which have shaped it."[8] The sectional sketches drew Ground beneath the building and caused the existing museum to be erased and redrawn, influenced as it was by the form and material dynamics beneath it (Figs 7, 8).

Concept models were made that attempted to spatialise the sectional sketches. These were designed as gossamer light

Fig. 9 Ella Jones (2022). *Ground's Architecture*. [Physical model, detail, roof canopy]

Fig. 10 Ella Jones (2022). *Ground's Architecture* [Part sectional sketch of redrawn Dominion Museum building, great hall, graphite on paper]

structures hovering above Ground's surface, and implied a lightness of human intervention in comparison to the depth and thickness of Ground (Fig. 9). Light fabric-like materials displaying intricate surface textures developed from sketches of the ground and encased the architectural forms, which were elevated above Ground on thick white plinths.

The final design for the redrawn museum was a series of sketched sectional drawings scaled from 1:100 to 1:10. These drawings present a reinterpretation and reimagining of the original building, as if it were to emerge from Ground itself. The resultant architecture proposes to physically reveal the material ground, while the tectonics, spatial composition, and atmosphere seek to embody the characteristics of drawn Ground (Fig. 10). The proposed design rests in a tentative state of construction, using impermanent, movable fixings, and tent-like draped fabrics to construct spaces and walls. The redrawn, remediated museum, its architecture influenced by Ground, puts the future of human intervention on Ground in question (Fig. 11).

Conclusion

By giving Ground agency through an imagined co-authorship between me and Ground, the relation I have with Ground was highlighted. I discovered this relation was turbulent, figured by enormous complexity and difficulty, yet has vast possibilities for architecture. The work highlighted a necessary ontological shift, not only for me but for all Pākehā, in thinking about our relation to Ground in Aotearoa. The drawing process was a critical space for constructing and questioning these complex relationships through an architectural lens. By allowing architectural sketch drawing to become a thinking tool, ideas were allowed to remain open-ended and contingent in concert with the subject matter of the research; sketching allowed me to position my relationship as active and in open dialogue.

A number of insights have emerged from this research inquiry. Most significantly, drawing allowed me to understand my relation to Ground from the perspective of a Pākehā. This highlighted a turbulence in the relationships of living on and with Ground, but also in understanding how architecture can be designed with and within it. "Drawing Ground" points to how architecture might go beyond mastering Ground, instead becoming a complex shared authorship.

Fig. 11 Ella Jones (2022). *Ground's Architecture*. [Part sectional sketch of redrawn Dominion Museum building, great hall, graphite on paper]

NOTES

1. Currently three acts of Parliament have determined this legal status: Te Urewera Act 2014; Te Awa Tupua Act 2017; Te Anga Pūtakerongo—Record of Understanding 2017. See "Legal Personality for Maunga, Awa and Other Natural Features of the Land," *Community Law*, https://communitylaw.org.nz/community-law-manual/chapter-2-maori-land/legal-personality-for-maunga-awa-and-other-natural-features-of-the-land/#:~:text=Overview-,Overview,their%20own%20separate%20legal%20identity (accessed 17 May 2023).

2. Lesley Rameka, "A Māori Perspective of Being and Belonging," *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood* 19, no. 4 (2018): 369, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1463949118808099 (accessed 10 May 2023).

3. For Māori, whakapapa describes genealogy or a line of descent connecting the present to ancestors and in turn to whenua or land, and hence to ground in a living sense. Being non-indigenous, my whakapapa runs through Aotearoa to the birthplace of my earliest ancestors in The Netherlands.

4. Jen Margret, "Ka Pū Te Ruha, Ka Hao Te Rangatahi: Change in the Pākehā Nation," *Groundwork*, https://groundwork.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/state-of-the-pc481kehc481-nation2.pdf (accessed 9 January 2023).

5. Jeanette Pacher and Christine Phall, "Drawing as Thinking in Action," *Nikolaus Gansterer Solo Show* (Paris: Drawing Lab, 21 March–15 June 2019), www.gansterer.org/drawing-as-thinking-in-action/#:~:text=As%20the%20exhibition%20title%20)%20(%20),of%20self%2Dreporting%2C%20or%20the (accessed 10 May 2023).

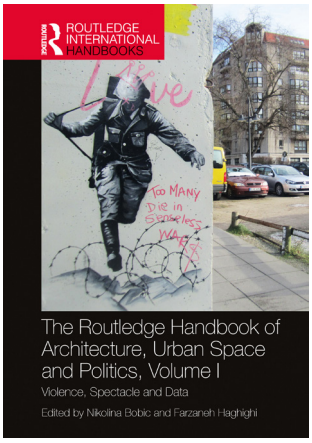
6. Kayla Anderson, "Ethics, Ecology, and the Future: Art and Design the Anthropocene," *Leonardo* 48, no. 4 (2015): 338–47, https://doi.org/10.1162/LEON_a_01087.

7. Stephanie Carlisle and Nicholas Pevzner, "The Performative Ground: Rediscovering The Deep Section," *Scenario 02: Performance* (Spring 2012), https://scenariojournal.com/article/the-performative-ground (accessed 10 May 2023).

8. Alison Hirsch, "Expanded 'Thick Description': The Landscape Architect As Critical Ethnographer," *Innovations in Landscape Architecture* (2016): 145, www.academia.edu/35561977/Expanded_thick_description_The_landscape_architect_as_critical_ethnographer (accessed 10 May 2023).

book review / SAMER WANAN

The Routledge Handbook of Architecture, Urban Space and Politics, Volume 1: Violence, Spectacle and Data
Edited by Nikolina Bobic and Farzaneh Haghighi
Routledge, 2022, 630 pp.



There has been a longstanding, reductionist reading of architecture and urbanism as passive and neutral reflections of the forces within which they are situated. This reading discards their vital and active role in the construction of events and the politics of their spatialisation. The first volume of *The Routledge Handbook of Architecture, Urban Space and Politics*, edited by Nikolina Bobic and Farzaneh Haghighi, addresses this theme by focusing on the spatial politics of governing and how architecture and urban spaces are deployed as tools to maintain oppressive power relations alongside their violent structures of control, surveillance, and segregation.

The volume offers an informative and insightful collection of contemporary case studies and critical perspectives on how different forms of power and their operational systems—specifically hegemonic and oppressive ones—shape environments and bodies subjugated to them across different scales and geographies. Divided into five parts, with an opening introduction and a general conclusion, the collection covers multidisciplinary topics discussing colonial and state violence, security and borders, political ideologies and questions of race and identity, politics of representation and spectacle, and surveillance in relation to mapping landscapes and big data.

The volume's introduction explains the crucial need to re-examine architecture and urban space in relation to politics and power, especially within an oppressive environment. Through a comprehensive and critical commentary on recent global events, the editors successfully set the ground by providing a general background to introduce the collection's themes. This is done through reviewing relevant histories and theories whilst connecting them to the contemporary examples that are investigated by the handbook's contributors. With such an open framework, the volume leaves readers with more questions about the complex associations that come alongside the "spatialization of politics" and "politicizing the space."

A prominent aspect of the handbook is that it includes a comprehensive collection of contributions, thanks to an editorial approach with a wide geographical reach in selecting the volume's contributors. As such, the collection combines wide-ranging topics, disciplines, and examples from different cultures and geopolitical situations. However, my hope is to see contributions from different geographic regions in the second volume, for example, the Middle East and Africa. As well as expanding the scope and geographic reach, this approach would give a voice to scholars from different regions of the world to write about the implications of oppressive powers on their local architecture and urban landscapes. Besides that, writing from the ground and the lived experience—as many of this volume's contributors have done—usually reveals new perspectives and different insights compared with talking about a situation from a distance.

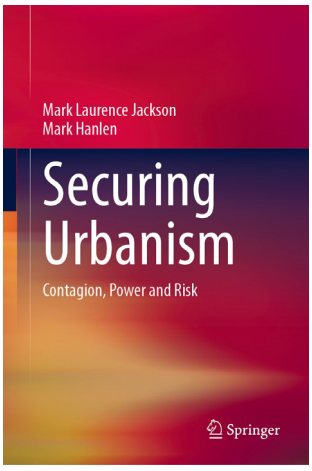
The volume explicitly encourages readers to develop an active dialogue with the spatial and operational aspects of oppression across the world. In doing so, the reader starts to uncover the complex entanglements of architectural spatial politics and urban processes in relation to their forms and aesthetics. This kind of reading raises more questions about the volume's core theme whilst drawing connections and parallels between the different geographies and cultures. By applying this kind of critical mapping to any geography's specificities and forces throughout the process of scrutinising its architectural and urban situations, a better understanding of its political and cultural complexities can be achieved.

My own research interests and concerns led me to pay particular attention to a number of topics discussed in the volume. These are the ones relating to the politics of representation, dispossession, and extractivism. Specifically, the use of mediating technology and aesthetics to direct people's perception of space in favour of a certain political propaganda. With the proliferation of image production and mass media technologies, architecture and urban spaces have played a crucial role in shaping people's minds and bodies through orienting their perceptions. Hence, the violence that comes alongside that by constructing aesthetic images and representations to serve a certain political ideology. These aspects are particularly discussed in the sections "Spectacle and the Screen" and "Mapping Landscapes and Big Data." For example, Christina Deluchi argues in her contribution that strategies of replacement, erasure, and disconnection were deployed as a result of urban and architectural interventions, top-down development projects, and the political process of constructing a global image of Medellín, Colombia. These strategies aimed to reorient both global and local perceptions of the city. Similarly, Aikaterini Antonopoulou argues that the material presence of architecture and public spaces in Athens was used as a stage for filming the city, while also representing certain subjectivities as "mediated spectacles" through the use of technology.

By looking at the big picture and employing critical mapping techniques, it becomes possible to investigate oppressive spatial narratives and explore the politics and poetics of space. This is an essential step towards imagining alternative spatial practices and potentially transforming current socio-political realities. This volume extensively and insightfully discusses themes in relation to that in an inspiring and thought-provoking way. Overall, I would recommend it for students, educators, and practitioners alike, coming from different disciplines related to architecture, urbanism, and politics. It presents new and critical perspectives on a wide range of timely issues in relation to power and spatial practices.

book review / ANDREW DOUGLAS

Securing Urbanism: Contagion, Power and Risk By Mark Laurence Jackson and Mark Hanlen Springer, 2020, 483 pp.



Unsecured reading

Securing Urbanism: Contagion, Power and Risk is a book I read mostly at 35,000 feet or so in planes flying between regional centres in the UK—glasses fogging from a mask only I felt compelled to endure—and, if not airborne, then in the waiting spaces of airports, post-security screening. My overweight checked luggage couldn't quite stand the extra grams this weighty hardback contributed; carry-on was how we continued journeying together. Between COVID-indifference, petty security despotism, and the crude herding underpinning inter-urban air travel, though, reading this way seemed entirely in tune with the disquieting conditions pictured by *Securing Urbanism*—our everyday acquiescence to commercially inflected risk management and its shuttering and productive shaping of urban possibility.

In setting this review initially then within the actuality of my engagement with a text and self in transit, it occurs to me that such a setting-up usefully captures a particular unease its reading impressed. While everything to do with airline travel is geared towards reaching a calculable destination securely, no such security existed in my reading relationship with *Securing Urbanism*, tasked as I was with not only getting from front to back, page upon page, but also saying something about this page turning on time and with the sophistication its address called for.

Reading depth

Completed in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2020, *Securing Urbanism* is a profound meditation on the long arc of western urbanism *and* its most immediate global convolutions. At almost 500 pages, the book reads, relative to typical academic essay publishing, akin to the "long read" offered by certain papers like the *Guardian* or the *Washington Post*. With such journalism, you know you're in for a lengthy engagement when, after some immediate exposition on a current topic, the text announces, "It was back in [such and such a time] that …" *Securing Urbanism*'s deep dive is announced thus:

> One of the aims of this book is to draw out this ontology [in urban depiction] of urbanism and security, an ontology whose securing may be determined in

> the Greek founding of Western metaphysics with Plato and Aristotle, along with Platonic, and especially Aristotelian, understandings of the city and political thought.[1]

"One of the aims"! This commencing ontological 'draw-down' hardly meets the book's concluding chapter, "Cruel Festival," via any mundane, chronological line-up:[2] the text makes a great show of wandering expansively and seemingly effortlessly—although the intricate footwork bringing all this together perhaps owes something to the labyrinthine dexterity of Leopold Bloom in James Joyce's *Ulysses* (Why not? *Securing Urbanism* and I did happily weave our way through Dublin too). On Homeric comparisons, it is noteworthy, as Declan Kiberd comments: "As he wrote *Ulysses*, Joyce sometimes wore four watches, each telling different time."[3] Multiple temporalities course through *Securing Urbanism* too, and the 'what-o'clock' of things was not always discernible to my travel-pitched mind. Nevertheless, the parrying of temporalities in *Securing Urbanism*, much like Joyce's doubling of a certain urban-single-day-ness with deeper temporal and journeying echoes, aligns, in key ways, with a radical shake-up of the contemporary 'now' sought by Jackson and Hanlen. As they say, present circumstances offer a veiled persistence rich in "revealing, or unconcealing" possibilities.[4]

3x3x3

How is this revealing approached? In outline terms, the book is divided into three parts: "Politics of Contagion"; "Securing the Urban"; and "Post-political Urbanism". In a neat decanting, each part is further shared across three chapters. So, for instance, Part One addresses: firstly, the broader situation of the urban across political, ontological, and inhabiting registers; secondly, an entanglement of the urban with social medicine, issues of governmentality, an evolving thrust towards self- or personal governance in certain liberal Western contexts; and thirdly, the overlap of practices and discourses on human contagion and financial health evident within neoliberalism. Roughly, Part Two addresses the intersection of power and space, and its conceptualisation by way of Michel Foucault's evolving thinking on discipline and normalisation, and the decisive emergence of biopolitics as a mode to life management. And Part Three—likely the most complex philosophically (although no part of the book escapes that attunement)—urban unveiling and an overlap in thinking between Foucault, Giorgio Agamben, and Martin Heidegger, ancient Greek truth-telling and the problems of democracy, and states of exception with their post-political shaping of urban spheres.

Working complexly

This is a lot, and in a phrase that might well serve as the book's motto, the authors caution, "Everything is more complex than *that*" (emphasis in original),[5] meaning more complex than what might typically pass for academic summary and scrutiny. Footnotes frequently running halfway up the page, and not infrequently more, testify to just how nuanced and intricate that complexity can get. Nevertheless, despite the striking breadth and depth ambitioned by Jackson and Hanlen, what they are at pains to impress is resistance to any grand synthesis or universal 'theory' of the urban, or that one is indeed desirable at all.

Consequently, there is no enduring or definitive answer to the "'what is' question concerning the urban" as they say.[6] Following Foucault instead, they look to maintain a "disjunctive … non-homogeneous … non-isomorphic" approach, one that looks to the urban as a thing practised before it can be described, "named or known."[7]

Getting at such varied practices and the resulting urban morphological and thought contours needed to know them, even provisionally, does, of course, need the measure of time but also the labour time of their unpicking. Not that time is the sole register of concern here: as teachers and practitioners of spatial practices, for the authors, Foucault's own reframing of a philosophical bias for the temporal over the spatial is no doubt activated in the text too:

> That is to say, for Foucault, there is a thinking of space that construes and makes possible a more fundamental relationality than either [temporal] structure or genesis, that yet provides the space for either encounter and differentiations.[8]

Attending to spatial differentiations is one way of sidestepping the fixing and security of the temporal (read enduring) 'truth,' with spatiality better capable of articulating, in Jackson and Hanlen's words, "the spacings within which games of the true and the false are played."[9] Spacing, with its foregrounding of distributed life energies or "way of life," in turn opens towards the authors' valuing of the ancient Greek notion of *áskēsis* or discipline and a certain malleability or reworking of the self and its worlds—even, and especially, against the grain of normalisation and their disciplinary strictures.

This working-towards-a-reworking and the redistributive spatial intersecting it flourishes on is, of course, no better depicted than in the confluence of the authors themselves: a good deal of *Securing Urbanism* arises from Mark Hanlen's not long completed doctoral research *and* Mark Jackson's career-long, philosophically inflected investigation of urbanism, itself finding companionship in the writing of favourites like Foucault, Agamben, and Heidegger—to name just a few of the thought-champions making an appearance.

A generous burden

Despite the rigorous and complex scholarship underpinning the book, evident from the beginning is an ethos of generosity: the generosity of a doctoral graduate and their supervisor co-authoring, but also, the making-space for diverse perspectives on the urban in the text itself—what the authors refer to as an attendance on "manifold urbanisms" or working in a "plural register."[10] In turn, across the book are numerous in-depth explications on particular critical perspectives, expositions that are then unpicked in patient, considered ways designed to correct or capture possible missteps—including missteps the authors themselves suspect they may have made while addressing particular vantage points in their argument: "we may be forgiven for wondering if we somehow missed something along the way";[11] or, say, "Have we now strayed too far from our concerns with COVID-19, wandered too far into errancy?"[12] I found this directness disarming and compelling in an argument itself intricate and easy to lose my own way in! On the other hand, such empathetic plurality comes at a price, one that had this reviewer continuing in the space of discourse with

some trepidation: had the writers and their reader reached a culminating point or orientation that could be rested upon? Instead, was some other correction or reorientation coming? If proceeding this way across 500 pages is straining—and the continually corrected terrain covered by *Securing Urbanism* is undoubtedly stretching—I should add that this challenging abundance was also thrilling.

Accruing and suspending

I say thrilling firstly in the sense of just finding in one place so much detailed knowledge that I had wanted to better grasp. No doubt, *Securing Urbanism* across its numerous chapters, will offer an abundance of thinking resources to readers irrespective of their particular engagement with specific aspects of the book's argument. Sections that I found of acute value personally included Chapter 1's "Urbanizing," with its patiently detailed survey of an array of urban orientations spanning social, governmental, and infrastructural dynamics, and Chapters 3–6 of Part Two with their detailed engagement with the work of Foucault.

And secondarily thrilling here is the uncertain way this multiplex assemblage of critical concerns and its arresting erudition might find a summation. Particularly intriguing at the level of endings is a hunch offered early on in *Securing Urbanism* concerning the contemporary urban and a politics Jackson and Hanlen suggest may now be beginning to come into view. A certain Aristotelian inheritance around *kinesis*, growth, and change understands cities as "essentially [managed and understood in terms of] movement, flow, whose securitizing at times requires impediments to flow and at other times requires unimpeded flow."[13] On the other hand, a richer, truer, perhaps more apposite urban motivator—although none of these adjectives are exactly right I realise—can be thought to rest on "pre-Platonic *Lēthē*," or what in Ancient Greece meant a kind of oblivion or forgetting—the Underworld River of Lethe traversing, as it is said to have done, the cave of Hypnos, the deity commanding sleep. In fact, Jackson and Hanlen pitch this 'urbanizing' dynamic as itself something like a 'sleeper notion,' introduced at the beginning in passing but with the intention of rousing it to be "discussed at the book's conclusion."[14] Seeded and then suspended as it is, what exactly do the authors intend with this appeal to pre-Platonic *Lēthē* for grasping the work of the urban today? The backgrounding relays are complex—there is reference to classicist Marcel Detienne, but also Jacques Derrida, along with Heidegger, Foucault, and Agamben of course—and perhaps my struggle with the intent could be forgiven too, given the authors' own deferral. On the other hand, richer articulation is offered in Chapter 7, "Indistinct Politics," in discussion with Agamben's consideration of the growing indistinction between the ancient conditions of *zōē* (or bare, animal, or in specifically human terms, household life) and *bios* (the life of the citizen or that life understood more broadly as political). Doubled back with Foucault's notion of biopolitics, or the direct governance of life by extra-political agencies and mechanisms, the point of Jackson and Hanlen's Part Three is to recognise how the securing of urban place is increasingly, perhaps exclusively, achieved through post-political means: that is via militarisation, staged strategies of consensus and dissensus, through a governmentality articulated according, as they utilise Agamben's framing, a state of exception whose "exclusionary inclusion" puts the agonistic dynamic of politics—as working through of differences democratically—and the political institution sustaining it to sleep.[15] Still, as rich and as provocative a set of positions as these are, running up towards

the concluding chapters of Part Three it really couldn't be anticipated how this argument would ultimately come to rest.

3x3x2+1

Contingency in fact forced an answer. In place of a three-by-three-by-three poise anticipated for *Securing Urbanism,* a perturbing +1, or what eventually found expression as Chapter 9, "Cruel Festival," was called on to close the covers. As Jackson and Hanlen themselves describe the circumstances leading to this realisation:

> In summarizing our, admittedly limited development of paradigms of urban theorizing, we emphasized a series of critical concerns that we thought would carry us through the book … What we did not engage, or foresee as critical, or even glean as something we were ignoring or overlooking in the literature, was what happened to, or within, our urbanizing "fabrics", our "circulating metabolisms", our "conflict cities" or urban *stasis*, when the planet, more or less simultaneously, or over the "space" of a few months, encounters a pandemic that simply brings most cities on the planet to a halt … It seems as if nations once again define the insularity of their borders, tear this planetary "urban fabric" into territorial pieces, in a situation, somewhat ironic and tragic, where a virus becomes a planetary phenomenon.[16]

If I quote the authors at length here, it is because they more than anyone else capture the pathos of a writing project and trajectory of inquiry brought into caesura by a planetary urban dynamic shorn, in large measure, of its correspondingly globality. In the severely truncated circumstances of that *first year* of stay-at-home orders, radically reshaped economics, and the terrible effects of illness, death, and amplified societal inequities, the collapse of common life into what the Greeks considered the domain of household living or *oikos*—for those fortunate enough in our contemporary pandemic to have viable versions of 'home'—must certainly have looked like darkly mirrored confirmation of how bare-faced a polity of disposability at every level (from consumer items to types of persons) would run its reign of exclusionary inclusions.[17] Jackson and Hanlen's response in "Cruel Festival" movingly captures the radicality of the moment, although reading it now, some two-and-a-half years after its publication, I am compelled to imagine what a postscript might have to say about the astonishing forgetting of this so recently endured global seizure.

Irrespective, the last thirty odd pages composing *Securing Urbanism*'s +1 present a kind of whirl, a calculated gamble even. New authors appear, whole other strands of argumentation are spliced in, earlier portions are dropped or left in suspension, even a reconceptualisation of historical revolution versus the time of revolt (the cruel festival) is introduced, explicated, compared, critiqued, and put to work, *on a dime*. Counting down remaining pages, so much seemed still to warrant saying. And yet, as if in a virtuoso tap finish, the strands are wound abruptly into a resonant whole and stood precariously balanced as, and at, the finish.

Quite what happened here? I'm not sure I know exactly, but there are urban/critical insights enough in these last pages alone to mine for an appreciable time to come.

Amazing.

Statement of interest

I wish to acknowledge long-held professional and personal connections with the authors of this book.

NOTES

1. Mark Jackson and Mark Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism: Contagion, Power and Risk* (Singapore: Springer, 2020), 5.

2. For one of many instances of Jackson and Hanlen's eschewing of homogeneous, linear or regularly circular time, see *Securing Urbanism*, 386.

3. Declan Kiberd, *Ulysses and Us: The Art of Everyday Living* (London, UK: Faber & Faber, 2009), 230.

4. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 338.

5. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 310.

6. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 47.

7. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 3.

8. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 234.

9. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 234.

10. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 6.

11. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 385.

12. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 408.

13. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 5.

14. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 5.

15. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 11–22.

16. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 432.

17. Jackson and Hanlen, *Securing Urbanism*, 458.

exhibition review / SĒMISI FETOKAI KULĪHA'APAI
MOAHEHENGIOVAVA'ULAHI POTAUAINE AND 'ŌKUSITINO MĀHINA

Oceanic Architectural Routes: The Photographic Archive of Mike Austin Curated by Albert Refiti

OBJECTSPACE, TĀMAKI MAKAURAU AUCKLAND
3 DECEMBER 2022–26 FEBRUARY 2023

Tāvāism, like Realism, mediates ontology (i.e., "reality as it is" /"ways of reality") versus epistemology (i.e., "reality as we know-feel it" /"ways of society"), and argues that the fundamental issue is not "how we know-feel what we know-feel," nor "where we know-feel what we know-feel," nor "when we know-feel what we know-feel," nor "why we know-feel what we know-feel" but, rather, "what we really know-feel."

Tā (time) is verb (or action-led) and fakafuo (definer) of vā (space) which is, in turn, noun (or object-based) and fakauho (composer) of tā (time), on the abstract level, and fuo (form) is verb (or action-led) and fakatā (definer) of uho (content) which is, in turn, noun (or object-based) and fakavā (composer) of fuo (form), on the concrete level.

Everywhere in 'Iai (reality), tā-vā (temporality-spatiality), or tapafā[1] (four-sided dimensionality), as in nature, mind-heart, and society, is inseparable hoa/soa (pair, duality, or binary), and there is nothing above hoatatau/hoamālie (equal pair, duality, or binary) and/or hoakehekehe/hoatamaki (opposite pair, duality, or binary).

Everywhere in 'Iai (reality), tā-vā (temporality-spatiality), or tapafā (four-sided dimensionality), as in nature, mind-heart, and society, is fakafelavai (intersection or distinction), and there is nothing beyond fakahoko (connection or relation) and/or fakamāvae (separation or segmentation) as an indivisible hoa/soa (pair, duality, or binary).

Everywhere in 'Iai (reality), tā-vā (temporality-spatiality), or tapafā (four-sided dimensionality), as in nature, mind-heart, and society, is mata-ava[2] (eye-hole), and there is nothing over mata (eye) and/or ava (hole) as an indivisible hoa/soa (pair, duality, or binary), where me'a (matter) as tā-vā (time-space) as ivi (energy) is most dense and intense.

Tā-Vā (Time-Space) Philosophy of Reality

Fig. 1 Albert Refiti (2022). *Oceanic Architectural Routes: The Photographic Archive of Mike Austin*. [Curated exhibition; photograph by Sam Harnett]

This amazing exhibition *Oceanic Architectural Routes: The Photographic Archive of Mike Austin*, presented by Architectus and curated by Lealiʻifano Associate Professor Albert Refiti, is indeed a cross-section of the voluminous work by Professor Mike Austin in the field, thereby actively yet critically informing both his research and teaching spanning over three decades. This consists of some 47 archival photographic ʻata (images) across six Moanan Oceanian groups of islands:[3] Papua New Guinea (23); Solomon Islands (4); Sāmoa (4); Rapa Nui (Easter Island, 2); Tonga (3); and Fiji (6).

The brief review of these photographic images as a specific "text" is made in the general "context" of Tāvāism,[4] where both "text" and "context" are entwined and intertwined by way of both process and outcome. While the proverbial saying,[5] that "a picture is worth a thousand words" applies here, one has to both reflectively yet emotively unpack a plurality of overlays or layers of meanings in order to arrive at the knowledge beneath.[6] Working within an imposed word limit, this review critiques only a select few amidst the richness of the photographic material.

The right–left, anticlockwise movement of the images within and across six designated Moana Oceania island groups points to the inevitability of change as a philosophical fact of reality (and both culture and history). That is, that change in architecture (and engineering),[7] as in all things in reality, as in nature, mind-heart, and society, is by nature both "synchronic" and "diachronic,"

where it is both "rooted" and "routed" in terms of both assistance and resistance. Succumbed to the Western influences, there is evidence of both the metaphorical but historical deployment of the past, present, and future,[8] where the past is put in the front as tūhulu (guidance) and the future behind, huluhulu (guided) by past experiences, with both mediated in the present.[9] This is apparent in various photographs that show ancestors being addressed.

Both architecture and engineering, tufunga langafale (material art of house-building), are treated as separate artforms in the West as opposed to Moana Oceania where both are taken as inseparable forms of tufunga (material art).[10] This is most evident in the case of Tongan tufunga langafale (material art of house-building), where both artforms coexist as a process and outcome. The fale[11] (house) is considered a fefine (woman)—as is fonua (variously known throughout Moana Oceania as vanua,[12] fanua, fenua, enua, hanua, honua, or whenua) as a fefine (woman), defined by tangata (person) and vā (place),[13] as both respective fakatā/fakafuo (tempo-definer) and fakavā/fakauho (spatio-composer), thereby making or marking fā'ele (birth) as the first fonua through mo'ui (life) as the second fonua to mate (death) as the third fonua.[14] Glimpses of these cultural references can be found in most if not all the architecture in the photographs—for example, in the haus tamberan (spirit house) in Middle Sepik, Papua New Guinea, and in the triangular korambo (ceremonial house) in East Sepik.

Besides the tufunga langafale (material art of house-building, i.e., architecture and engineering), there are other key tufunga (material arts) which lie in close proximity, notably, tufunga lalava[15] (material art of house-structure-lashing), tufunga tātongitongi/tā'akau[16] (material art of sculpture), tufunga teuteu lotofale (material art of interior design), tufunga teuteu tu'afale (material art of exterior design) and many others. While both tufunga langafale (house-building, i.e., architecture and engineering) and tufunga lalava (material art of house-structure-lashing), the latter is not only both architectural and a form of engineering (i.e., as means of holding house parts in place),[17] but also a form of tufunga teuteu lotofale (material art of interior design), as witnessed in the interior photograph of the bure (residence) of the Ratu paramount chief of Bau island, Fiji.

Fig. 2 Mike Austin (1988). Bure interior, Bau. [Photograph]

On one hand, there are regional variations, such as Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands, where the tufunga tātongitongi/tā'akau (material art of sculpture), in the form of tamapua (sculptural form of an ancestor or diety) and pūloa (masks),[18] are utilised as both forms of tufunga teuteu lotofale (material art of interior design) and tufunga teuteu tu'afale (material art of exterior design), for example, in the image titled Bure, Vanua Levu, 1973. On the other, there are others' expressions, e.g., Tonga and Sāmoa, which make use of the tufunga lalava (material art of house-structure-lashing) and nimamea'a lālanga (fine art of mat-weaving), by way of kupesi (elaborate

and complex geometric designs) and papa/fala (mats), in tufunga teuteu lotofale (material art of interior designs). An example is the image titled Fale Interior Detail, 1983. Besides, Tonga utilises a number of tufunga teuteu tuʻafale, viz., tufunga tōʻakaufaitoʻo (material art of medicinal-plant-planting); tōʻakaukakala (material art of sweet-smelling-plant-planting); and tufunga tōʻakaukai/fua (material art of food-plant-planting).[19]

By way of both "roots" and "routes," synchrony and diachrony, or assistance and resistance, we witness both the tā (temporal) and vā (spatial) variations in the arrangements of these artforms by way of fuo (form) and uho (content). These include varieties of the lanu kula/kulokula and ʻuli/ʻuliʻuli (black colours)[20] as Moanan Oceanian basic lanu (colours), with the former as lanu melo/melomelo or kena/kenekena (brownish colours) and lanu enga/engeenga (yellowish colours). This is more evident, for example, in the use of kafa kula/kulokula and kafa ʻuli/ʻuliʻuli (red and black kafa-sennit) in tufunga lalava (material art of house-structure-lashing), in the use of kili kula/kulokula and vaitohi ʻuli/ʻuliʻuli (red skin and black ink) in tufunga tātatau (material art of tattooing), in the use of kele kula/kulokula and vaitohi ʻuli/ʻuliʻuli (red earth/soil and black ink), in tufunga ngaohikulo (material art of pottery-making), and in the use of koka kula/kulokula and tongoʻuli/ʻuliʻuli (red koka-sap/dye and black tongo-sap/dye), in nimameaʻa kokaʻanga (bark-cloth-making).

Generally, things are arranged in plural, temporal-spatial, collectivistic, holistic, and circular ways in Moana Oceania (in contrast to their general arrangement in singular, techno-teleological, individualistic, atomistic, and linear modes, in the West). Specifically, this is witnessed in the organisation of Moanan Oceanian

Fig. 3 Mike Austin (1973). Bure, Vanua Levu. [Photograph]

faiva (performance), tufunga (material), and nimamea'a (fine) arts—as in the case of tufunga langafale (material art of house-building or architecture and engineering). Both the tā (temporal) and vā (spatial) variations by means of fuo (form) and uho (content) revolve around the mata-ava (eye-hole) formations. From a tāvāist philosophical perspective, it is in the mata-ava (eye-hole) where ivi (energy) (as me'a [matter] as tā-vā [time-space]) is most matolutu'u (dense) and mālohitu'u (intense).

This is apparent in the architectural and engineering structures within and across the six selected Moanan Oceanian island groups. We experience variations in the 'ato (roofs), arranged in tāpotopoto/fuopotopoto (circular) and tāloloa/fuolololoa (ovular) ways, with some as ngaofe-ki-lalo/loto (downward/inward) curvatures, for example, in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands, such as the haus tambaran on the Sepik River, and others as ngaofe-ki-'olunga/tu'a (upward/outward) curvatures, as in Tonga and Sāmoa, seen in various images. Vertically, there seems to be an emphasis on the 'ato (roof) over the faliki (floor), as evident in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Fiji, Tonga, and Sāmoa (as opposed to the West, generally focusing on the floor over the roof), all as different ways of dealing with both the architectural and engineering problems. Some classic examples are Tongan fale fakamanuka (ovular house) and faleafolau or fale-ala-folau (boat-hangers, ovular-angular house often referred to in Tonga as fale alafolau) and Sāmoan fale maota (circular house), again, as seen in various images.

Some key questions of both ontological and epistemological significance and relevance are raised for further reflection. They include, "what art is," "what art is for," and "what art is by means of," with the former one as ontological in nature and the latter two as epistemological in character. Whereas the former one is concerned with faka'ofo'ofa (beauty) as a function of both tatau (symmetry) and potupotutatau (harmony), i.e., a matter of process or production, the latter two are linked to 'aonga (utility), i.e., a matter of outcome or consumption. The works of art are, inclusive of tufunga langafale (material art of house-building or architecture and engineering), often projected beyond themselves to some outside social purposes, by focusing on the questions, "what art is for," i.e., art use, and "what art is by means of," i.e., art history, leaving the question of "what art is," i.e., art work, unaccounted for. Therein, 'aonga (utility) is made to precede faka'ofo'ofa (beauty), when the latter precedes the former, as a coexistence, in reality, as in nature, mind, and nature.

Koe fakamālō (acknowledgements)

To our fellow esteemed tāvāists Kolokesa Uafā Māhina-Tuai; Toluma'avave, Barbara Makuati-Afitu; Pā'utu-'O-Vava'u-Lahi, Adriana Māhanga Lear; La'imei Dr Siaosi L. 'Ilaiū; and Maui-TāVā-He-Ako Professor Dr Tēvita O. Ka'ili, who critically discussed key points with us, and made reflective and emotive comments on an earlier draft. To you all, we sincerely say, mālō lahi, a sincere thank you, Tonga's mata'i koloa precious treasure, all in the name of knowledge as knowledge of tā and vā (time and space), all for a truly worthy cause.

NOTES

1. Or tafa'akifā (four-sided dimensionality), i.e., reality or temporality-spatiality has four dimensions, viz., fuo (form), loloto/ma'olunga (depth/height), loloa (length), and fālahi/maokupu (width/breadth), with the former one as tā (time) and the latter three as vā (space).

Tā (time) and vā (space), like fuo (form) and uho (content), are inseparable yet indispensable hoa/soa (pairs, dualities, or binaries), in reality or temporality-spatiality, as in nature, mind-heart, and society.

To privilege tā (time) or fuo (form) over vā (space) or uho (content) renders reality "ta'evā" ("spaceless") or "ta'euho" ("contentless"), and privilege vā (space) or uho (content) over tā (time) and vā (space) warrants reality or temporality-spatiality "ta'etā" ("timeless") or "ta'efuo" ("formless").

2. As in the mata-ava (eye-hole) of the matangi-avangi (eye-hole-of-the-wind), mata'i afi-ava'i afi (eye-hole-of-the-fire) or mata kula-ava kula (red eye-red hole) and mata 'uli-ava 'uli (black eye-black hole) in outer space.

3. See the late Professor Epeli Hau'ofa's, "Our Sea of Islands," where motu (island) can be defined as "lands connected and separated or intersected by sea, ocean, or water." In *A New Oceania: Rediscovering our Sea of Islands*, ed. E. Waddel, V. Naidu, and E Hau'ofa (Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, University of the South Pacific, in association with Beake House, 1993), 2–6.

4. Tongan (and Moana Oceanian) Tāvāism parallels Australian or Sydney Realism, with both tā-vā (temporality-spatiality) and 'iai (reality) considered to be synonymous, both ontologically and epistemologically, as the common medium for existence of all things, in nature, mind-heart, and society.

5. In Tonga, proverbial sayings are called lea heliaki, defined as "metaphorically saying or speaking one thing but historically meaning another."

6. From a tāvāist philosophical view, knowledge (and skills) gained in education (as a transformation of the mind and heart from vale [ignorance] to 'ilo [knowledge] to poto [skills], in that logical order of precedence), are composed in fonua/'ulugaanga fakafonua (culture) and communicated in tala/lea (language), both as mere social vaka (vessels).

7. While architecture is chiefly concerned with the fakatā/fakafuo (temporal definition) of vā (space) and, in turn, the fakavā/fakauho (spatial composition) of tā (time), on the one hand, engineering is mainly concerned with the fakatatau (mediation) of intersecting or connecting and separating (i.e., pushing-pulling) energies, forces, or tendencies, through sustained tatau (symmetry) and potupotutatau (harmony) to produce faka'ofo'ofa (beauty), on the other hand.

8. Organised in plural, temporal-spatial, collectivistic, holistic, and circular ways versus their organisation in singular, techno-teleological, individualistic, atomistic, and linear modes, in the West.

9. Given the already-taken-place past has stood the test of tā-vā (time-space), it is placed in the mu'a (front) as tūhulu (guidance), and the yet-to-take-place future is situated in the mui (back), huluhulu (guided) by past knowledges, where both the illusive past and elusive future are constantly mediated in the ever-changing present, in the loto (centre).

10. Tongan arts were generally divided into three genres, namely, faiva (performance), tufunga (material), and nimamea'a (fine) arts. Moreover, in old Tongan, education and art, both as disciplinary practices and a form of social activity, were closely organised alongside each other.

11. The kava and tō (sugarcane) ceremony is defined at the interface of the vaka (boat) and fale (house), where the vaka (boat) is a fale fakafo'ohake (downside-up house) which is, in turn, a vaka fakafo'ohifo (upside-down boat).

12. The Tongan word "vanu" as in the term "vanua" means "unknown," as in both the fonua (land) and moana (ocean), or tahi (sea).

13. The former, i.e., tangata (person), is a tempo-definer of the latter, i.e., vā (place) which is, in turn, a spatio-composer of the former, i.e., tangata (person/man).

14. The first, second, and third fonua are respectively made up of the valevale (fetus) and manava/taungafanau (mother's placenta/womb), the kakai (people) and 'ātakai (environment), and the mate (dead) and fa'itoka/mala'e (burial place).

15. Which makes use of the intersecting or connecting and separating kafa kula (red-kafa-sinnet) and kafa 'uli (black-kafa-sinnet) which spits out an infinite number of kupesi (elaborate and complex geometric designs), in loto-ki-tu'a (inside-out), tu'a-ki-loto (outside-in) constant motion, in multi-dimensional, multi-directional ways. The root word is "kupe," meaning intersecting or connecting and separating kohi-vā (lines-spaces), i.e., tā-vā (times-spaces), in grid-like, vortex-type, helix-driven (or mata-ava [eye-hole-led] formations—as in the ancient Māori hero warrior, navigator, and discoverer, Kupe, as the "Intersector or Connector and Separator" of winds and waves. On the other hand, the Tongan (and Moanan Oceanian) kupesi is the scientific DNA which is, in turn, the Tongan (and Moanan Oceanian) kupesi, with the former moving tu'a-ki-loto (outside-in), and the latter loto-ki-tu'a (inside-out).

16. Or tātiki, especially the sculpturing of 'ata (images).

17. See tufunga fo'uvaka (or fa'uvaka; material art of boat-building [and engineering]). The same holds true for kupenga (net or web) as in fishnet and spider's (or world wide) web.

18. The global pandemic COVID-19 enforced the wearing of "masks," newly translated into Tongan as "masikī," like the Tongan translations of "link" and "text" into "lingikī" and "tēkisi" respectively. Similarly, the aphoristic expression "world wide web" (www) can be translated as "kupengaope" or "kupeope," following note 17 above.

19. Like all the artforms, these forms of art point to the coexistence of both faka'ofa'ofa (beauty) and 'aonga (utility), as in the highly problematic distinction between "art" and "craft," in the West, yet when it comes to production, then faka'ofo'ofa (beauty) precedes 'aonga (utility), followed by consumption, in that logical order of precedence. That is, the more beautiful, the more useful and, conversely, the more useful, the more beautiful.

20. As the basic Moanan Oceanian lanu (colours), the lanu kula/kulokula and 'uli/'uli'uli (red and black colours) are, on the epistemological level, metaphorical extensions of tā and vā (time and space) and fuo and uho (form and content), on the ontological level.

interview / JULIA GATLEY

In conversation with Ian Athfield and Sir Miles Warren

CONDUCTED IN THE ADAM AUDITORIUM, CITY GALLERY WELLINGTON TE WHARE TOI 23 JUNE 2012

In 2012, Julia Gatley conversed with Ian Athfield (1940–2015; in 2015, Sir Ath) and Sir Miles Warren (1929–2022) for the launch of her book *Athfield Architects* (Auckland University Press), in conjunction with the opening of the associated exhibition at City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi. A video of the conversation is available in four parts on YouTube.[1] In the wake of Sir Miles' death in 2022, *Interstices* is publishing a transcript of the conversation in honour of the memory of both Sir Ath and Sir Miles, indisputably two of the greats of New Zealand architecture.

Fig. 1 City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi (2012). Julia Gatley, Sir Miles Warren, and Ian Athfield in conversation in the Adam Auditorium. [Video still]

Julia Gatley: It's a huge pleasure to welcome everyone here today. I'm going to start by introducing these two well-known gentlemen to you, run through a series of questions, and then invite questions from the floor. So yes, it is my great pleasure to introduce Sir Miles Warren and Ian Athfield to you.

Sir Miles, of course, founding partner of Warren and Mahoney in 1958, well known to us all through projects such as the Christchurch Town Hall, the Michael Fowler Centre, the New Zealand Chancery in Washington, and the High Commission in New Delhi. Sir Miles was the first New Zealander to be knighted for services to architecture, in 1985. He received the Order of New Zealand in 1995, and the NZIA Gold Medal in 2000. In 2003 he was named an Icon of the Arts Foundation of New Zealand. The Icon Awards were established that year, and are limited to a living circle of 20.

Ian Athfield, founding partner of Athfield Architects in 1968, and again well known to all of us through Wellington landmarks, including much of the context for the building we are in today—Civic Square, the Wellington Public Library, much of the Wellington Waterfront—and plenty of other local landmarks and buildings nationwide. Ath received, in 1996, a Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit; in 2000, an Honorary Doctorate in Literature from Victoria University; in 2004, the NZIA Gold Medal; in 2008, he was made an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects; in 2009, he was appointed to the Board of Trustees of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust; and in 2010, appointed Architectural Ambassador to earthquake-damaged Christchurch.

A very warm welcome to you both.

Fig. 2 Sir Miles Warren, Philip Guan, and Ian Athfield at *Athfield Architects: People and Place* (City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi, 22 June–7 October 2012). They are pictured with Guan's model of Wellington's Civic Square, in which Warren and Mahoney's Michael Fowler Centre can also be seen. [Photograph by Jianying Wang, courtesy of Philip Guan]

Sir Miles Warren: Perhaps we should leave now! [Laughter]

JG: There are several reasons why I wanted to invite Sir Miles to be part of this exhibition opening and book launch weekend. One of them is to recognise and thank him for his generosity in establishing the Warren Architects' Education Charitable Trust and, through it, supporting book and exhibition projects, including the current ones. But beyond this there is a certain synchronicity between his and Ath's careers and I thought it would be interesting to tease some of this out today. Both grew up in Christchurch. Ath worked in Warren and Mahoney's office for a summer in the early sixties. Both established firms that grew to take on important public and institutional projects, and today have offices in Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch. The Christchurch office of Athfield Architects operated out of the former Warren and Mahoney premises at 65 Cambridge Terrace [before the Canterbury earthquakes], and will do again in the future, when the building is repaired. In 2009, when the substantial exhibition, *Miles: A Life in Architecture*, opened in Christchurch, Sir Miles invited Ath to be the opening speaker. And this event, then, provides the opportunity to reciprocate.

In terms of a series of questions in chronological order, my starting point is the 1950s, when Miles began his practice and entered partnership with Maurice Mahoney, and Ath was at high school and developing an enthusiasm for architecture. Miles, if you could set the scene for us by describing Christchurch's architecture scene in the late 1950s.

MW: Well, you mention I was a partner with Maurice Mahoney, and we were, but for one year we were in partnership with Gordon Lucas. And Gordon Lucas told me that he had no work for a year, and finally a client came through the door, and he wanted a garage. Lucas designed the garage, but the price came in too high. So, that was the sort of level things were at. But we had an extraordinary break. My grandfather was chairman of directors of three large companies—Pyne Gould Guinness, Ballantynes, and Whitcoulls [Whitcombe and Tombs]—and Gordon Lucas was their architect. He was not an architect at all really, but a builder, but he identified himself with his clients. We got a telephone call from Bertie Whitcombe of Whitcoulls. "Is that you, Warren?" "Yes, Sir, Miles Warren speaking." "New building, Miles Warren. E, F, G, H, new building." I said, "Thank you, Sir." It was hasty. I went and spoke to Gordon Lucas, I said, "What on Earth is he talking about?" He produced a drawing of 5 acres of Whitcoulls printing works, and those were the four corners of the new building, an enormous new building. In those days, engineers weren't around, we architects simply built buildings.

Gordon Lucas said, "We better go and see the management." Off we went. Lucas did a surprising thing. To the Whitcoulls senior staff, he said, "We," he didn't say "you," "we," as he identified himself with his clients, "we could move that factory there and move that storage area there, and then you don't need to build this building." They said, "My God you're right, Lucas." We walked out and he said, "Don't worry, it'll come again in another year's time. We've got too much work to do now." So, we started off with some very posh people, major buildings, right from the word go. Maurice and I were building Ballantynes, which ran for five chains, with no clerk of works, no quantities, just the architects, and a rather limp engineer, versus the toughest contractor in town. All of this is to say that we were launched very early into the whole building process. And houses came drifting along. But I'm talking far too long here.

Ian Athfield: I can interrupt here, because I was probably about 12 at the time Miles was talking about, his infancy in his practice, and my dad actually worked at Whitcombe and Tombs. He was not then the foreman of the box department, which he became later on. We couldn't afford an architect, nor could we afford a builder, so my brother and I built the garage for Mum and Dad, and excavated it, and I went past it the other day, and it stood up during the earthquakes [applause]. And I had a grandfather, on my mother's side of the family, who was a cobbler and a blacksmith, and he had a small practice in Riccarton Road. And just before my mother died, her brother told her the story about Uncle Charlie. Grandfather Fred had taken the horse and cart out to the front of the house. Charlie was a baby, and he put the baby into the back of the dray, and the horse took off while Grandfather Fred went back into the house and the boys chased this cart right down to Riccarton Road from Hamilton Avenue, and finally deposited the baby outside his cobbler's shop. And on the other side of my family was a grandmother who was called the Leg Lady of Christchurch and she used to do surgery on gangrene legs and war injuries. She had surgeries in Ashburton, Timaru, Oamaru, and Dunedin. Totally illegal. One thing that she hated was buildings. And sport. One day she told my father that she had bought the North Beach Tennis Club. And we went down in the Austin Big 7 with my brother and father. We had to demolish the tennis pavilion, put the nets inside, and set fire to it. And so that's my family introduction to architecture [laughter].

JG: But then at some stage you developed more of an enthusiasm for architecture, and becoming an architect. So, was your early interest in Christchurch particularly in the work of Warren and Mahoney, Peter Beaven, those who became known as Christchurch School, or did it extend to Christchurch's historic architecture more generally?

Ath: It was pretty much about the Christchurch School, and it was very, very difficult to get work when I was 18, and I was very, very lucky. There was a firm called Griffiths and Moffat who were sort of poor cousins of Warren and Mahoney, but still worked in the same school. Through Mr Griffiths' son, I got a job with Griffiths and Moffat. And one of the interesting things was that Mr Griffiths was a councillor, and the first jobs I had to do was take his council propaganda around the neighbourhood. His son assured me that he could drive his father's car, and I walked out and the car was missing, and then this kid came back and said, "Look, we've damaged Dad's car, but I've got a friend who's a panel beater." So we went around to this panel-beating friend, and we knocked the dents out of the car that afternoon and that's how my job started. George Griffiths didn't actually know

we had damaged his car. But as soon as I started work in the place, George let me drive his car around. He was very proud of it. We were doing a job at Duncan and Davies, which Warren and Mahoney did a job for later on, and Mr Griffiths was standing outside waving me in, and I pulled in, in front of a car with those large bumper bars of the Model A, and it caught under Mr Griffiths' car and ripped it from one end to the other. He excused me for that. And the third accident, I was driving along Armagh Street and there was a person in a 1936 Ford Coupe backing back to me very quickly. I put my hand on the horn and the horn dropped off [laughter], so I walked into the office, and I said, "Mr Griffiths, this is all that's left of your car."

But it was really interesting because there was quite a social group of young students, because we actually did our preliminary work for our Architecture Diploma all in Christchurch. We went to the School of Art and the Technical School for technical drawing, we did Testimonies of Study up at the old atelier [Christchurch Atelier], and so we got to know each other very well. And some of my impressionable peers were working in Peter Beaven's office, and after work at Griffiths and Moffat, we would go in there and Peter would supply us with many drinks. I remember this amazing day. Peter had a friend called John Drew, and John Drew worked as a reporter for the *Listener*. And someone was saying, "Here's John, coming down the road," because we were up very high above it, and a woman opened her car door, and John on his bicycle went straight into her door and fell on the road. And then straight after that, Peter was travelling up in the lift to, I think it was the Canterbury Building Society building, and the manager of the Building Society travelled up with him, and Peter came into the office and said, "I thought something was wrong." We said, "What happened, Peter?" He said, "The manager travelled up beyond the first floor where the Building Society exists, and he said, 'I've got a strange problem, Peter. One of the women in our department went into the women's toilet this morning at seven thirty and found a naked man in the cleaner's sink.'" And it was John Drew, who had been given the position under the receptionist's desk to sleep. But it was these sorts of scenes that prevailed. Not terribly much done in architecture. But plenty done in good fun.

JG: And what about in the Warren and Mahoney office in the summer of 1961–62, when you employed young Ath—what are both of your recollections of that time?

MW: Were you in the Pynes office era?

Ath: We were in Manchester Street, the building there.

MW: Well at Christmas Eve, we all retired to the local pub, which was a really rough, tough pub. And Ath was going through his Edwardian phase.

Ath: Emulating other architects.

MW: With an Earl Grey topper hat. We arrive in this pub and imagine the astonishment of the rough crowd that was there. It was the most uproar-ish and amusing, laughing, hour I ever spent. The top hat came off and started shooting around the room. It was filled with booze and then dropped [over people's heads]. Ath, as you can imagine, was the whole centre of the party. It was a brilliant performance. I've never laughed so much in my life.

Ath: The people in there included Don Donnithorne, George Lucking, Don Cowey, a whole lot of people of that sort of age, doing similar work, in many ways.

Very jovial times.

JG: This coincided with the construction of 65 Cambridge Terrace?

Ath: Just before that. I came into the office, and one of the things that happened as soon as I got to the office on the second day, everyone looked at their watch. I looked up and the clock said nine o'clock. And everyone said, "We start at half past eight." And then Miles saw my poor quality of lettering, and so gave me lettering practice every morning for half an hour. And then finally, when I'd done a reasonable drawing, he got someone else to letter up the drawing. He was a pretty tough teacher at that time. And then, 65 Cambridge Terrace. I remember going to a party, Miles, for the demolition of the house there. And it was a most joyous occasion because we took the bath out of the house, and we put Miles in it and floated him down the river [laughter]. Hopefully never to be seen again!

MW: I can't imagine that sort of party happening today. A policeman arrived, and I had just emerged from the river. The policeman enquired what was happening, and I said very respectfully, "Officer." He said, "Is it starting or stopping?" I said, "Sir, it is continuing." Somebody threw a window, through another window, landing right in front of him, and the policeman just walked away [laughter].

An interesting, sober fact. 65 Cambridge Terrace cost 8,000 pounds, which I didn't actually have at that time. That year, I earned 10,000 pounds. We had no idea how well off we were. Until we were paying 66 per cent in tax. But the major buildings that we were whacking up. There was no argument about fees. Fees were never discussed. For 30 years, it would be vulgar, impolite, to argue about fees. They used to pay 6.5 percent. We didn't pay out money to quantity surveyors and all the peripheral lot—it was just architects, and the client. It was a great way to begin. In a funny way, we had the good luck to come from the top down, Ath came from the bottom up, and we met in the middle.

Ath: I remember meeting in your apartment in Dorset Street one night, and you introduced me to gin and tonics. I had never had gin and tonics before, and I had to ride on my bicycle all the way home. I didn't do a very good pathway on the way home, I fell off once. But Miles was splendid in black-and-white leotards at that time [laughter].

MW: We were very proud of the buses—tourist buses came past the flats in Dorset Street, with everybody coming to see the ugliest building in town, you know, and we would wave and cheer.

JG: That's probably a good note on which to jump to this article, "Style in New Zealand Architecture," which Miles wrote in 1978, and it was published in *New Zealand Architect*. It was a personal history of New Zealand architecture, and well known for the description of your own work as Group-come-Brutalism. I would like to read a few excerpts about what Miles had to say about Ath.

MW: Before you start that, just about our buildings being Group-come-Brutalism. It's been contended that the Dental School was Group-like. It wasn't. It was pure, you could transfer that to England. It was an English thing. We only built one Group-like house. Be warned. If an architect gives you one of his clients, don't accept it. This poor unfortunate woman, a woman in her seventies, probably, her husband, a doctor, charming man. I can remember the last scene, looking at the drains, and the drainlayer, the unfortunately named Mr Shatford

[indecipherable]. It was a total disaster. But the fees got me to England [laughter].

Ath: Thanks, Miles, for reminding me, you gave me one of your clients once [laughter]. She was extremely difficult. I won't tell her name. She built a house in Masterton. And we had a lot of difficulty, because her daughter said, "You don't understand old women." And I said, "What do you mean?" She said, "You know the toilet door can be seen from the front door if both doors are open, and people can see her knees, on the toilet, so please move the toilet across." And I went to the builder and said, "The [woman], she wants to move the toilet," so we moved it 300 to the right, and she then complained that she bumped her elbow on the wash-hand basin. So we moved it back into a new position and finally she was happy with it. I think the sum for it was 800 dollars, and when you divide 800 dollars by three, someone has 34 cents on it and the other two have 33 cents. And the builder took the 33 cents, we took the 33 cents, and she complained that her third was costing 1 cent more than ours. So, Miles, that's the client you gave me [laughter].

JG: OK, so now we'll turn to what Miles had to say about Ath and Roger Walker in 1978: "I have tried to devise an appropriate name other than the derogatory Noddyism but so far no luck. I will just call it A and W." "The Athfield–Walker style is the direct opposite of everything the Group and the architects of the fifties and early sixties held dear." "The broad calm horizontal expanse of the Group is replaced by an intricately modelled collection of spaces with a vertical emphasis." "The structural elements tend to be used as decorative devices, not as a finely calculated minimum members"; "The … collection of gables and half gables and slices thereof are juxtaposed together to produce complex sculptural shapes, sometimes looking like a wilful uncontrolled collision"; "Form no longer develops from function. No functional requirements can justify the complex exotic roof forms." "A and W work has all the trappings of an architectural style. It commits the worst sin of the fifties—it wears what Bill Wilson would have called an evocative fancy dress." "It was started by able rebellious young architects more than a decade ago thumbing their noses at the university, the establishment and the last flutter of the puritanical fifties and early sixties—it has elements of an extended university prank."

Miles, I love this article, and I am interested to know, how you feel reflecting upon something you wrote back in the 1970s.

MW: It's quite simple: architects should not write about architecture [laughter]. It was often pure jealousy actually. No, I mean, we were brought up in a very puritanical world, where form had to follow function, etc., etc. And this extraordinary burst of creativity was a bewilderment to conservative Christchurch. We had the beginnings of it, with Peter, and modest attempts on our part. The effects of the Group continued in Auckland. It didn't survive in Christchurch. The [roof] fall of the shed sitting on the Canterbury Plains went down like a lead balloon. Buildings in Wellington got those hills with that splendid view and so on. Christchurch was a world behind hedges, a world of houses looking into gardens. The exuberance of Ath would never have flowered in Christchurch. It was a response, an extraordinary response, to …

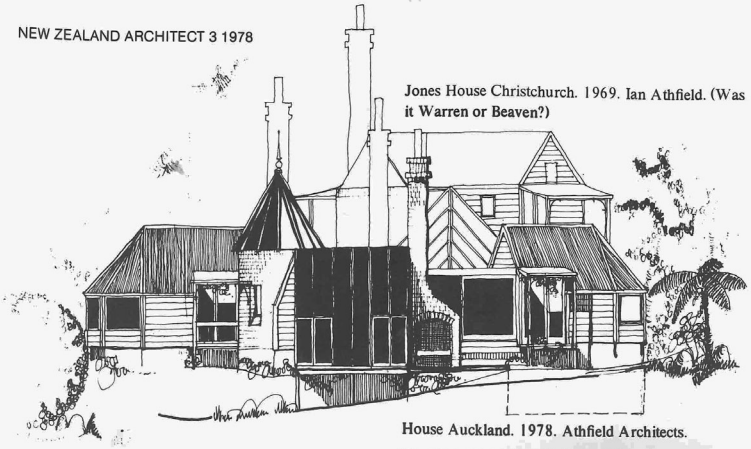
overleaf

Fig. 3 A and W's work "has elements of an extended university prank." [Journal article: Miles Warren, "Style in New Zealand Architecture," *New Zealand Architect*, no. 3 (1978): 12]

Ath: To the Wellington hillsides.

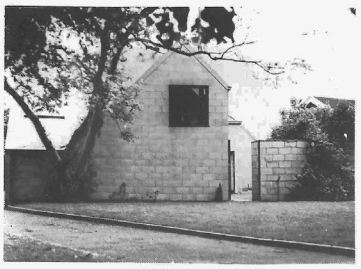
MW: And that extraordinary book, *Architecture without Architects*. Did that have an influence?

NEW ZEALAND ARCHITECT 3 1978

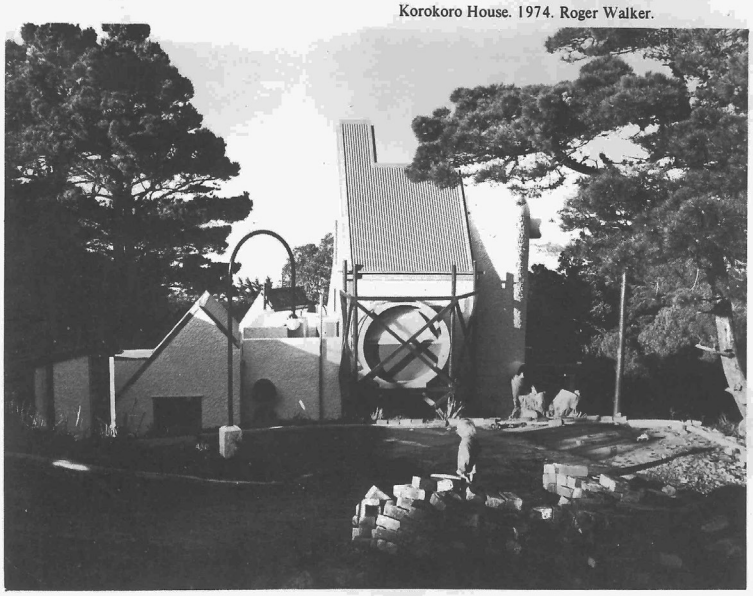


Jones House Christchurch. 1969. Ian Athfield. (Was it Warren or Beaven?)

House Auckland. 1978. Athfield Architects.



Korokoro House. 1974. Roger Walker.



various forms derived from early colonial architecture — verandah detailing, finials, barge boards; the colours — any strident colour splashed diagonally and clashing as outrageously with its neighbour as possible; diagonal shapes in plan and elevation; skylights galore.

Nothing must look like itself, especially doors. As an Australian critic aptly said, "If entry is found first time around, go back to gaol, collect £200."

Why has this extreme architectural style (some might call it an odd-ball aberration) blossomed and flowered so vigorously in New Zealand?

As far as I know, no other country has carried such small buildings to such frenetic shapes and embellishment. One can list overseas sources of most of the elements — op art and architecture for the circles; complex geometric shapes from the western states; southern Europe and "Architecture without Architects" for the continuous plastered surfaces over wall and roof in defiance of structure, materials and weather, and to our own colonial past for historical elements and so on. This is of course not said in criticism. The parent sources and influence of all good work can be dissected.

However, visiting architects from the States and Australia, many experienced and able critics, are astounded by the A & W work and always end up using the word "Disneyland".

As I see it, these are the reasons for the rapid acceptance and spread of the style.

It was started by able rebellious young architects more than a decade ago thumbing their noses at the university, the establishment and the last flutter of the puritanical fifties and early sixteis — it has elements of an extended university prank.

It arrived on the scene when young architects in an affluent confident society could immediately on graduating do their own thing, start their own practice. This happens rarely in other places and the way things are going will not happen again here for a while. And probably for the first time in New Zealand there were relatively young people with the money and confidence to have a go.

So the older practising architects had no chance to beat the hell out of them, to knock out the enthusiasm and creative energy nor to impart the proper restraints of good craftsmanship.

Young architects starting in a fully fledged A & W style competing for clients' attention could only develop more extreme forms.

The A & W style coincided with New Zealand's belated but now intense interest in the past. Colonial architecture, especially wooden gothic, has become the darling of public and architects alike.

It is surprising how late and sudden was this change in taste.

For three years starting in 1969 the Christchurch Club, the home of the conservative establishment, debated whether it should pull down its large Victorian wooden club house and rebuild. In all the debate with five architects and many professionals in its membership, no one suggested that the building be preserved for its architectural or historic value. An illustration of the proposed new multi-storey building in the press produced no public comment defending the present club house. In the end, for economic reasons, it was decided to alter and refurbish the wooden building. It must have been one of the earliest and still one of the largest restorations in the country. We pulled down thousands of square feet of rotting black offices and rebuilt large portions leaving only the street facades and two or three rooms much as they were.

Our work received undue acclaim. As we saw it, all we had done was to peel the banana. It was all sitting there waiting to be revealed, and with my good classical training it was no problem to run coarse timber moulds and maintain the hearty Victorian character. The wheel has turned full circle and the Club is now on the list of buildings that must be preserved.

The Club fought the City Council before the Town Planning Appeal Board and was instrumental in having the Amenity Regulations of the Council thrown out as not being within the terms of the Act. We had fun at the hearing explaining that the Council appeared to be trying to preserve some genuine Warren and Mahoney. The Club was worth preserving because it is a good, well made, well designed structure used for exactly the same purpose now as when it was built.

From ignoring the past we have gone to the other extreme. Anything that is old and preferably of stone is therefore good, beautiful and worth preserving.

The Christchurch City Council aided and abetted by Christchurch architects now talks of preserving the clumsy piece of neo-Halianate-gone-wrong of the Post Office in the Square. It wasn't even on the first lists of interesting buildings made only ten years ago. Now we are saying, in effect, that today's architects could do no better — God help us.

I fear that architects have been equally uncritical of early New Zealand work. They are prepared to borrow the bits and pieces, the obvious details rather than to understand the substance. A few glazing bars, a criss-cross verandah rail and a dormer and you have a colonial house.

The small scale forms of the A & W style have their obvious historical overtones and the client public happily accepted the package. A bit of applied gew gaw, old doors, crude stained glass, any old junk from the breakers' yard could be incorporated.

To what extremities Middleton's finials have led!

What the Australians called "out-backery" started earlier there. Old Victorian pictures, gloomy cracked oils of dubious value were resurrected and flogged off for huge prices. Old houses were discovered and a seemingly endless array of sketches sold.

It is argued in England that the chief reason for our present interest in the past is television. It is said that it has opened vast numbers of people to visual culture in much the same way that, 500 years before, the invention of printing opened to people a literary culture, and in the nineteenth century the gramophone to music. The first need of people in this intoxicating situation is to discover their historical roots. To quote from the "Review": "For this the Modern Movement's monocular aesthetic, its tiny repertoire of acceptable forms and its disdain for the past, is most unsuitable."

Well, where to from here? It is easy enough to be critical and to take snide pot-shots, as anyone who has to make things and stand by them knows. The intensity of the criticism is often the measure of the work. The better the work the more vigorous the reaction.

I do not see how the A & W style can proceed much further. There is a limit to the number of parts into which a small building can be dismembered and the ways it can be reassembled. The style has all the hallmarks of decadent extremism. The initial shock tactics have become a bore and even the wit wears thin.

There is also a limit to the design and detailing input a small building can stand. Some designs must cost their authors dearly in detailing time, others have indulged in

Ath: That had some influence, but I think one of the things that frustrated probably many architects at that stage was that architects were very precious. They were very articulate in a way, but they hid themselves in bushes up in Auckland. You could never find an architect's house unless you knew them. You could hunt for ages and they wouldn't even put something on the letterbox to let you know where they were. The last thing was a name, and most of the time they even left the number off so you couldn't even find them. But the thoughts were that architecture should be universal, and to be seen, you took prominent positions, you challenged everything around, and you built houses for the poor, and they finished up by having to build houses for themselves. It seemed to be an important phase, with kids and other people starting to notice things which were different. That difference. That's when I started my house. We were thinking about similar things. We were thinking about how imposing the regulations were. We challenged things like ceiling heights, we challenged the sizes of walls, we challenged setbacks from neighbours, neighbouring boundaries. We did a lot of things to challenge the rules at that stage. We challenged the colour palette, that was happening overseas, with Victorian houses at that time. And we wanted to challenge people who had rejected the history of our grandparents. In many ways we brought the symbols of our grandparents back into the housing of the sixties and seventies. And by using those, we attracted young people. I remember one time standing on the bus stop and the old guy next to me said, "You're very interesting, kids sort of like you a bit. It's mainly because our kids like to think they respect their grandparents over their parents, so they never build the houses which their parents built." So in some ways, it was a lot of questioning, and that questioning developed between Roger Walker and me, for a short time in competition, and then we worked together, against the authorities. We did get a few things changed, which was really important. We got the minimum ceiling heights reduced. And when we built our house, I know that one time the building inspector came in and he said, "Look, you're going to have to increase the ceiling height by 600 millimetres." And I said, "We can't do that, it's already built." And then we averaged it out between the living room and the dining room, and he accepted that [laughter]. Many building inspectors don't know too much about averages.

JG: [To Ath] With that sort of writing, did it register with you, do you read it, do you …

Ath: No, I don't read terribly much, which is quite helpful. If you read too much about yourself, about what other people are saying, you can become cynical about how things are going. You can become bitter. That's the worst thing, architects who become bitter after they read things, and so, you know, the worst thing is to become bitter.

MW: Ath was a marvellous person when it came to creativity. We were just steadily building. About the same time we started College House / Christchurch College, at the University …

Ath: I was in the office when you started College House and also the Crematorium [Harewood Memorial Crematorium and Chapel], which is an absolutely beautiful building, well done.

MW: College House is still standing [post-earthquakes]. I think the chapel probably is. The basic approach there was that form would be generated by function,

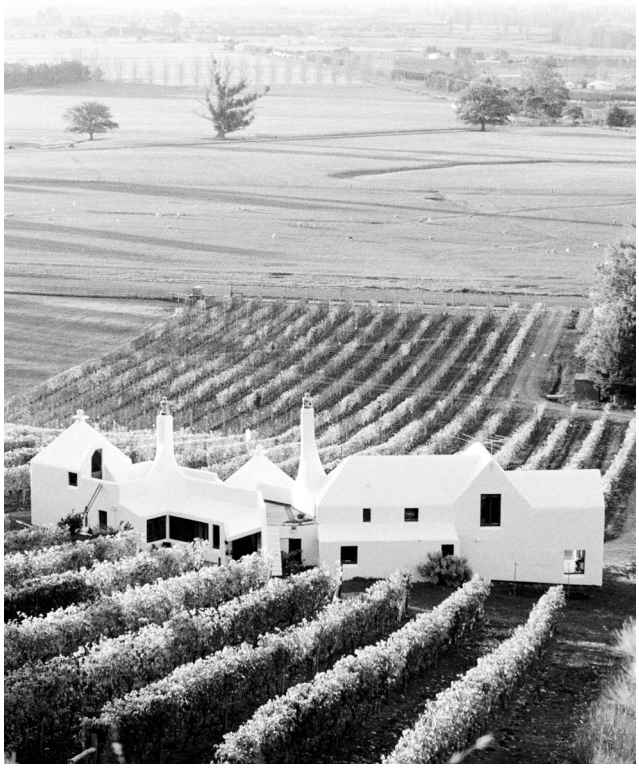


Fig. 4 Athfield Architects (1980–81). Buck House, Te Mata, Hawke's Bay. [Photograph by Euan Sargisson Photography, www.sarginsonphotography.co.nz, courtesy of Athfield Architects Ltd]

which sounds very prescriptive, but it wasn't. Warren and Mahoney were best when we had a unique function to build for, and we were worst when it was so much floor space [gesturing vertically], in office buildings.

Ath: It is fair to say it was in stable economic times, wasn't it, and one of the things that we sort of lost in the early seventies when that space was starting to move, very, very quickly, and the developer came onto the scene and they would employ anybody to get the building up as quickly as they possibly could.

MW: I remember the bursar at Christ's College ringing me up, saying, "Hello Miles, or Warren (or actually I was Warren Minor), would you like to work for the College?" "Oh, yes, Sir. What's the project?" "Oh, it's a lavatory block, a seven holer, no doors on the bogs. Well, it's a start, lad; it's a start" [laughter]. And we worked for them for the next 40 years.

JG: At some point, or perhaps it was incremental, your interpretation and opinion of Ath's work changed considerably, and you became a firm ally and a supporter of Ath and of Athfield Architects, in Christchurch in particular. Was it with a particular project or point in time when this happened, or if it was just incremental?

MW: I suppose it was the Buck House [Hawke's Bay, 1980–81], that was just astonishing. That I'm sure is in everybody's mind, that a magnificent work, the vineyards running up to it and those white forms and so on. What can you say? Genius at work.

JG: In the 1980s, Warren and Mahoney and Athfield Architects both produced buildings that are now described as postmodern, with oversized classical elements, symmetry, and sometimes the use of metaphors. I'm interested to know how both of you feel about the eighties work now, whether you see it as part of a continuum from earlier work, or whether you see a juncture.

MW: It's funny, we had the same client, Graeme Bringans.

Ath: We did. The [apartment] building in Oriental Bay.

MW: And Citibank, in Auckland.

Ath: I think the clients were also starting to be influenced by architectural magazines. Up to then, many people we worked with weren't influenced at all, except by your particular work, you know. And offices, as they increased in size, you know, it's not Miles and I who continue to push the pencil, it's a case of joint minds. As those offices develop and overseas influences come, you're always affected by them. But today, I suggest, they are so diverse that fashion determined by age and time is probably not so important, because there are so many ways of doing things, there are so many techniques for putting things together, and there are so many materials available. It's really trying to get a certain amount of restraint when you are actually working with some of these clients who want to actually use every material in the world or are influenced by something you actually have no respect for. So, it's much different producing buildings now than historically.

MW: I remember, Graeme Bringans, I think he must have built ten office buildings with us, he'd ring up and say, "I'm coming down, I'll be at your office at ten past eight. I will give you instructions for a fourteen-storey office building in Wellington. I have to depart at nine thirty. Would you produce the sketch plans in two weeks?" "Um, yes." "And the working drawings in six weeks?" "Yes." All you could do was regurgitate multiplications of what you had done before. It was a mad, stupid world. If only we had had more time. That's all you could do was repeat and make multiplications. A run-up standard office block was the least interesting brief you could get.

Ath: And the best money.

JG: Miles, in 1994 you reached the age of 65 and that was the agreed retirement age at Warren and Mahoney.

MW: Yes.

JG: It seems topical given recent focus on retirement age. Was it too early? Was 40 years of practice enough?

MW: Well, I continued designing buildings thereafter. I had the great pleasure of still continuing to work for Christ's College. I did a building a year. It was a great pleasure to get back onto the drawing board and not having to do things, all the carry on. So I could puddle along and enjoy myself.

JG: So were they done in your name or still through the Warren and Mahoney office?

MW: No, just under my name. I was really practising without the trophies [laughter].

Fig. 5 Photographer not known. Sir Miles and Ath at *Four Decades of Architecture: Warren and Mahoney Retrospective* (Robert McDougall Art Gallery, 14 May–19 June 1994). [Photograph, Athfield Architects Ltd]

JG: I'm interested that you marked 1994 with an exhibition on four decades of architectural practice.

MW: There was a particular reason for the exhibition. I had been for ten years a trustee of the Arts Foundation. The Arts Foundation made five awards of 30,000 dollars a year to artists, each year. So 50 awards had been made to artists, and not one to an architect. Architecture is the mother of the arts. You can take all the paintings out of, [to City Gallery staff] I'm sorry [laughter], and you probably would never know, for a year, probably [laughter]. But you can't take the whole built environment. That is what architecture is about. It is the mother of the arts. And they'd made no award to architecture. Not one in 50. We'd given awards to … [gesturing]. So we had the exhibition at the Christchurch Art Gallery. It was really to say, look, architecture is an art. And we had a wonderful turn out, in numbers. As this one will. Look around the walls of the gallery out there. Those working drawings themselves are works of art. That's one of the pleasures of the old drawing system. When the architect or the draughtsman or staff made a drawing, it was his or hers. You could identify each drawing, you could just glance at it and know who had done it. They were works of craft and art, and that's well displayed in the exhibition here.

Ath: The only design drawings in architecture are the working drawings. It's the way that you put things together. It's not those beautiful perspectives that you use in the first place. For us, it's the way that you put things together. And I've been really lucky, because I'm a small part of a fairly large firm that has let me retire gently, mainly because they might be frightened. But years ago, when I worked at Structon Group, I became a partner in 1965, and my first task was, I thought my first task was, to introduce a retirement policy for the rest of the partners, which didn't go down terribly well. I was subsequently dismissed from the practice, on the fifteenth of July 1968. That was on my birthday. So I went out and gained quite a few of their clients in the afternoon. The bailiff came around at half past five at night, and the practice [Athfield Architects] started like that. I've been lucky over the last seven years. I have been slowly reducing my amount of

work, which the office has accepted, and the helm and the tiller are in the hands of others. And I'm really happy to be a small part of that organisation. And probably will never actually start drawing by myself, because I don't need to. I just need to finish some of those questions I have asked for the last 40 years and provide some answers. Especially to my family [laughter].

MW: Just going back. I first worked as a student in Cecil Wood's office, and the first thing I did was to practise lettering. I used to draw parallel lines, evenly spaced, and then you could grade up to your letter Ts, and Cs had to go just above the line and then down. Wood looked over my drawing and said, "It's very immature, Miles." I had no idea what he was talking about. We were drilled in draughtsmanship, and we found if one got stuck with a design, that it wasn't getting anywhere, we simply had to set to on the drawing board, and keep drawing and looking, and we would manage.

Ath: Very similar to when I started working for you, Miles, and I drew the first wall on the drawing and Miles came over and said, "What's that wall, is it a block wall?" I said, "No, it's a timber-framed wall." He said—and this was at one-eighth scale—"It's 6 inches thick, and framing boards are 4 inches thick. Draw it again, lad."

MW: The discipline of looking.

JG: Ath, you also marked the four decades of Athfield Architects with a big party at the Embassy Theatre. Tell us about that one.

Ath: It was a film that was made, which was really important. Geoff Cawthorn and Richard Riddiford made a film about the practice of Athfield Architects, and living on the hill and working on the hill, and demonstrating that it is a practice of a whole lot of people working together, which I've had some influence in. But there are some very, very good people there. So I feel good about leaving. Great party. It's always good to have a party. I wouldn't mind another really good one like that before I die. And even a better one after I die, which would be important to have.

JG: The film is running in the reading room upstairs, during the exhibition.

Ath: Very good.

MW: And there is a much lesser film on Warren and Mahoney. Finally, it goes into the chapel at Christchurch College. We were there quite a lot, I thought. And he turned to me and said, "Do you believe in God?" I said, "No." Here I was in the chapel that I designed saying I didn't believe in God. He would use it in the film, of course.

Ath: That's always the question they ask you in the end. I've been asked that a number of times. And it makes it quite difficult, especially when you're asked by the Bishop of Christchurch. You know you're on a loser when you say "No," but in the end, you have to be honest.

JG: Miles was awarded the NZIA's Gold Medal in 2000, and Ath in 2004. Miles, you recalled that on the occasion of your Gold Medal, you said that if you could start your career all over again, you would choose to do it "as an apprentice in Ian Athfield's office." I am intrigued by this comment and wonder if you can elaborate?

MW: Well, it would have been a wonderful experience, wouldn't it? I mean, how much more exciting and creative that would have been, compared with the dour, confined, sober process that we went through.

Ath: We went through some dour experiences too. Yesterday we went through a really dour experience when we had to get a building consent for the object out in the Square [a 3/4 scale model of the Athfield House lookout tower]. Fortunately I didn't have to do it. My son, Zac, did it. There was a change in mood. You could see him smiling for short periods of time and then down on the lip. This has been going on for two months to get a building consent, because there was a debate between whether it was a sculpture or a building, or a non-complying object. Right up to yesterday we really didn't know. We had a truck going round this block four or five times with the remnants of the tower on it, waiting to get into Civic Square, and finally we got the building consent, five minutes before we took it into the Square. People can be very glum in those situations, when the wall comes up in front of you, and you find you're in a bit of a muddle. I'm sure it happens in all offices. It's not all about joking, but it's a balance between the things which can make you laugh and the things which can make you cry, which is important. As long as the laughter isn't too great, and the tears aren't too great, it's a good place to be.

JG: I think the tower is already creating lots of joy out there in the Square, which is fantastic.

Ath: Yeah it's full of kids at present, but you wait until they see how many teenagers you can get inside it, and that may be a problem. As soon as we put the sails up in Civic Square, we had a copulating couple on top of one, and they were going to take them down. This is a sort of invitation to do something slightly different. If it's a place to get into, then people will get into it differently than [envisaged].

MW: It could only happen in Wellington.

Ath: It happens in Christchurch, but behind fences!

JG: It is impossible to avoid the subject of Christchurch, both with the devastation of the earthquake and the great loss to New Zealand architecture with Peter Beaven's recent death. My interest here is to draw a comparison between Athfield Architects' project for the Canterbury Museum, which ran 1999 to 2006, and Warren and Mahoney's 2009 project to build a new Conservatorium of Music for Canterbury University within the Arts Centre complex. Both of you came up against Peter Beaven and the Civic Trust with those projects, with their interpretation of them as being projects having too great a level of intervention with the heritage fabric and the heritage value of the place. Neither of the projects has been built. Is there a future for either of these projects, or if they are dormant?[2]

MW: Could I explain why they are both dormant, or at least one of them. The judge was nicknamed Whacko Jacko. We had appeared twice before, on occasions. One of the debates was the classification of houses in four city blocks, whether they were nineteenth century or 1930s or postmodern or what category they fell into. But seeing as the judge seemed a bit confused, I said "Sir, could I draw on the blackboard to explain what I am talking about?" He said, "No, this is a court of law. You may draw on a piece of paper for the court." So I drew a gable and a hip, and handed that to him. "Oh, I see, now I know what you mean." He didn't know the difference. He had no architectural vocabulary at all. And he

was the judge for the Museum. The opponents of the design waffled away talking absolute nonsense, but neither the judge nor his two sidekicks came up with … They simply didn't know what was being talked about. So Peter's evidence sailed across the process.

Ath: The Museum had 10 per cent [Benjamin Woolfield] Mountfort, who was a very, very important historical architect in Christchurch. And the rest of the building was very, very questionable. There were two interesting aspects of the building. They had the largest white whale in the southern hemisphere, and the previous room for the whale had been put on the mezzanine of a new addition, and the architects had incorrectly measured the whale, so they had to put an extra mezzanine on the room for its tail. The gallery only opened for about a month before people became disinterested because you were so close to the walls to see the whale that you couldn't see what size it was. When I was a kid, this whale used to be in the courtyard outside the building, with the whare and the large waka they had. Unfortunately this whole area had been built in, in the sixties, extremely poorly, it looked like a concrete building by the worst architect, Mr Bucknell. They spelt it with an "F". The whole thing became incredibly complicated. We put this whale in a position where it was seen at the entry, it was completely outside the Mountfort area. And the most contentious area was the whare whakairo, which we put between the McDougall Art Gallery and a portion of the Museum, as a linking structure. The whare was bought from Ngāti Porou in 1880. It was only the interior of the whare. We decided that it could have an exterior, and it should sit between the McDougall and the main building at a high level where it could get the eastern sun and look out towards the Southern Alps. When we got to the hearing, this woman who was the patron or the head of Save Our Botanical Gardens, said "We don't want a Māori building which can be seen from the Botanical Gardens. This is a very English garden. We cannot be seeing a Māori building." We explained that it was a blue collar amongst two white collars and that made it even worse. And then she said, "It could go on the Christ's College side of the building." And a person from Christ's College said, "But we are not that happy with it on this side of the building." So the part of the building was moved around all the time at the hearing, and we got shafted through every bit of that exercise. But I am sure we are going to get some traction. Someone has to get some traction in Christchurch. We have to mix old with new. We have got the cathedral, which if the engineers and the bishop have their way, could be demolished to nothing. And one of the most important things in Christchurch now is memory, and the spiritual place, and all the memory is being wiped from Christchurch at this stage. Every site where there is a building pulled down, all the bits are taken away and chucked in the dump, and then it is bulldozed, cleaned up, gravel put on it, a bit of lime, and a few pot plants dotted beside it. It is just the most unfortunate thing. We have to provide answers to the building huggers who have traditionally looked after these heritage buildings, one by one, intact. We have had some real problems with the people who hug buildings. People have died in them. We do have to build new buildings to support old buildings, we have to leave remnants of old buildings there. We have to build new in relationship to old, we have to respect things from the past. It's a different way of looking at it. And that's one of the reasons why I'm at the Historic Places Trust, as no one else would put their hand up, but I'm determined to make sure that we look at new in relationship to old and respect both of them at the same time. History starts with a good idea tomorrow, not something that's really poor and

Fig. 6 Ian Stantiall for Athfield Architects (2004). Design for the revitalisation of the Canterbury Museum [Digital drawing, courtesy of Athfield Architects, Stantiall Studios, and the Canterbury Museum]

gets entrenched in history 50 years after it was built. It is really important. And, look at the Arts Centre. The Arts Centre is a beautiful collection of buildings. But the income from the Arts Centre after the earthquake was three million dollars gross per year. They are going to spend 250 million dollars on those buildings, and you need 25 million dollars a year in rental. So if you don't get those high rentals into that area, then those buildings are going to have to be subsidised by someone. And there needs to be great modern buildings in relationship. There need to be cloisters, which actually worked from the street, inwards. The Dux de Lux is a pretty shabby building on the corner, with its service dock right on the corner. It should go. I told them, but you're not very popular when you say, "Get rid of that bloody Dux de Lux." Miles' produced a great five-storey building [the Conservatorium of Music] with long colonnades, and views from the street into the complex. It is really important to actually understand what has to happen.

MW: Our whole concept was very simple. Instead of a cold, southerly facing car yard, you could transform it into a third quadrangle, the same size as the other two, with a new building along the street. It's as simple as that. But the days descended into … a terrible waste of effort and energy, the time pressures.

Ath: We spent seven years on the Museum. Costs were about seven million, which is really unfortunate.

JG: I had said I was going to open up to the floor, but the Gallery have given me very strict rules about drawing this discussion to a close at exactly this time, so I am going to follow their strict instructions. Thank you both so very much for your time today, and your conversation. It has been a pleasure. Thank you.

NOTES

1. "Julia Gatley interviews Ian Athfield and Miles Warren at City Gallery Wellington, 23 June 2012," YouTube, Part 1, www.youtube.com/watch?v=E2GlyDuQDpE;

Part 2, www.youtube.com/watch?v=g3RkJm_9CVo;

Part 3, www.youtube.com/watch?v=xPa-1u8hTHw; and

Part 4, www.youtube.com/watch?v=S77xCfSywbw.

2. The redevelopment of the Canterbury Museum to a revised design by Athfield Architects was granted resource consent in 2021. Works commenced on site in 2023 and the building is expected to reopen in 2028.

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bios

ELIZABETH AITKEN ROSE
Elizabeth Aitken Rose is a senior lecturer in urban planning in the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of Auckland. She researches in the fields of urban planning history, cultural policy, and heritage preservation, including house museums and engineering heritage.

TOM COLLINS
Tom Collins is an architectural graduate and creative design researcher from Lyttelton, Ōtautahi Christchurch, currently living and practising in New York City. He recently finished his Master of Architecture (Professional) at the University of Auckland's School of Architecture and Planning. His research is mostly concerned with urban spectres and forgotten histories.

OLIVIA DAW
Olivia Daw is an architectural graduate with a Bachelor of Architectural Design and Master of Architecture. Alongside working in small practice, she is a senior research assistant and tutor in the School of Architecture at the University of Queensland. Her research interests include design advocacy, governance, and community-oriented development.

ANDREW DOUGLAS
Andrew Douglas is a senior lecturer in theory and design in the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of Auckland. He is an executive editor of *Interstices: Journal of Architecture and Related Arts* and currently chairs the enigma: he aupiki charitable trust. He has practised architecture in both Auckland and London, and completed postgraduate studies at the University of Auckland and Goldsmiths, University of London.

JULIA GATLEY
Julia Gatley is an associate professor of architecture at the University of Auckland. Her research interests are primarily in twentieth-century architecture and the conservation of the modern. She has published four books with Auckland University Press. Her next book, co-authored with John Stubbs, William Chapman, and Ross King, and forthcoming with Routledge, is titled, *Architectural Conservation in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands: National Experiences and Practice*.

CAROLYN HILL
Carolyn Hill is an architect and lecturer in environmental planning at the University of Waikato. She has worked in various built heritage-focused roles across public and private sectors in New Zealand, Australia, and the UK. Her research centres on urban heritage policy and future directions, with an emphasis on the views and values of young adults in processes of heritage-making.

SUSAN HOLDEN
Susan Holden (FRAIA) is an architect and senior lecturer in the School of Architecture at the University of Queensland where she teaches in the Architecture and Urban Design programmes. She has published extensively on the values of architecture in cultural, institutional, and governance contexts.

ELLA JONES
Ella Jones is an architectural graduate who completed her Master of Architecture (Professional) at Victoria University of Wellington Te Herenga Waka in 2022. Alongside her studies, she interned at Jasmax Architects, working on a diverse range of projects around Aotearoa New Zealand. Ella was a finalist in the 2022 NZIA Student Design Awards. Her interests lie in graphite drawing and bicultural design processes.

HAMISH LONERGAN
Hamish Lonergan is an architectural designer and a doctoral candidate at the institute for the history and theory of architecture (gta), ETH Zürich. His project investigates the concept of tacit knowledge in design studio education since the 1970s, as part of the research network TACK / Communities of Tacit Knowledge. His writing appears in OASE, *gta Papers*, *Footprint*, and *Cartha*, among other publications.

ʻŌKUSITINO MĀHINA
ʻŌkusitino Māhina is a professor of philosophy, anthropology, and art. He taught Pacific political economy and Pacific arts at ʻAtenisi University, Moana University

of Technology, Massey University, and the University of Auckland for over 25 years. He has published extensively across many disciplines, including books, book chapters, and journal articles. He writes and publishes poetry in Tongan, with some translated into other languages. He is a leading proponent of tāvāism as a brand of philosophy of reality.

ANOMA PIERIS

Anoma Pieris is a professor of architecture at the Melbourne School of Design. Her recent publications include the anthology *Architecture on the Borderline: Boundary Politics and Built Space* (2019) and *The Architecture of Confinement: Incarceration Camps of the Pacific War* (2022), co-authored with Lynne Horiuchi. Anoma was guest curator with Martino Stierli, Sean Anderson, and Evangelos Kotsioris of the 2022 MoMA exhibition, *The Project of Independence: Architectures of Decolonization in South Asia, 1947–1985*.

SĒMISI FETOKAI POTAUAINE

Sēmisi Fetokai Potauaine works as a multi-media artist practising across a number of disciplines, notably architecture and sculpture. Sēmisi's research interests include time and space, culture and language, theory and practice, and art and literature, amongst others. He has co-authored books and book chapters, and written book chapters and journal articles. He is a lecturer at Te Pūkenga Unitec Institute of Technology School of Architecture, focusing on design studio, design fabrication, and design research.

LUKE TIPENE

Luke Tipene is an architecture academic at the University of Technology Sydney. His research centres on the history, theory, and practice of architectural drawings. He has published in leading architectural journals, including *Fabrications, Space and Culture, The Journal of Architecture*, and *Places Journal*. He is executive editor of *idea journal* and has peer-reviewed for *Fabrications* and *The Journal of Architecture*.

ATHANASIOS TSAKONAS

Athanasios Tsakonas is a partner in Singapore-based consultancy, Tan + Tsakonas Architects. A practising architect, builder, and writer, his research interests include investigating the spatial impact war cemeteries and memorials have upon commemoration and remembrance; and the architects of conflict. His book, *In Honour of War Heroes: Colin St Clair Oakes and the Design of Kranji War Memorial*, was published by Marshall Cavendish in 2020.

SIMON TWOSE

Simon Twose is an architect and associate professor at Victoria University of Wellington Te Herenga Waka. He researches architectural drawing, in the territories between art and architecture practices. Twose has exhibited widely, including contributions to five Venice Architecture Biennales and PQ15, the Prague Quadrennial of Performance Design and Space.

SAMER WANAN

Samer Wanan is pursuing a PhD in Architecture by Design at ESALA, the University of Edinburgh. His research explores the politics of technology, as well as the material and temporal limits of architectural space and its representation within politically charged environments. Samer holds degrees from Birzeit University in Palestine and Newcastle University, UK. He previously worked as a faculty member at Birzeit University.

colophon

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