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About Streets e il tempo
and Time

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and Time

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editoriale
editorial

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KEYWORDS
time; streets; urban morphology; etymology; continuity and transformation

ABSTRACT
The editorial examines the relation between streets and time through five interrelated *Fragments*. *Fragment*#1 focuses on the etymology of rua, highlighting its dual role as place and itinerary. *Fragment*#2 describes streets as wrinkles of time, embodying continuity and change. *Fragment*#3 explores both cyclical and linear time perspectives. *Fragment*#4 looks at streets through the lens of urban morphology. *Fragment*#5 reflects on editorial choices for this issue, emphasizing diverse perceptions of time and space.

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On the Time of Streets

Our memory is a collection of fragmented moments, not all of them aligned in a continuous timeline and with multiple interrelations that create a complex network of knowledge, both real and fictional. The opening text of this special issue is also a collection of fragments, interrelated and interchangeable reflections: four fragments on the Time of Streets, to which adds up one final fragment that reveals the order that was chosen to organize the articles, one of the possible combinations for the collection that composes this special issue of *in_bo*, "About Streets and Time."

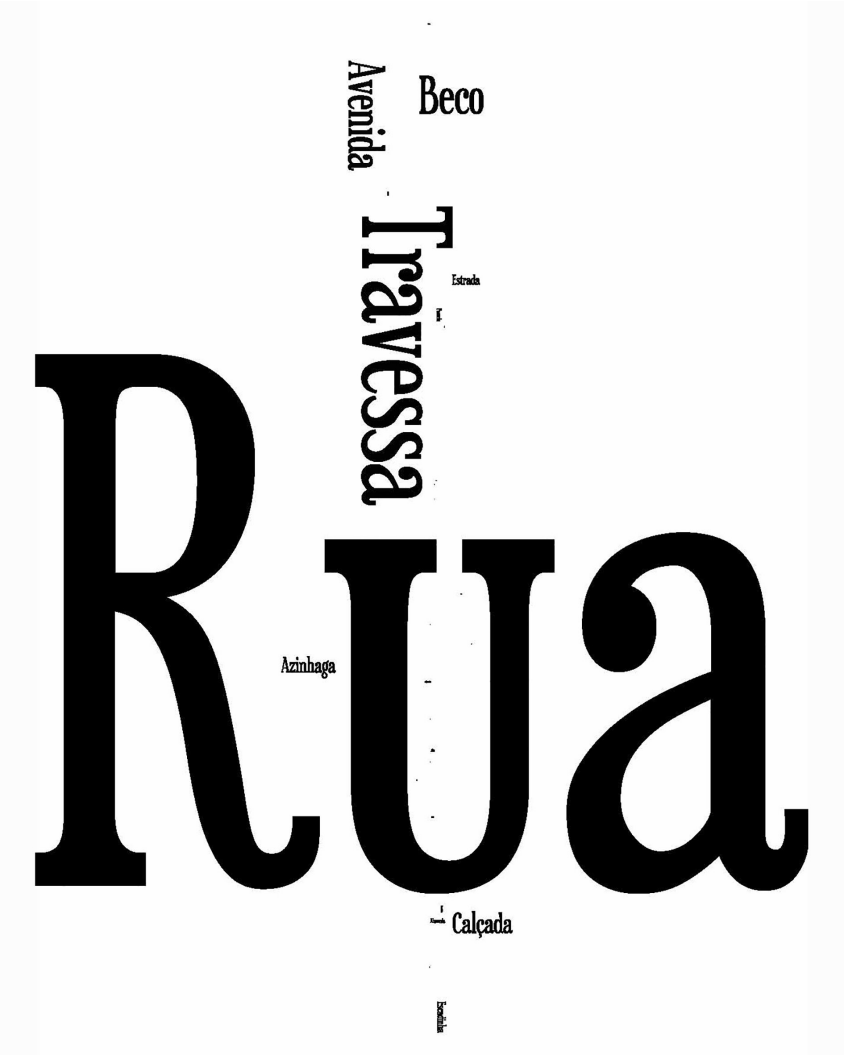
Fragment #1: On the etymology of the word *rua*, for a definition of street

Oriol Bohigas has recalled the atemporal interest of Joseph Rykwert on the etymology of the words that refer to street spaces in the European city. In "La Strada/The Street,"[1] similarly to "The Street: The Use of its History,"[2] these words are classified in two main families, each one based in a different root, that consequently refer to two different deep meanings associated to the spatial understanding of street-like spaces.

On one hand, the English *street*, the German *Strasse*, the Dutch *straat*, or the Italian *strada* all share the same *str-* root common to the Latin *strata*, used for *via strata* with the meaning of paved road. *Sternere* means to lay down, to spread out, to pave, thus conferring to these words a profound meaning related to the definition of an artificial surface to support public life, the physical, material qualities of the space, i.e the construction of a place.

In a complementary understanding, Rykwert finds the origin of the French *rue*, the English *road*, and the Portuguese *rua* in the Anglo-Saxon term *ride*, associated to the movement from one place to another, an itinerary. Therefore, this suggestive understanding and classification of the words that refer to street-like spaces establish two poles in the definition of a street as a place and/or as an itinerary.

Nevertheless, we can search deeper the origin of the Portuguese word for street, *rua*. Raphael Bluteau, in what is considered the first Portuguese language dictionary, wrote that *rua* has a direct origin in the French *rue*, derived from the Greek *ruo* with the same meaning of the Latin *fluo* or the Portuguese *corro*. Bluteau explains that this was due to the fact that the rainwater and also the water from fountains that is spilled on the streets run through the streets, like the people that run around on their errands on the streets. Furthermore, he writes that according to some etymologists, *rua* in Latin was named *ruga*, a word that also means wrinkle, because the streets in a city have the same effect of the wrinkles on a person's forehead, dividing the space between the houses.



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Therefore, we might consider that the Portuguese word *rua* congregates the idea of movement and the idea of a physical linear spatial element which are usually attributed to distinct words. *Lato sensu*, etymologically, we could almost claim that any street like space is a *rua*, a wrinkle, a groove formed by the repeated motion of people in time.

Public space is made up of several elements, nevertheless, in most cultures, the street is its predominant element, the one that is most recurrent in the composition of the city's urban layout, the one that defines most of the city's common urban tissue and which, however, also configures structuring elements of the city form and the city image recognition.[3] Therefore, distinct spaces can be integrated into this category of space, the morphological richness being translated into the variety of toponymic designations that can be found. This diversity is, of course, dependent on the culture and context it is integrated in, as Phillipe Panerai and David Mangin remind us in the final chapter – "Lexique" – of *Project urbain*.[4]

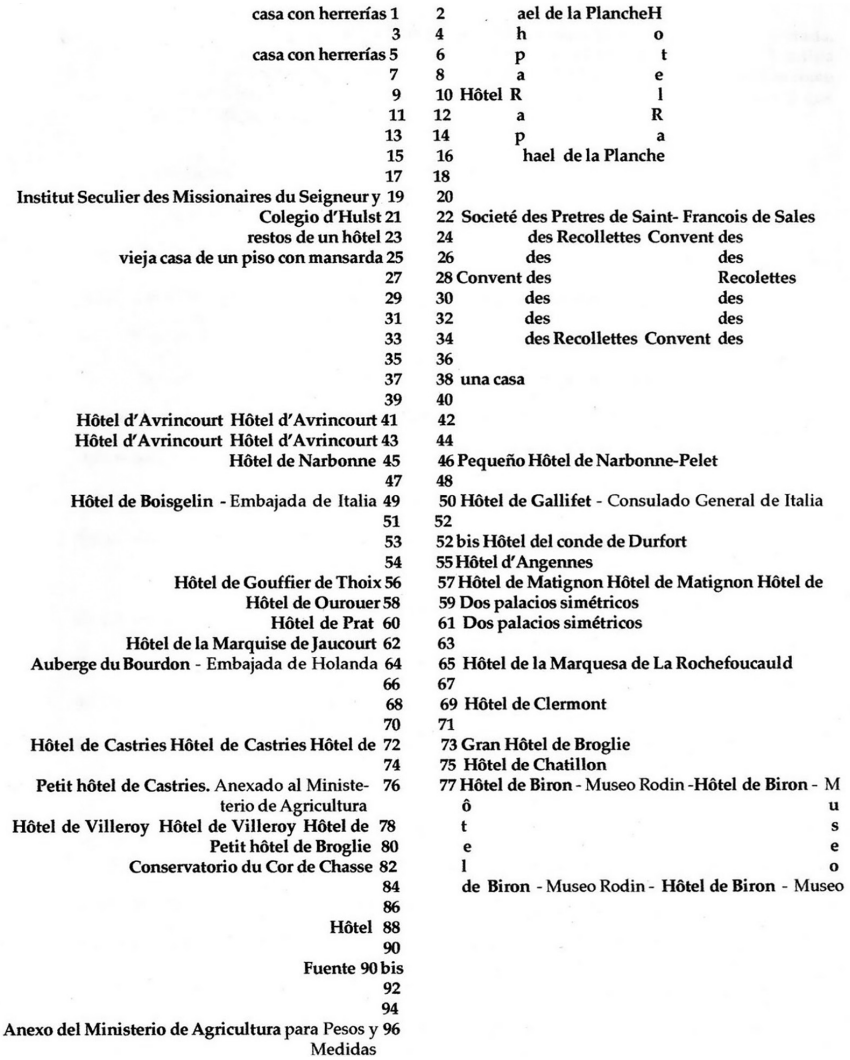
Different languages and even different cities will have specific toponymical designations to refer to street-like spaces. If we focus on a single city, for example Lisbon, we will find twenty-seven different toponymical designations, such as *avenida*, *alameda*, *rua*, *travessa*, *calçada*, *beco*, *vila*, *caracol* or *escadinha*. **Fig. 1**

These refer to specific characteristics of these street-like spaces, whether regarding their form, their function or their position in the landscape.[5]

Nevertheless, all share common characteristics that help us to build a consequent definition of street. We can therefore define street as any element of the city's public space that constitutes a channel or corridor, linear and continuous – thus excluding spaces of an exceptional nature in the urban fabric that deviate from these characteristics, such as squares – and that cumulatively fulfills the functions of passage and building support. In other words, we can understand the street as a morphological element of the city's public space that is linear and continuous, at the same time route and address, itinerary and place.

Fragment #2: On Time and the formation of the Form of streets

In cities which have formed in a long-time duration, it is common to find streets that evoke the idea of a wrinkle which is subjacent to Raphael Bluteau's definition of *rua*. The idea of a line that is created by the repeated movement of people in time. Paradoxically, while the practical reason for the creation and maintenance of a street is to support that fluid human movement, it is its mineral physical form in any given moment in time that is the clearest and the most



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lasting expression of a street. In fact, the representation of a street is usually the representation of its form, and even alternative representations take its form as a base to express the idea of the street. **Fig. 2**

Any image that is taken of a street will fixate that moment in time. That single image is a relatively faithful representation of that moment, it can be a photograph, a plan, a section, or any other representation. Nevertheless, as a space that continuously changes in the course of time, it can be a relatively misleading representation of all other moments of its existence. To be more precise, we can say that it consists in an incomplete representation of the complex and lasting existence of the street.

Sequential images, or even movies, may capture the movement of the street in an extended period, with varied intervals between exposures, in a longer or shorter time frame. Yet, it will always exist a degree of uncertainty in this incomplete register. It is a fragmented perception of a continuous reality that is veiled in most of the time of existence of the space.

To unveil the life of the street in the gaps between the known moments of its evolutionary process confers a special value to these unknown realities. In an operative perspective, it is the decoding of these moments that allows us to explain the continuous life of the street as an urban element with longevity, and to consolidate its historical evolution reading. Creativity plays an important role in decoding and recomposing the formal definition of the gaps of knowledge that exist in the evolution of a street. To be clear on the notion of creation, we must refer to the affirmation of Robert Bresson that "To create is not to deform or invent persons and things. It is to tie new relationships between persons and things which are, and *as they are*."[6] These moments are therefore inferred based on the known form of the street, both precedent and sequent, and on the processes that generate and transform the form of the streets in time. Unveiling preexisting moments therefore resorts to instruments analogous to a design process, and for designers or architects the act of decoding the unknown moments is mostly captivating. It is when reading becomes project.

Fragment #3: On a polyhedric understanding of Time

Redrawing the form of a street in different moments in time becomes a kind of time travel in which we do not only observe but also propose alternative realities – hypothesis – and choose the most adequate to form a narrative of an understanding of reality – a thesis – that explains the present from a linear sequence of events and actions in time. The present becomes an evident consequence of past events,

even if some of them are somehow fabricated deductions inferred from the existent knowledge. As Benedetto Croce wrote, "all history worthy of its name is contemporary history … preoccupation with present problems impels us to do research on past problems."[7]

There are evident similarities with this understanding of looking at time from the present moment, and with the contemporary mindset, with the understanding of time proposed by St. Augustine of Hippo that in his *Confessions*, book XI, chapter XX wrote:

> What now is clear and plain is, that neither things to come nor past are. Nor is it properly said, "there be three times, past, present, and to come": yet perchance it might be properly said, "there be three times; a present of things past, a present of things present, and a present of things future." For these three do exist in some sort, in the soul, but otherwhere do I not see them; present of things past, memory; present of things present, sight; present of things future, expectation.[8]

In the exhibition *os dias estão contados / the days are numbered*, Daniel Blaufuks reveals his concern regarding the passage of time in the continuous sequence of daily compositions in landscape A4 format pages. This "non-diary," as he calls it, is better described by João Pinharada, curator of the exhibition:

> By exposing his memory, his days and the days of the world intersect. (…) Individually or jointly, the diary's pages assert themselves more as successive states of mind vis-à-vis the manifestation of the eternal return of things, of seasons, of places, of facts…[9]

The daily polaroids glued on the A4 landscape pages reveal a cyclical nature of time while exceptional world events testify the passage of a linear, irreversible time.

Linear time is an invention of Man with the purpose of keeping the memory of exceptional events – the birth of a son, the end of a war, the eruption of a volcano, the passage of a comet. Regarding the city and city streets, it allows to register its evolution and transformation, the permanence and rupture in the form and in the life of the city, in the sequential and continuous passage of linear time. Therefore, it has the virtue of allowing the diachronic reading of the spaces we inhabit in the city.

"Let us enter deeper in the thickness" is a sentence attributed to São João da Cruz, repeated as a mantra by one of the characters of the book *Flores*,[10] written by Afonso Cruz, which addresses how to overcome memory loss or how to live beyond it. To enter deeper in the thickness of linear time reveals an entangled cord of time, cyclical, in which the events are dependent of natural rhythms: the earth rotation movement that generates day and night; the earth translation movement that generates seasons; the moon rotation around the earth that generates tides, among others. This acknowledged repetition of events and actions, even in longer cycles, fosters a living memory from the recurrence and allows to make it alive, real, and provides a sense of comfort from the expected, from the apparent control of temporal events.

Regarding the city and city streets, the cyclical nature of time is revealed by recurrent human practices that give them a raison d´être and shape the spatial conditions of streets. After all, a street is a line made by the repeated movement of people, but a street is shaped by far more actions and events than going about from one point to another. In one of Louis Khan's drawings for *City/2 Exhibition, The Street is a Room,* he wrote that "a street is a room by agreement"[11] and this agreement is a dynamic balance in time generated by human interactions aiming at satisfying individual and collective wills and needs. Tensions that arise from distinct individual wills must find an agreement space in streets that resorts to implicit or explicit rules, with respect, generosity and compromise, to organize space and collective practices that extend beyond a common right of way.

The cyclical nature of the recurrent actions and events in the public space such as the placement of fruit stalls or terrace tables, hanging washed clothes to dry, a weekly or monthly street market, a seasonal festival or an annual celebration confer usefulness and social meaning to street space. Sometimes overlapping in space, given to the different periods each one occurs. It is the fact that these events repeat in time that creates the need for shaping the street in a specific way, confirming the street existence as such, and reciprocally in the form of each street society acknowledges a vocation and a common ground for social life to exist. In fact,

> [streets] must be able to maintain their structure and, at the same time, have a sufficiently flexible spirit of space, capable of adapting normally to the changes that time and society ask of them, without ever losing their democratic character that constitutes its essence.[12]

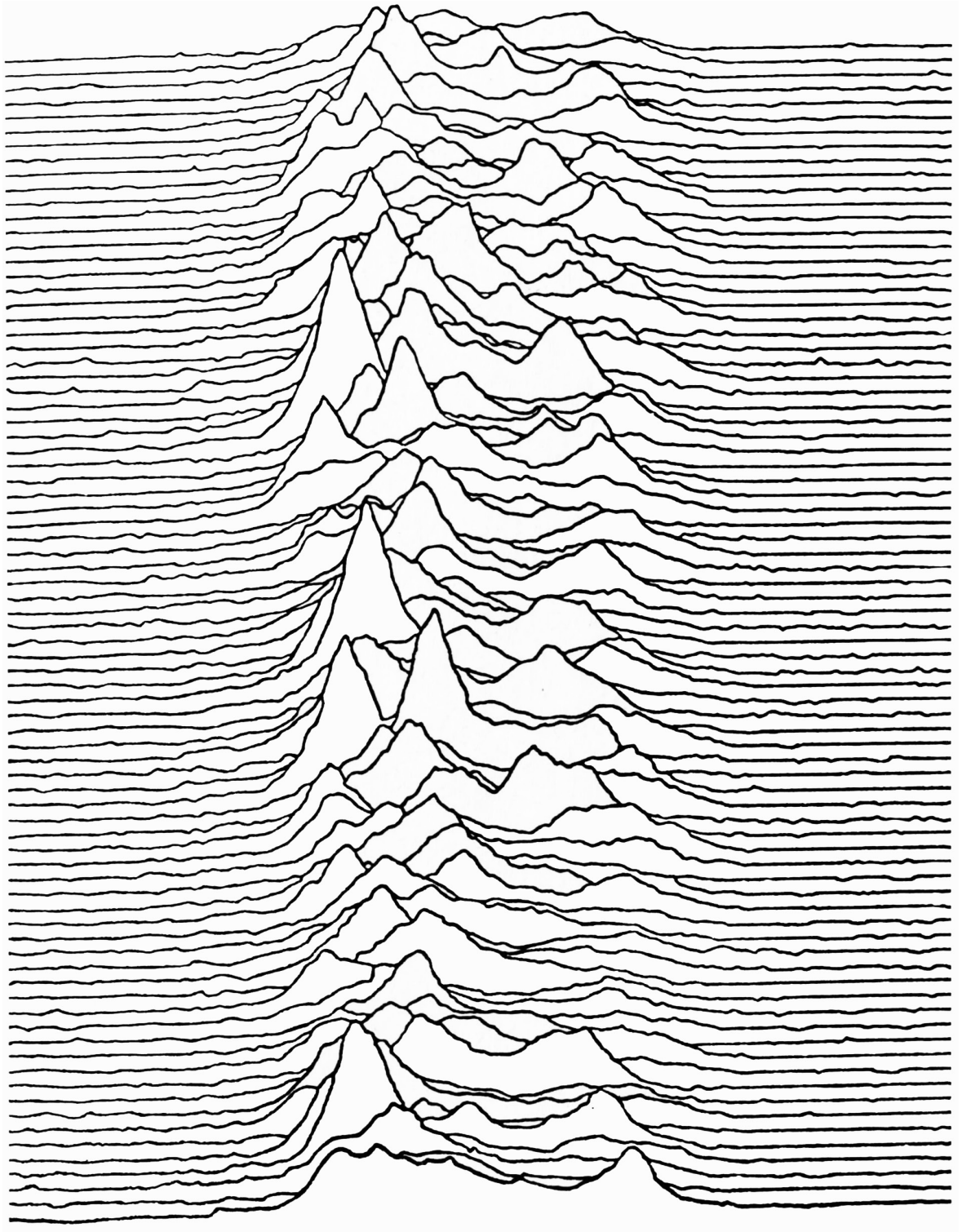
The computer-generated image that Joy Division used on the cover of the album *Unknown Pleasures* somehow echoes this idea that it is the recurrence of a fact that proves its existence. The image is a vertical overlay of the record of successive pulses, spaced 1.337 seconds apart, from the first pulsar ever discovered, CP 1919 – the Cambridge Pulsar at 19 hours 19 minutes right ascension – originally published in Scientific American in January 1971. **Fig. 3**

This pulsar radiation is due to the rapid rotation of a neutron star. In fact, the light radiation emitted by the star is relatively constant, but we only observe it when, during rotation, it heads towards the Earth, and this originates its period.

We can imagine that if the star was static and its light went in another direction, we might never recognize its existence.

George Kubler, in *The Shape of Time*, in the sequence of Henri Focillon's book *Vie des Formes*, addresses the question of "the shapes of time" and affirms that "the time of history is too coarse and brief to be an evenly granular duration such as the physicists suppose for natural time."[13]

In the second chapter, Kubler focuses on how objects compose "formal sequences" and characterizes distinct



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1
Lisbon streets' designations proportion word cloud (Sérgio Proença, 2022).

2
Callegrama de la rue de Varenne (Hannia Gómez, 1994).
[source: http://hanniagomez.blogspot.com/2007/04/callegramas.html]

3
Successive pulses from the first pulsar discovered, CP 1919,
superimposed vertically (Arecibo Observatory, Puerto Rico, USA, 1970–71).

relations among them: "linked solutions;" "open and closed sequences;" "fashions." Underlying these concepts and the very idea of formal sequences is the understanding that answers to problems generate a sequence of solutions, and these answers might exist in continuity or in a more sparse or fragmented existence in time. Ideas that might be important in a moment and vanish only to emerge after a long period, for example. Nevertheless, observing and uncovering the recurrence of problems that are addressed and answered by distinct solutions, allows tracing a genealogy of objects, even if they emerge in discontinuous fragments and not in a continuous line.

The notion of nonlinear time in creating a narrative is present in Christopher Nolan's movies and it is particularly revealing for the understanding of alternative conceptions of time. In *Memento* (2000) besides fragmenting time, the fragments are presented in an inverted timeline, which paradoxically allows revealing the whole plot in the end of the movie, which is the beginning of the action in time. *Dunkirk* (2017) continues to explore the idea of a nonlinear understanding of time and presents the same events experienced by different actors of the action, in fact these perspectives are perceived as distinct timelines that run parallel and intersect at specific moments.

Denis Villeneuve's *Arrival* (2016) extends the possibility of a nonlinear understanding time by proposing a sort of compressed time, a full comprehension of time in every moment of existence. As result, it seems that it renders even more important the focus in the present moment as a way of looking and acting coherently with a complete notion of time.

As Daniel Blaufuks writes on the page of the day 0490: "constellations, not sequences, carries the truth."[14] Therefore, we might transfer Kubler's sequences to constellations, which are variable according to the lens we can use to observe and establish relations. This fact presupposes that regarding ideas, time in fact is not linear nor cyclical, rather more fragmented and variable, allowing a greater freedom in the composition of a consequent argument that may change according to the constellation that is delineated. In each drawn constellation we can condense time in one moment that overlaps all the fragments that are chosen to build time.

Fragment #4: On the Form of Streets

Assuming that it is possible to study the city from its form, both segmentation and decomposition are operations that allow to reduce its complexity for analytical and interpretative purposes. This assumption, while addressing the morphology of Lisbon streets already a decade ago, led to decompose the form of streets in three components: layout; cross-section; and partition.[15]

The street layout is defined as an abstract bidimensional projection of the space of the street in a horizontal plan. The street layout is often misinterpreted as the street vector, and when taken with the remaining streets and public spaces it is understood as the city urban layout. The simplified representation of the street form by the layout abstraction is useful for its interpretation and comparative study, given the fact that nevertheless its complexity is reduced, a significant part of the morphological characteristics remains and can be acknowledged in the street layout.

The reading and interpretation of the layout of different streets allows to extract objective and relative dimensions, therefore quantitative, but also allows a comparative and qualitative morphological interpretation of the streets in question. This fact becomes particularly evident when the shape of the layout is addressed in confrontation and overlapped with urban and territorial layers which are relevant to its own formal definition. **Fig. 4**

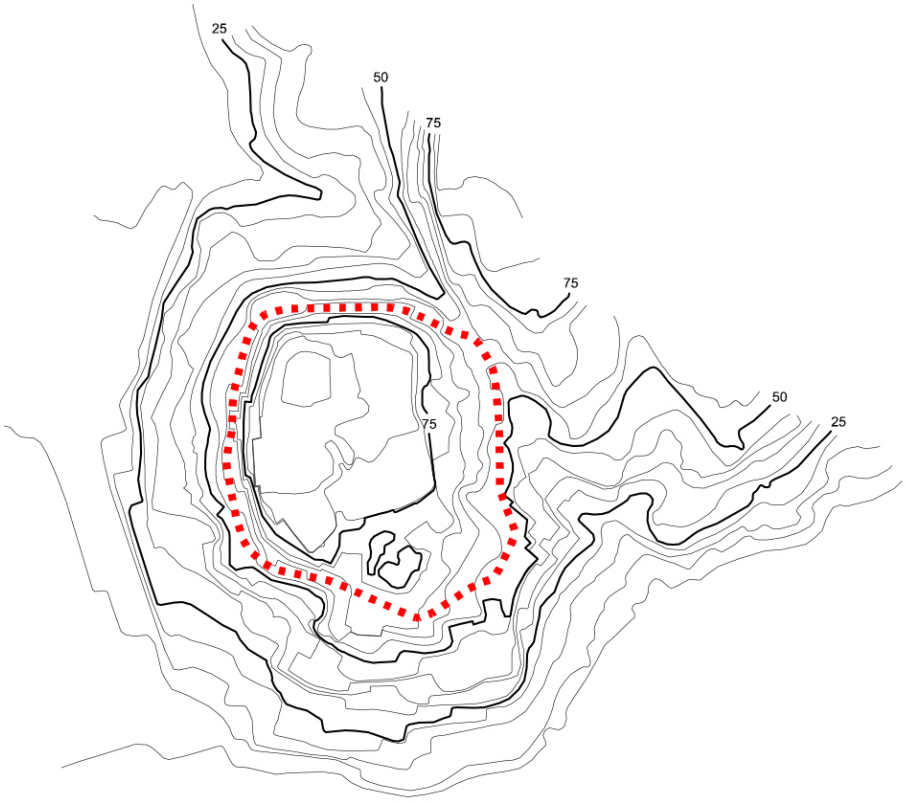
Although the most common orthogonal projection of the form of streets is the plan, the one that is closer to our perception when walking the street is the cross-section. In fact, the width and the height of the street, as well as the formal and material characteristics of its sides, are essential for the definition of the form of the street and the spatial contention of the public space corridor that constitutes the street.

Allan B. Jacobs acknowledges the importance of the vertical dimension in the definition of streets.

> Streets are defined in two ways: vertically, which has to do with height of buildings or walls or trees along a street; and horizontally, which has most to do with the length of and spacing between whatever is doing the defining.[16]

Furthermore, the importance of the street cross-section is also recognised in the fact that the street evolution exists in parallel with the street cross-section progressive complexity. In the video projection *Biografia de la Calle*,[17] the contribution of Llop, Jornet and Pastor to the itinerant exhibition *La rue est à nous... tous!*, illustrates the evolution of the street based on the transformation of its cross-section over time, overlapping cross-sections that become progressively wider and more complex, gaining elements, subdivisions and levels while the marginal buildings are also rendered of greater expression and height.

The third component for the definition of the form of the street, in addition to the layout and the cross-section, corresponds to the spatial configuration of partitions and their formal and functional nature. The diversity of uses that occupy the street space has sometimes led to the configuration of its space with partitions dedicated to a function and the permanent or ephemeral appropriation of these partitions for specific uses. Formally, these distinct parts were designed using different composition elements, the most common being the difference in levels and the use of different materials or textures in the paving. Afforestation, arcades and permanent or ephemeral elements of urban furniture are part of a lexicon of elements that were progressively introduced in the street composition and contribute to the definition of distinct partitions of the space. Nevertheless the increased complexity of elements that compose and define the street partition, the most common partition continues to be a tripartite division



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4
Street layout mimetic adaptation to the topography.
Costa do Castelo, Lisbon (Sérgio Proença, 2014).

5
Costa do Castelo, Lisboa (Sérgio Proença, 2014).

5

between a central roadway for faster movement and pedestrian sidewalks, where access to plots and buildings is provided. Thus, the most common and apparently most ancestral partition of a street space corresponds to the main functions essential to the very definition of what a street is: support of address and movement, a place and a route.[18] **Fig. 5**

The decomposition of the form of the street in layout, cross-section, and partition, allows to acknowledge predominant affinities between the layout and the place that supports it; between the cross-section and the cultural period that frames the creation or reconfiguration of the street; and between the partition and the uses or the role determined for the street by the society in each period. The latter is the most volatile of the three components, but paradoxically the most efficient when the aim is to change the appearance or the functional role of the street investing fewer resources.

Perhaps we can assess the quality of a street, or of any urban building as a matter of fact, by the way in which the form responds with precision to a program determined within the urban organism and relates to the place in which it is established, when it is both rational and relational, typological and topological.[19] Nevertheless, it is in the test of time, in how the form acknowledges and incorporates the action of time, throughout the street formation and transformation process, that a street is infused with cultural depth and contributes for the identity of the city.

Fragment #5: On the organization of the special issue

Organizing a set of elements, in the case the set of these ten reflections, is an exercise of establishing and choosing a criterion to establish a narrative. Having as common ground the street and the time, the different reflections may be read as autonomous articles, each one addressing a specific theme in this broad universe that was established as a common ground for this special issue *about Streets and Time*.

In this case, the distinct reflections are organized according to the duration of the phenomena it is addressed in the street space, from the most ephemeral to the most lasting. The first three articles – "Beirut Street Museum;" "'Regeneration' and Black Atlantic Music in the London Borough of Lewisham;" "Street Imagery in the Work of Team 10: Detecting the Everyday" – framed in distinct historical and geographical contexts, all address the question of temporality and the ephemeral use and

intermittent appropriation of the street space, nevertheless not considering the description of precise rhythms of that transient use of the street.

The second set of articles – "Re-reading, Revaluing Residential Streets: Exploring Neighbourhoods in Beirut's Suburbs;" "Streetscapes as Collective Spaces in Dar es Salaam's Informal Settlements;" "EAT (in) THE CITY. An Adaptive Process of Transformation Applying the Tool of the Food Metaphor;" "Street Rhythms in Dharavi: The Cyclical Flood Adaptation in Coastal Urban Slums" – dealing with case studies in Africa, Asia and Europe, all consist in descriptive approaches of the street space from temporary street appropriations. The varied themes that are addressed, such as food or water, all generate streets' adaptation and shaping made from elements that are established in a perennial or transient way to allow the domestication of the street in cycles with daily or seasonal rhythms.

The final set of articles – "Linking the In-Between: A Strategy for the Integration of Urban Interstices in Lisbon;" "Recombining Lisbon's Streets and Private Spaces in a Three-dimensional Network;" "Streets Love Aqueduct: Águas Livres Aqueduct in Lisbon" – although addressing different themes, share the fact that the backdrop is the city of Lisbon, and in what concerns our criterion all fall into a category that address streets or street systems which have formed in a long-time span.

Acknowledgements

Books do not have spontaneous origin and at the origin of this volume stands the City Street[5] Conference titled "The time of streets: incisions, overlaps and rhythms" hosted at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon in the faraway month of October 2022. The quality of the keynotes by Paola Viganò and João Luís Carrilho da Graça, and the roundtable mediated by Nuno Mateus which gathered Ana Aragão, João Nunes, João Seixas and Lucinda Correia, with the atmosphere that was generated both by the setting and the organizing and supporting team that made it happen was exceptional and framed a series of contributions from the participants that set the grounding for a future publication reflecting on the conference theme.

The making of a book is hardly a single-handed task and this *in_bo*'s volume "About Streets and Time" is not an exception. In the team that made it real, I would especially like to acknowledge: Francesca Dal Cin, for the dedication to the edition and for more than sharing the load, the constant attention and hands on all tasks; Alessia Allegri and Luís Ginja, for the role in the selection and revision of articles, and believing from the first moment in this book existence; Beatriz Gordinho, for the suggestive cover image that reflects the idea behind the book; Luigi Bartolomei, for receiving and embracing this edition project in *in_bo*'s line of publishing; all *in_bo* Editorial Board, and especially the editorial coordination of Federica Fuligni, for the rigor and professionalism placed in the work, but also the patience to cope with the clashes of chronological time with my idiorrhythmic eternally present notion of Time.

[1] Oriol Bohigas, "La Strada/The Street," *Domus* 802 (1998): 4–7.
[2] Joseph Rykwert, "The Street: The Use of its History," in *On Streets*, ed. Stanford Anderson (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1978), 15–27.
[3] Raphael Bluteau, *Vocabulario Portuguez & Latino, Aulico, Anatomico, Architectonico, ...*, Tomo VII (Coimbra: Real Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesus; Lisbon: Oficina de Pascoal da Sylva, 1712–28), 390–91.
[4] Philippe Panerai, and David Mangin, *Projet urbain* (Marseille: Éditions Parenthèses, 1999).
[5] Sérgio Proença, "A Diversidade da Rua na Cidade de Lisboa. Morfologia e Morfogénese" (PhD Diss., Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon School of Architecture, 2014).
[6] Robert Bresson, *Notes sur le cinématographe* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975).
[7] Benedetto Croce, *History as the Story of Liberty* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1941), 19.
[8] St. Augustine of Hippo, *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*, trans. Edward B. Pusey, D.D. (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., and New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1907), 266–67.
[9] João Pinharanda, "The Betrayal of Time," in *Daniel Blaufuks: os dias estão contados / the days are numbered*, visit guide (Lisbon: MAAT Museum of Art, Architecture and Technology, 2024).
[10] Afonso Cruz, *Flores* (Companhia das Letras, 2015).
[11] Louis I. Kahn, *Drawing for City/2 Exhibition: The Street is a Room* (1971). Charcoal, 34 x 34" (86.4 x 86.4 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Louis Kahn.
[12] AA.VV., "Las Calles," in *La U Urbana. El Libro Blanco de las calles de Barcelona* (Barcelona: FAD – Fomento de las Artes y del Diseño, 2009), 308.
[13] George Kubler, *The Shape of Time. Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1962), 32.
[14] Daniel Blaufuks, *os dias estão contados / the days are numbered,* exhibition (Lisbon, MAAT Museum of Art, Architecture and Technology, 17 July – 7 October 2024).
[15] Proença, "A Diversidade da Rua na Cidade de Lisboa."
[16] Allan B. Jacobs, *Great Streets* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1993), 277.
[17] Sebastià Jornet i Forner, Carles Llop i Torné, and Joan Enric Pastor Fernández, *Biografia de la Calle*, videoprojection, Paris, April 2006.
[18] Panerai and Mangin, *Projet urbain*.
[19] When addressing the qualities of João Luís Carrilho da Graça's architecture, Emilio Tuñón hints on a possibility of assessing the value of architecture in an essential way: "... what is truly relevant in the architect's work are the links and transformations that his architectures establish in the city and the territory where they are located. These links and transformations build a new workspace based on the permanent oscillation between the objectual and the relational, between a typological architecture, typical of a process of rational optimization, and a topological architecture, whose meaning is no longer the shape of the objects themselves, but the broad field of relationships that exist between them and the world that surrounds them." Emilio Tuñón, "Por uma Arquitectura Relacional," in *Carrilho da Graça: Lisboa*, by João Luís Carrilho da Graça (Porto: Dafne Editora, 2015), 83.

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KEYWORDS
Beirut; alternative museum; vernacular; psychogeography

ABSTRACT
It all started with the plastic chair, it is often found in Beirut's urban settings without ever really being questioned. Inside the house, it's an object you sit on. On the street, it prohibits parking. Like an unspoken and untaught language, everyone knows that if there's a chair, you can't park. Thinking about this specific urban phenomenon, it was about seeking instances in which the city creates solutions for itself. This collection of informalities formed a popular visual language worth being thought of, challenging the conventional ways we think of our own city. The plastic chair, the wheel, the concrete block, the fruit basket; those are a few ingredients of a creative recipe made of available, low-cost and repurposed materials, patched by a sense of utility. By considering those social occurrences, we attempt to reconsider our own cultural landscape, and by actually looking, we realize they are reflections of our times, struggles and daily obstacles. As urban artifacts, their whole is greater than the sum of their parts. The Beirut Street Museum is a conceptual museum that resists conventional forms of art and dismantles the exclusivity of museology. It operates on the ground, where every city walk becomes a museum walk. Rooted in concepts of the dérive, situationism and deconstructing museology, the BSM speaks the language of the street. It becomes a growing archive of collective evidence: people's marks on the space that surrounds them.

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Beirut Street Museum

“Their story begins on ground level, with footsteps.[1]”

INTRODUCTION: INVISIBLE OBJECTS

It all started with the white plastic chair. The infamous, anonymous, widespread, stackable “monobloc" chair created in the 1940s and widespread for being lightweight, resistant to weather and competitively cheap.

This now-commodity is often found in the urban setting of Beirut without ever really being questioned. Inside the house, the chair is an object you sit on. On the street, it’s used to reserve parking. Like an unspoken and untaught language, everyone knows that if there’s a chair, you can’t park. Approaching this phenomenon from an ethnographic lens, the first part of the exploration collects informal instances in which the city creates solutions for itself. Once the whole is smarter than the sum of its parts, we solidify the investigation. The interest of this study lies in perceiving a popular visual language, generally unseen, as an attempt to defy the conventional ways we look at our own city. The plastic chair, the wheel, the concrete block, the fruit basket, the graffiti on the walls – each used in the context of the

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1
Chair reserving parking (author's photograph, 2019).

2
Beirut Street Museum Artifacts (author's design work, 2019).

2

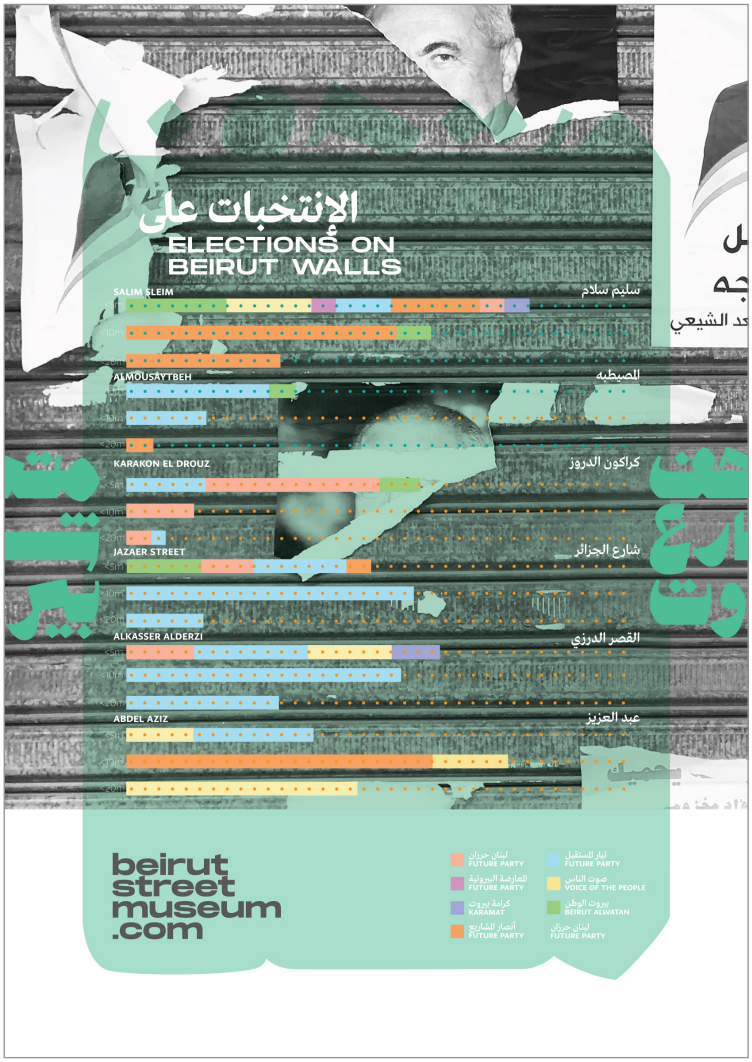
street (outside of their initial scope of function) – those are a few ingredients of a creative recipe made of available, local, low-cost, accessible and repurposed materials, patched by a sense of utility in daily life. **Fig. 1**

With a clear fascination for the urban apparatus and a deep interest in contemporary museology, this project acts as a venture to bridge the two fields. In rethinking the museum institution – what it stands for, advocates, how the experience is designed and scripted – this paper will reflect on the definition and role of such an institutional status. This quest will take interest in how its operation would extend and re-organize itself when the museum is propelled onto the streets.

METHODOLOGY: FOUND OBJECTS

In the context of something so organically-fed, informal and authentic as the street, engaging in a formal structure like the one of a museum acts nearly as an oxymoron. A walk on the street is a completely sensory experience: in instances appealing and in others repelling. Outside factors seem to shape the experience for you. You would choose to cross the road if there is garbage on that sidewalk and walk faster (or slower) if you run into something you're familiar with. All those factors feed into molding the street experience as unscripted and engaging (or more accurately, it shaping itself as so). On the other end of the spectrum, the museum experience is somewhat the opposite: its path is shaped from point A to point Z. The outside interferences are either obsolete or designed within the trail, and the experience is planned in a way that could be recreated by every visitor both repeatedly and identically. When both occurrences are so divergent, the only similarity is that they both happen within the scope of the experience of a space and the absorption of external information. The proposed outcome echoes as a reconciliation of the two sectors.

Moreover, taking interest in urban trivialities, what one might call "found objects," the attention goes from the appreciation of curious banalities to the study of their context; to later on acknowledge their value. This project takes the objects of interest and lets them grow with the study: the sociological manifestations of informal design in the streets. This subsequently reveals habits, customs, peculiarities of people that unfold the hitherto urban realities. The culmination of those creative manifestations become the objects of interest of the Beirut Street Museum (BSM). Moreover, in arguing that they actually shape the local visual culture, they are perceived just as any museum object would be: with time, curiosity and interest. The museum therefore pays attention to them not only to study and analyze them, but also to preserve and protect them



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(ideologically) as all museum institutions act in regards to their artifacts.

The Beirut Street Museum would be special in its lack of operation within a confined architectural space. Instead, it takes the city both as its subject of interest and as its literal locality. The urban space acts as the boundary of the museum and the streets shape its trails. The lack of borders within which to operate introduces a certain spacelessness that sets the stage for a complete "spacefulness:" the capacity to appropriate non-conventional scope and embrace its constraints. This pushes the boundaries of what can be contained in a museum and how one can experience it. The defined spacelessness creates a certain framelessness that concerns the space, the experience and the object itself. This leads the paper to shedding the light on the exclusiveness and authority that happen in the process of "musealization."[2] This initial way of operating would need to be translated into a system as inclusive as the street, while formally referring to a colloquial language and a vernacular visual language. In this scenario, every person walking by could be a visitor, not only an educated elite.

With this aim, the BSM will question and challenge the conventional notions associated with the traditional museum, to reflect and adapt accordingly in relation to what it stands for and inevitably stands against. This forecasts the challenging rethinking of notions of authority, authorship, curation, ownership, public space and speech.

In the following sections, we use an "assemblage-thinking" methodology to approach urban and cultural studies.[3] Through its lens, we address the city as multiplicities as opposed to a final outcome. As opposed to treating it as a stable reality, we acknowledge its heterogeneity, complexity and circumstantiality. This allows us to ensure a non-reductionist approach to include candidates across material literacy, financial worth or aesthetic qualities: "To group these objects according to their formal qualities would iron out their particular contexts and reasons for being."[4] Among the uncountable objects this interdisciplinary study pays attention to, there is the wheel. It is reimagined as a recipient in which someone pours concrete and sticks a pole inside, a scarecrow for parking-seekers. This created structure might need to be chained to the closest electricity pole to avoid its disappearance. Their consideration becomes essential and their context-specificity all too particular. Therefore, we regard those social occurrences as reflections of our struggles, our daily obstacles, and in a way our times. In thinking about a museum that stems from the street, the point of entry has been the idea that there are valuable objects worth looking at, "that seem to

3
Political Posters infographic (author's design work, 2019).

4
Infographics Poster Walking (author's design work, 2019).

4

fail comparative judgement of aesthetic quality"[5] but hold value in their sense of utility, innovation, creativity and purpose in the political context of efficacy.

RESULTS: FROM MUSEUM TO DEFIANT OBJECT

Museum object

The following sections deconstructs the museum institution, its object and its experience with the aim of rethinking how it can therefore be incubated by the street.

The museum finds its roots in primitive forms of exhibitions as early as Renaissance Europe, with a different purpose at the time: exhibiting foreign "exotic" objects. Their mere "foreignness" and "exoticness" made the object eligible to be part of the exhibition. In a way, contemporary museums are not too far from this.

The fundamental roles of the museum gravitate around making culturally significant items accessible to the wider public. This is done in different ways: First, it is done by transferring them from private ownership into the public sphere. Second, it is done by educating the mass into acknowledging their relevance. Lastly, it lies in protecting and archiving this knowledge, in respect to the past and in regards the future. In its very nature, the institution of the museum is an authoritative, top-bottom, finger-pointing instance for a filtered crowd. When offering culture in the form of art, it is displayed in a take-it-or-leave-it approach. Indeed, the mere fact of narrating history makes one wonder about the point of view by which it is told. A big part of what makes the job of a curator inherently political, is the filtering system by which some things are included and therefore some are left out. What started as a mere collector's job a few centuries ago evolved with time, became an interpreter (in relation to history), a researcher (within contemporary work), and currently also entails the safeguarding of the work, its preservation and its exhibition framework. Therefore, in displaying the extracted works in a way that creates associations and new perceptions, the curatorial work treats the artifact as a means to an end. This approach bends the point of view of the artifact, distorting or obliterating its initial context, meaning and/or function. Those are the conditions through which the private collections become public within the traditional museum institution.

If it claims to educate, it already excludes the illiterate, and in that case only preaches the converted. If the conventional museum turns the private into public, it would be of interest to think of the way our museum would translate this phenomenon by dealing with instances that are already part of public speech.[6] Moreover, rethinking the context of the object is necessary, as well as thinking how

it would perform if left in their environment of practice. If the museum doesn't exist as a physical tangible space, it manifests itself through the apparatus of the museum. This is where design and architecture come in, acting like the glue between otherwise floating items.

"The Museum of the Ordinary" is a project that drew out design's situated meaning by transposing the institutional markers of museums to the street. By applying labels, tags, titles to random objects, they elevate them from object to "star-object." This proposal is of tremendous relevance in relation to the BSM for what it advocates and stands for. First of all, it is a very didactic application of combining the notions of the street and the museum. In this shift from the private to the public realm, the museum object is allowed to keep inhabiting its context; this leads us to the second point: it rethinks and diversifies the ways in which a museum can be experienced. Additionally, it deals with the notion of "art" in the public sphere and the one of not dealing with art at all. Last but not least, it challenges how scripted museum walks are and can be. **Fig. 2**

Defiant Object

According to The Museum of the Ordinary, the museum object is classified in the following way: First, the "well-designed object" that works as codes for universal aesthetic that undergirds a model for an international audience. The relevance of such selected works comes in the scope of reforming and taste-making. This "edifying" approach succeeds as a self-proclamation as "museum quality."[7] Second, the "common object" that works as some indices of everyday life. They become relevant outside of their epoch as a model for past technologies and modes of everyday life. Some of those artifacts are interesting for other reasons. The thought-process in their making seems very relevant to their circumstances and context, that leads to "creative problem-solving manifestation."[8] The object ordinarily acquires value as soon as there is a shortage in one of those factors: if some time has passed, it speaks in the name of its time, if it's taken out of place, it speaks in the name of its culture and geographical identity.

"Disobedient Objects" is an exhibition revolving around the objects used in the context of social movements and protest. "The protest object" is usually handmade from available items. A few things that catch our attention: first, those objects' purpose and function appear to have shifted from their everyday use to actors in public movements. Those objects are usually made of cheap materials, which "passes as a form of disobedience in its own right, not least in questioning the narrow grounds of 'quality'."[9] Disobedient objects propel the cause forward, by contributing formally

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and ideologically to the narrative. Placing them at the center-stage in a museum refers to the context they creatively provided solutions for, exceptionally making the extraction part of the disobedience the exhibition stands for. It seems important to think of our interaction in regard to those "miniature acts of defiance,"[10] one day they don't have value for their status as an everyday object and another they are valued as art. Duchamp, Hirst, Koons, Lavier and many other artists tackled with critique the place of the readymade and the found object in contemporary art, but material culture was never given too much attention in a design historian's narrative. Those manifestations are an embodiment of transcending their role by resisting their status of commodity-objects. The BSM treats its informalities with the same importance. Their value is in their triviality, it makes room for abundance. Their creativity is in the reshuffling of their function and their rebirth within another context. In this case-study, the museum is not taken to the street, the street is taken to the museum. We can moreover think of how unscripted the experience of those objects was, whether in the household or in manifestation, and how scripted it has become in relation to being exhibited in such a prestigious establishment, alongside such "fine art."

Within the approach of the common object that performs as indices of cultural value before ordering a certain behavior, we choose our objects from the streets of Beirut. Objects that act as regular objects taken out of their initial function and are given, in an almost random process, another task. Therefore, those instances are created in the streets from a need or a drive of spontaneous origin. Through a collection of innumerable singularities, those informal manifestations "have reinforced themselves in a proliferating illegitimacy" that take part in a bigger network of informal practices and within those instances, create a special debate bigger than what they initially directly stood for.[11]

DISCUSSION: RECLAIMED OBJECTS

> "It is in the law of necessity that leads to the construction of these devices, often simple in shape, naïve, and made from materials easily at hand." [12]

In order to reclaim those objects and transpose them from one framework to another, one can think of a walking tour, the conventional way to go from an artifact to another. The fact that it has some common point with the main activity in urban spaces acts in our favor. Usually, a walking tour holds the form of an experience that takes the walker on a path from a defined start onto an end point. It is

6

5
Beirut Street Museum Posters (author's photograph, 2019).

6
Beirut Street Museum Poster Series (author's photograph, 2019).

informative, educational and makes sure to come across a curated selection of works or artifacts that fall under a larger thematic.

In the realm of finding something that is initially stumbled upon instead of the product of something you look for, the redesigned walking tour can't be of scripted nature. Additionally, driven by curiosity in an "unthought-of" experience, it seems fit to challenge the walking tour in the mere fact of walking aimlessly as an act of protest. Psychogeography and the notion of the derive rethink the theories of walking as a critique of urban geography; Debord – that led the "Situationist International" group of thinkers and walkers – defines psychogeography as "an aim to study the precise laws and specific effects of the geographic milieu, consciously planned or not, acting directly on the affective comportment of individuals."[13] Careri amongst "the Stalkers" considered walking as a critical tool.[14] The unconventional notions are extremely relevant as a path to urban curiosity and rethinking the vernacular realm away from curated control. In comparison to the stroll in the city (the usual scenario in which our minor object mechanisms operate and are stumbled upon), it would only be adequate to give extreme importance to the mere act of walking in the city, and to think of the walk as speech and the movement as space shaper: "The act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language."[15]

This research leads us to a wide visual exploration. Those objects, symptoms of their times and result of their contexts are indicators of social frameworks. Three infographics were created as a first way to map out the collected information. The first poster navigates the streets of Beirut while keeping an eye on the wild posters on the street walls. In the context of the Lebanese elections, the presence of the posters indicates the political affiliations according to areas. The second infographics tracks the different chairs of the streets of Beirut, their abundance, material and appropriation of public space are factors to bear in mind. They allude to the socio-economic situation of the concerned area, as well as the quantity of public problems to find informal solutions for. The third poster creates a situationist map that tracks the informal manifestation of a daily walk, coded by category and typology. Those posters act as examples to the contribution the BSM makes both quantitatively and qualitatively. **Figg. 3 | 4 | 5**

There are four spaces of the museum that the BSM poster series recreate. The front desk is replaced by an informational series, the navigation is embodied by an infographics poster series, the collections act as title pages for the different categories of posters: "homemade solutions," "guiding voices," "political conversations,"

"spiritual encounters," "wall exchanges" amongst many other possible collections, and finally the giftshop, that acts as the promotional series, and showcases the objects as if they were sold for their humorous/surreal new-found functions. **Fig. 6**

CONCLUSION: EPHEMERAL OBJECTS

Hence answering the question "How can I bring the museum to the street?" is by no means simple. Let alone if the artifacts it collects are made by the people for the people. This participatory aspect challenges the role of the museum institution, and imagines an open-sourced archive that invites the flaneur to look at their city by noticing things that shouldn't be there, that resist or replace formal authorities and gloriously embody functional "signs of official failure,"[16] by out-designing authorities. Now that we have acknowledged the existence of those-otherwise-invisible-objects, it keeps us wondering about the politics of their removal. This acts as an invitation to ponder about how those informal manifestations come to life, hold together, perform, act within urban realities, collapse, then disappear.

[1] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (California: University of California Press, 1998), 97.
[2] Michael Rock, and Susan Sellers, "The Museum of the Ordinary," *Eye Magazine* 7, no. 28 (1998).
[3] Gilles Deleuze, and Felix Guattari, *Milles plateaux* (Paris: Ed. de Minuit, 1980), 90.
[4] Catherine Flood, and Gavin Grindon, Disobedient objects (London: V & A Publishing, 2014), 24.
[5] Flood and Grindon, *Disobedient objects,* 12.
[6] De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* 81.
[7] Rock and Sellers, "The Museum of the Ordinary," 30–1.
[8] Fátima Finizola, Solange G. Coutinho, and Virgínia P. Cavalcanti, "Vernacular design: A discussion on its concept," in *Design frontiers: territories, concepts, technologies. 8th Conference of the International Committee for Design History and Design Studies*, eds. Priscila Lena Farias, Anna Calvera, Marcos da Costa Braga and Zuleica Schincariol (São Paulo: Blucher, 2014), 483–87.
[9] Flood and Grindon, *Disobedient objects*, 12.
[10] Flood and Grindon, *Disobedient objects*, 95.
[11] De Certeau, "Walking in the city," in *The practice of Everyday Life*, 96.
[12] Finizola, Coutinho and Cavalcanti, "Vernacular design," 483.
[13] Guy Debord, "Theory of the Dérive," in *The Situationists and the City.* ed. Tom McDonough (London: Verso, 2009), 77–85.
[14] Francesco Careri, Steve Piccolo, and Paul Hammond, *Walkscapes: Walking as an Aesthetic Practice* (Barcelona: GG, 2002).
[15] de Certeau, "Walking in the City," 91–130.
[16] Jérôme Denis and David Pontille, "The Multiple Walls of Graffiti Removal. Maintenance and Urban Assemblage in Paris," in *Urban Walls: Political and Cultural Meanings of Vertical Structures and Surfaces,* eds. Andrea Mubi Brighenti and Mattias Kärrholm (London: Routledge, 2018), 215.

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KEYWORDS
regeneration; gentrification; Black Atlantic music; musicological discourse analysis

ABSTRACT
Since 2001, the London Borough of Lewisham has been site of many aggressive "regeneration" schemes, which Lewisham Council justifies with narratives problematising the area and people within it. Three music videos, however, offer alternative perspectives on how air pollution, policing, and "regeneration" impact the existing public life of residents there.
Research conducted in summer 2021 sought to understand how and why Black Atlantic music culture practitioners use particular spaces, and how these uses are impacted by the Council's regeneration. Charles' (2018) musicological discourse analysis (MDA) methods were adapted, which have not yet been applied in the field of urban planning. In-depth interviews and analysis of interviewees' music were contextualised by discourse analysis of a 20-year catalogue of planning and regeneration texts by Lewisham Council and the Greater London Authority. Findings indicated that contrary to Council narratives justifying "regeneration," existing Lewisham residents have a cohesive community borne of communal use of spaces and shared experiences.

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"Regeneration" and Black Atlantic Music in the London Borough of Lewisham

INTRODUCTION

Musicians reflect their locale through sonic and visual aesthetics. In Lewisham, an outer London borough with a rich music history, many creative practitioners of Black Atlantic (alternatively Black British, African-Caribbean, or Afrodiasporic) music culture represent various neighbourhoods as the Council "regenerates" and gentrifies them. In the past 20 years, the Council has initiated and led aggressive "regeneration" schemes entailing estate demolition, new high-rise apartments, transport construction, and efforts to rehabilitate the Borough's image through various "cultural" initiatives to attract private investment and new residents.

Research conducted in summer 2021 sought to understand how and why Black Atlantic music culture practitioners use particular spaces, and how these uses are impacted by the Council's regeneration. Charles' (2018) musicological discourse analysis (MDA) methods were adapted, which have not yet been applied in the field of urban planning. In-depth interviews and analysis of interviewees' music were contextualised by discourse analysis of a 20-year catalogue of planning and regeneration texts by Lewisham Council **Fig. 1** and the Greater London Authority. Findings indicated that contrary to Council narratives justifying "regeneration," existing Lewisham residents have a cohesive community borne of communal use of spaces and shared experiences.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Labelle offers compelling reasons to understand a place through its sound. Sound is legislated, policed, and politicised by government authorities, yet "brings bodies together. It forces us to come out, in lyrical, antagonistic, and beautiful ways, creating connective moments and deepening the sense for both the present and the distant, the real and the mediated."[1] Sound's ubiquitous and "disruptive spatiality" facilitates "opportunities for dynamic sharing – to know the other."[2]

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Sound and noise provide a way of both knowing and merging with the other. "Noise... can be heard not merely as a symptom of symbolic vulnerability or theoretical disorder, but as... the occasional catalyst of dynamic cultural change operative across the urban topos" which morphs over generations.[3] For over a century, musicians from across the African diaspora (as well as other backgrounds) have converged in London to form new kinds of music like lovers rock, grime, and garage.[4]

Rather than segment music by commercial genre, music herein meets Gilroy's description of the Black Atlantic (alternatively, Black British or Afrodiasporic). European governments and companies perpetrating the transatlantic slave trade created trafficking routes between Africa, America, Europe, and the Caribbean, which created a shared history and lineage amongst people forced into slavery and their descendants.[5] Black Atlantic music shares aural features like distinct basslines, "low-frequency drum, polyrhythm, call and response, interactivity, improvisation, and montage in communication."[6] Musicians sample and remix, as well as "criticize and comment on each other's work, or extend a narrative."[7] The content of Black Atlantic music is explicitly political:

> The struggles for civil rights, black power, racial equality or freedom from police harassment...generate demands which cannot be contained within the structures of the contemporary British political system as it stands... Distinct and explicit anti-capitalist themes, some utopian, some pragmatic and immediate, recur repeatedly... and provide a source of affinity with black cultures elsewhere.[8]

For these reasons, within each generation of the past century, Black music spurred "moral panic" of the white establishment.[9] Given the role Black Atlantic music has played in this consciousness and resisting oppressive and racist social frameworks, the British state and media have consistently censored, surveilled, criminalised, and repressed Black Atlantic music expression.[10] The Metropolitan Police repressed grime and drill through surveillance and administrative operations like Form 696, which was only put out of use in 2017: "Black cultural life is patrolled by hunting down artists who speak their minds or sound their rhymes as courageous truth-tellers about their life in a socially and racially unequal Britain."[11]

LEWISHAM

Lewisham, in southeast London, is the capital's third-largest borough (13.4 square miles) and home to over 300,000 residents. Its northern border is formed by the River Thames and has an industrial and maritime history stretching back

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hundreds of years. The borough has several major town centres including Lewisham, Deptford, New Cross, Catford, and Brockley. The latter three are depicted in the music videos.

Anim-Addo found evidence of Black residents in Lewisham going back to the 17th century. By the mid-1800s many Black residents had been born there. An established "Black presence" was further cemented after World War 2, when the British government opened its borders to British subjects to rebuild the country. Immigrants from the Caribbean and West Africa settled in southeast London because of its cheaper rent (albeit due to substandard housing and poor transport connections).[12] Today, Lewisham has one of the UK's highest concentrations of African-Caribbean residents. In 2020, 48.3% of the population was "BAME," a term the British government uses to racialise people as "Black, Asian and Minority Ethnicities." About 25% of Lewisham residents are racialised as Black African, Black Caribbean, or a mix of these with other racialised groups.[13]

The local authority, entrepreneurs, landlords, the white supremacist group National Front, Metropolitan Police, and white Lewisham residents actively created an environment of everyday, systematic racism for Lewisham's Black residents. This took form in extortionate rents, denying access to music venues, arson, murder, and excessive force. The Metropolitan Police and private venue owners repressed Black musical expression, yet Black residents formed their own networks, businesses, and organisations, such as self-build housing schemes and parties in private homes. The Metropolitan Police maintain an outsized presence in Lewisham. In the late 1990s Chiesmans, an important department store, was demolished for construction of the largest police station in Europe, and the Metropolitan Police conduct a number of covert operations and pilot schemes in the Borough.[14]

A variety of different music styles comprise the local culture in Lewisham, including punk, reggae, and jazz. Many of the 21 interviewees, regardless of their heritage, pointed to the outsize influence of Jamaican culture on their everyday life and creative development. Sound systems with enduring lineages, such as Saxon and Shaka, were founded in Lewisham in the 1970s and 1980s. Youth clubs, like the Lewisham Way Centre and Moonshot Centre, as sources of education and empowerment for young Black Lewisham residents. These centres had their own sound systems on which young people could learn to operate and assemble the equipment, DJ, and MC (the Council, however, has closed all but five of its youth centres).[15]

In the past two decades, Lewisham Council has used the idea of "culture" to promote regeneration schemes that focus on the built environments. In 2001, Lewisham Council hired the consultant Charles Landry to write

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"Creative Lewisham," a report that repurposed Richard Florida's "creative class" ideas to suggest how Lewisham could "regenerate" itself.[16] For the next 20 years, a variety of the Borough's planning and regeneration texts discussed how attracting private investment, new businesses, and new residents may be achieved through culture-centric urban regeneration. In recent years, lifestyle and property blogs have credited Lewisham's improved reputation from 2013, when the Institute for Economics and Peace named it the "least peaceful" place in the UK, yet its overall negative reputation persists.

Council, developer, and consultant texts dating back to 2001 leverage these negative depictions and representation of Lewisham as justification for regeneration and introducing "culture." The Council refrains from condemning its own residents but points to negative outside perceptions, mostly relating to crime and safety, that likely discourage outside investors and would-be residents from settling in the area. The 2002 Cultural Strategy, for example, noted

> a tension between Lewisham's emergence as a recognised centre of cultural provision and a place where people choose to live. Lewisham...has not been generally perceived as being culturally exciting. While it suffers from all the problems associated with the inner city...there is still much to celebrate.[17]

METHOD: MUSICOLOGICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND INTERVIEWS

Over summer 2021, I conducted 18 in-depth interviews with 21 people either from, currently residing in, or with otherwise close ties to the London Borough of Lewisham. Most took place in Lewisham's public realm or small businesses. Three were conducted on the move as interviewees walked me through their neighbourhoods. I asked about the places important to musical development and how this has changed over time, as careers progress or in response to changes in the built environment. Their commentary was contextualised with a review of Lewisham's planning and cultural policy between 2001–2021, which enabled me to parallel interviewees' descriptions of Lewisham to the Borough's planning policies.

Charles developed musicological discourse analysis (MDA) as a framework for analysing music of the African diaspora. MDA rejects commercial genres and the individual focus on composers and performers in Eurocentric music analysis methods. MDA accounts for the "specific place, time, historical, social, political, and technological context" in

which music is created.[18] Sonic landscapes are organised using the acronym PPICS: "Public (e.g., the street, inner city), Private (e.g., homes and domestic spaces), Informal Community (e.g., youth centers, churches, school playgrounds, raves) and Semi-public spaces (e.g., the top of tower blocks, precincts)." The sounds heard in one's surroundings are translated into music, pointing to how grime musicians used "peculiar sound combinations (and soundscapes) are found in the hidden PPICS spaces of densely populated inner cities."[19]

The three interviewees' music videos were predominantly filmed in public spaces and address what it is like living in New Cross, Brockley, and in Catford near the South Circular road. These include Kayowa's "Based" (2021),[20] Koder's "Why you in the Endz?" (2018),[21] and Love Ssega's "Our World (Fight for Air)" (2021).[22] **Figg. 2-3**

Kayowa started making music as a child through extracurricular and church programmes and is now an independent artist. "Based" was produced by Regan Jordine and filmed by Jaffar Aly, and has a lo-fi beat, R&B harmonised vocals and production elements that warp sound as the camera follows Kayowa on a bus and walking through the neighbourhood to an off-license and friend's house. Her lyrics comment on issues like new high-rise towers, air quality, and homelessness in a familiar place.

Ssega began making music in university but credited Lewisham's multiculturalism as a creative influence. "Our World" sounds like alternative/electronic pop with a stark, driving beat dominated by Ssega's powerful call to improve the air quality surrounding the South Circular (a large arterial road trafficked by heavy trucks and lorries), which disproportionately harms Black people. In 2013, the Southwark Coroner's Court found that air pollution was a significant cause of death for nine- year-old Lewisham resident Ella Adoo-Kissi-Debrah, who lived 25 metres from the South Circular. In "Our World," footage of vehicular traffic through the South Circular is juxtaposed with people moving through the local neighbourhoods it cuts through.

Koder started making music as a child and was influenced by relatives in hip hop groups and sound systems. He founded Undeniable Records, which has a studio in Brockley. "Why You in the Endz" is a grime track that forcefully challenges narratives surrounding crime and unemployment in Brockley. It depicts policing and criminalisation of Brockley's young people concurrent to its gentrification. **Fig. 4**

DEPICTIONS OF LEWISHAM: EXTERNAL THREATS TO COHESION

Whereas Lewisham Council texts point to "culture" as a way to regenerate the area, implicitly problematizing people already there, the music videos depict a cohesive community threatened by outsiders like developers, the Council, and police whose actions are violent, patronising, and disconnected from the realities of existing residents. The music videos sound and look distinctly different from each other but share certain qualities. Whereas Lewisham Council's planning texts, which stress attracting outside investment and new residents as crucial to its "regeneration," the songs focus on who is already in Lewisham, what they are doing, and how they are negatively impacted by regeneration.

The videos situate themselves through identifiers like postcodes, road signs, Lewisham's municipal logo, murals along pavements that say "Brockley" in Koder's video, and landmarks like the Catford cat in Ssega's. Although videos include scenes in homes, they are mostly shot in public spaces like local businesses, parks, estates, buses, and the street as Lewisham residents go about their everyday lives. In contrast to the Council's regeneration and planning texts, which problematise the built environment, the lyrics and visuals cover themes like inequality, gentrification, policing, air quality, and homelessness. The videos presented an overarching narrative about cohesive networks threatened by external actors like the Metropolitan Police, Council, and new residents. First, facets of the local cohesiveness will be explored before turning to how it is threatened by regeneration and gentrification.

COHESION

Music videos were filmed in places frequented by the artists, like Caribbean takeaways, off-licenses, and barbers and show close, intimate shots of residents' faces. Kayowa and Koder both use slang created by young Black British people, another indicator of cohesion. Kayowa opens "Based" with

> SE14, the ends I be repping,
> so you best keep it steppin
> or I'll teach you a lesson...
> Where my bad B's from the south side, where you at?

Kayowa's video has a homemade, DIY aesthetic, which reinforces the easy familiarity with New Cross she expresses:

> When I'm in the offie [off-licence shop] after picking up a bag
> I pop up to the road and see what's happening
> in the south side, where I'm based, where I'm at.

It films spring flowers in bloom and Kayowa singing on a bus stop bench and a friend's balcony. In Ssega's video, over footage of Lewisham residents working, exercising in leisure centres, and rollerblading in parks, he obliquely addresses negative perceptions about Lewisham that discount the importance of the place to the people already there and feed into apathy about the air quality. This cohesion is despite-or perhaps because of- Lewisham's negative external reputation. In the opening verse he sings,

> Welcome to our world, this is the place, the South London voiceless speak
> 'Cause I can't see them past the non-existent headline.

In the third verse, he sings,

1
A mix of old and new housing in Lewisham, taken from the balcony of a Council flat in a new building with privately rented and Council flats (author's own, 2021).

2
Image taken from a fragment of the video "Our World (Fight for Air)" by the Author Love Ssega, present on YouTube (author's edition, 2021).

3
Image taken from a fragment of the video "Based" by the Author Kayowa, present on YouTube (author's edition, 2021).

4
Image taken from a fragment of the video "Why you in the Endz?" by the Author Koder, present on YouTube (author's Edition, 2021).

> Welcome to our world, South Circular is more than a thoroughfare
> But people work and live, breathe and reside here...
> We don't need hyperbole or distractions
> Give us the facts, we don't want the factions
> We have the people, we have the stories
> Show us the pictures, not allegories
> More than just posters on the street
> This is where we live, die and eat
> So if you wanna break bread with me then
> Come and take a seat.

Similar to Ssega's video, which is interspersed with portrait-style shots of residents, Koder's video films him and his friends up-close in familiar surroundings, like on the steps and roof of an estate. Yet he also acknowledges outsiders' gaze and scrutiny. In his video, a news anchor reports from Brockley with the satirical headline "ECLIPTIC URBAN STAR – GRIME STAR: WHY YOU IN THE ENDZ?"

INEQUALITY, POLICING, AND VIOLENCE

Koder, Kayowa, and Ssega all address various forms of inequality. The main theme of Ssega's track is the dangerous air pollution around the South Circular, but Kayowa also has a line about it: "Air polluted lungs, you get for free." Ssega distinguishes that although the air quality disproportionately impacts working class and Black residents, it still threatens the "well to do." Kayowa also notes inequality by commenting on the rate of homelessness, and juxtaposing "Concrete buildings tower over me, palaces and kingdoms in your dreams."

Government texts talk about culture as a way to raise residents' ambition.[23] This narrative about a lack of self-esteem or ambition strongly contrasted with interviewees' commentary. They did not lack drive but resources lost to government disinvestment, such as youth clubs (where many young Lewisham residents had their first musical experiences). Koder describes the systemic nature of poverty, and how hard people work to get out of it despite "gentrification raising the rent price:"

> Why you in the endz, can't you see that man just tryna make both ends meet
> Everyday doors get kicked off, sirens wake me up out of my sleep
> JSA [Job seeker's allowance] tryna make man come in every single day of that week
> Back when I had no p's [pounds], had those dreams, whip that government cheese

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Koder alludes to both social cleansing and cultural appropriation in the rapid-fire closing lines of "Why you in the endz," and calls for his friends and neighbours to claim public space (this is not just artistic posturing-Koder put on a free show at Hilly Fields in summer 2021):

> Gentrification, Caribbean shops get closed, nice eggs benedict and bacon
> A man feels alien, community fadin',
> Shops play soul when the soul's been takin
> Please, time to set up speakers on the streets
> We're undeniable so we don't ever take the feet [he pantomimes running away]

Lewisham's existing ecosystem is threatened by various agents of gentrification, such as the Metropolitan Police, the council, developers, and new residents. Interviewees differentiated areas gentrified or not gentrified in their areas at the hyper-local scale. For example, Kieron Morris, who runs youth record label Rezon8, said he films his artists' freestyles in a tunnel under a footbridge separating two pieces of public space outside Deptford Station. Of the side closer to the station (over which looms a new apartment building widely disliked), he said, "When I walk through [Deptford Market Square], I'm like, why is this here? None of these shops are directed towards anyone in this area. None of them, not one. But I like that tunnel because it's between the gentrified part of Deptford... it's right in the middle." The square on the opposite side of the tunnel is frequented by long-term residents, who play music and socialise in warmer weather.

Kayowa and Koder's music videos both include skyline shots of London, which both situate them within the city yet separate their everyday experiences from the capital's iconic towers. Outsiders are shown from a further distance away. In Koder's video, from across the street, the camera pans over new cafes patronised by mostly white, middle-class residents outside Brockley Overground station. I met several interviewees at this station who all suggested we conduct the interview elsewhere.

In Ssega's music video, vehicles are portrayed as a nuisance, particularly the heavy trucks on long haul routes elsewhere. Although most of the video feels familiar, friendly, and intimate, it is interspersed with the heavy polluting vehicles driving through the area amongst schoolchildren. When Ssega is singing on a traffic island, passing trucks obscure the view of him.

A recurring theme in many interviews was that new residents were scared of or hostile to long-settled residents, yet felt entitled to the place. Interviewees discussed gentrification

as a violence akin to colonisation and war. Koder said, "There's a battle where we're walking down the road and people are looking at you like you shouldn't be here. And you're thinking, 'this is my ends though.'"
In Koder's video, friends hang out on the steps and rooftop of an estate and he asks,

> Why you in the endz tryna make the mandem beef
> Why you in the endz tryna shepherd, we ain't sheep
> Why you in the endz, never show up when there's grief
> Why you in the endz, we don't need no more police
> Why you in the endz, tryna tap into devices
> Why you in the endz I can see you're so divisive
> Why you in the endz, I aint running from no sirens
> Gave us all the guns then try and blame us for the violence.

Whereas many interviewees discussed Lewisham's external reputation as being unsafe (its crime rates are similar to the rest of London), Koder depicted the police as his neighbourhood's main source of violence and divisiveness. For many male interviewees, the Metropolitan Police were the most direct manifestation of this violence and an omnipresent threat. Within and beyond the study years of 2001–2021, the Metropolitan Police have led a number of operations and initiatives that by their own accounts disproportionately target Black people.[24] In an interview, Koder described what it was like being a young Black man in Brockley in the early 2000s, and that the constant threat of stops and searches (sometimes multiple in one day) "just makes you want to stay in your house." Koder's video mostly explicitly addresses the relationship of policing to the gentrification of Lewisham. The video depicts a cop, his face concealed behind a white mask, removing a fork from Koder's pocket and replacing it with a butterknife while he is handcuffed facedown on the street. He addresses this duplicity with the lines:

> Why you in the endz tryna disrespect the ting
> Tryna bring my war to my queens and my kings
> Why you in the endz tryna wash away your sins
> Nickin us for drugs when it's you who brought them in.

CONCLUSION

Kayowa, Ssega, and Koder critique oppressive capitalist and racist processes impacting their lives and surroundings in Lewisham. Their videos offer insight into how locals perceive their neighbourhoods in the face of state-led policing and gentrification. Although they have different styles, they depict New Cross, Catford, and Brockley as cohesive at least partly because of shared experiences and spaces like parks, estates, and local businesses. As opposed to Council regeneration plans, which propose real estate and transport interventions to improve the built environment, attract new residents and more outside private investment, these videos depict air pollution, the Metropolitan Police, and gluts of private new unaffordable housing as threatening and dividing the local community.

Artistic representations of place are valuable in the context of aggressive regeneration and policing, which are often initiated and justified by state and developer discourses that demonise an area and criminalise its inhabitants. Perhaps the starkest divide between the music and planning texts' representations is the focus on people versus place. Kayowa, Koder, and Ssega frame their experience in Lewisham through the people there and what they are doing, whereas Council texts prioriotise space, its appearance, and capitalist activities occurring within it. This lack of specificity about future users of space perhaps makes it easier to obscure if the existing population is displaced.
The biggest "regeneration" schemes in Lewisham are large mixed-use developments catering to young professionals. Despite the Council's own assessments that existing Lewisham families need affordable 3 and 4-bedroom homes, most of the new buildings are studios, 1 and 2-bedrooms.[25] This private housebuilding and regeneration mechanisms are wealth-extracting. Rental and sale profits will be diverted out of Lewisham to the private consortiums financing them. Koder and Ssega both allude to this draining, extracting nature of gentrification. Ssega sings:

> You can fight and conquer, grow up here
> But oil prices are your fear
> 'Cause black gold is not the people, it's your mineral extraction
> We don't need hyperbole or distractions.

Similarly, Koder asks:

> Why you in the ends tryna take away the gold
> Why you in the ends tryna take away the souls.

MDA offers a multidisciplinary framework to interpret music made by people from a particular area, better understanding their heritage, creative practices, and surroundings. Musicians provide alternative insights beyond official narratives by conveying the features and experiences comprising their everyday lives, and how they are impacted by practices associated with state-led capitalist, neoliberal "regeneration" strategies, such as rebranding, policing, and private real estate development.

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[7] Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 209.
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[9] Hilary Moore, *Inside British Jazz: Crossing Borders of Race, Nation, and Class* (London: Routledge, 2007).
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KEYWORDS
collective imaginary; everyday; neighbourhood; thinking tools; in-between

ABSTRACT
The paper presents an initial investigation of the different roles played by images of human beings inhabiting the street in the iconographic work of Alison and Peter Smithson, Aldo van Eyck and Herman Hertzberger.
At first, it analyses these documents on the basis of a shift of focus from the built objects to the relations of these latter with their users. The street is thus recognized not only as a space relegated to circulation but as an actual living place shaped by communities' *association* and *reidentification* processes.
After that, this street imagery is analyzed in its multifaceted roles. The images are thus regarded as innovative tools to detect the everyday life of neighbourhood communities, as artifacts capable of conveying timeless portraits of spontaneous ways of inhabiting the urban space, and as powerful rhetorical devices in a broader context, notably in the post-war reconstruction.
Within contemporary architectural discourse and practice, the street still plays a central role in answering human psychological and emotional needs of association and identity and as a stage of political and cultural struggles. Therefore, the paper aims to problematize the different meanings that its multiple representations assumed in the post-war period, in turn, to reinforce collective memory, convey a particular reassuring image of community, document actual uses of public space, or justify urban design interventions.

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Street Imagery in the Work of Team 10: Detecting the Everyday

THE EMBLEMATIC CASES OF ALISON AND PETER SMITHSON, ALDO VAN EYCK AND HERMAN HERTZBERGER

The following paper observes and discusses the public space, particularly the one of the street, through the perspective of the photographs accompanying the work of the architects Alison and Peter Smithson, Aldo van Eyck, and Herman Hertzberger. The aim is to assess the role of photographic surveys and *thinking tools* including pictures, as innovative and experimental methods to investigate the public space and as part of a design process. Moreover, the present study wants to initiate a discussion about the legacy and ex-post genealogy of these (photo)graphic experimentations, unearthing their presence and influence within contemporary practices for grasping public life in the urban environment.

The two British architects Alison and Peter Smithson and the Dutch one Aldo van Eyck were among the core participants of Team 10, a group of architects and intellectuals officially created in 1954 to prepare the 10th CIAM, but actually emerged during an almost ten-year process of simultaneous continuity, renovation, and rupture from the positions of pre-war CIAMs. This transition from CIAM to Team 10 marked, first of all, a metamorphosis in the architectural discourse of post-war years, induced by the need to address new urgent themes, concerning the symbolic and psychological aspects of communities, the study of patterns of human association and everyday life.

The study focuses mainly on the above-mentioned architects because of their leading roles within Team 10 and their representativeness of the two more active British and Dutch groups of post-war years CIAMs. Moreover, the paper examines the figure of Herman Hertzberger as an emblematic mediator between the founders of Team 10 and the successive generation of architects. In fact, the

final aim of the study is to sketch a possible trajectory of the portrayed methodologies and approaches to explore their legacy within contemporary design practices.

Both in the cases of Alison and Peter Smithson and Aldo van Eyck, the paper will devote a particular place to their use of photographic images inserted in the CIAM Grids they presented at the IX Congress in Aix-en-Provence (*Urban Re-Identification Grid*, by the British couple) and at the X Congress in Dubrovnik (*Lost Identity Grid*, by the Dutch architect). Indeed, as occasions explicitly intended to confront different methods to the analysis and understanding of the city, they made it extremely evident how the street photographs both testified their authors' intention to hybridize the architectural and planning discipline with approaches borrowed from the arts and social sciences, and their capacity to challenge the conventional representative and thinking tool that the CIAM grid itself represented.

Moreover, these images of inhabited places gained significant popularity during the post-Second World War period as icons of a new humanistic approach toward urban planning and architecture, focused on the users' and communities' psychological and relational needs of identification and sociability. Notably the ones portraying children playing, also became metaphors for the qualities associated with the spontaneity and creativity of the represented subjects and the identity and mission of the Team 10 group. As allegories of non-dogmatic, informal, and familiar modes of collaboration, they voiced the need and desire for a shared response to the contingent post-war conditions[1] that could overcome the straitjacket of a too-mechanistic functional approach towards the city that ignored the multifaceted aspects and messiness of ordinary people's everyday relations with and within the built space.

Finally, a similar use of images, exhibited in the form of an atlas and collections of references, can be found in Herman Hertzberger's book *Lessons for Students in Architecture*[2]. In 1973, he started teaching at the Technische University of Delft, giving a series of lectures that would be gathered in the volume almost twenty years later. This publication is considered a kind of primer and photographic album both for its contents and layout.

Because of the original occasion of its realization, the pedagogical role that the publication played as a manual conceived both for professionals and the lay public is a significant feature. Hertzberger, in his own words, "the more direct product of Team 10,"[3] synthesized and re-enacted in lesson-form a broad part of the reflections carried on by the group over more than twenty years of activity. In making even more explicit the pedagogical issue (as otherwise stated in the title), he conceived a manual of photographic images from disparate geographical and historical contexts, considered themselves as teachings about architecture and capable of addressing and communicating something to the general public.

WESTERN-EUROPE WELFARE STATE AND THE PIVOTAL ROLE OF THE ARCHITECTS IN SHAPING THE POSTWAR CITY

The paper considers as a frame of reference the post-World War II West European context and the dense tangle of emerging political, social, and cultural issues in whose context the last CIAM Congresses took place. In the specific historical conditions of the physical and emotional trauma of the world conflict and the heyday of the post-war reconstruction, the State's acceptance as the planning authority passed almost without question[4], and the architects played a pivotal role as a component of the Welfare State's mode of governing and as mediators between the State and the citizens in expressing their commitment toward social progress and the most private emotions of the population[5]. In that general optimistic climate fuelled by the economic boom and ameliorating conditions of education and health policies, architects felt the urgency to cope with popular culture, celebrating the dimension and the physical places of common people's everyday lives.

The Smithsons, as well as van Eyck and, lately, Hertzberger, as urban theorists and designers, felt that their principal responsibility was to create an architecture having the "potential to liberate its users."[6] If, on the one hand, Welfare State's policies were improving democratic freedom, allowing more social and spatial mobility, and levelling down middle and upper classes, architecture could promote the existentialist freedom of inhabiting the world as an authentic experience. That meant living the urban space in a reflective, genuine manner, with higher awareness and perceptive recognition of oneself within specific historical conditions.[7]

From a cultural point of view, within the new generation of architects, the 1950s saw the emergence of a wide range of ethnographically and anthropologically inspired approaches to explore and interpret the urban environment. Concerning the field of design research and practice, that new sensibility prompted a shift of focus from the architectural object to the relations between different objects and between objects and human beings.[8] In that new relational perspective, people did not occupy spaces but inhabited places that were not passive but always in a relation of exchange with society. Consequently, the architect's role was to prepare living habitats just to the point at which men and women could "take over."[9]

Those anthropology imbued discourses, within the British context in particular, intertwined with two other cultural phenomena having their roots in prewar years: the rise of an ecological conception of the city, on the heels of the theoretical production of the Scottish biologist, sociologist, and urban planner Patrick Geddes, and the post-war reception of French Existentialism discourse. The latter manifested in two avant-gardist artistic collectives that, due to their geographies and networks of participants, are of particular interest for this paper: The Independent Group (1952–55) in England and the Cobra Collective (1948–51) in the Netherlands both focused their attention

on spontaneity, everyday uses, and the expressivist potentialities of the ordinary objects *as found*.[10] Both groups played an essential role in influencing post-war architectural practices, particularly of many leading Team 10's members.

In this context of cultural, social, and political transformations and ferment, the process of dissolution of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) and the simultaneous emergence of Team 10 was strictly linked to the group members' capacity to become interprets of those intertwined sensibilities, advocating for an alternative approach to modernist mechanistic ideology that could foster individual and communal forms of identity and agency.[11]

Pointing out that "life falls through the net of functionalism",[12] in the way they were described in the Athens Charter, the group aimed to overcome the rigidities of functionalist thinking, refusing its universalizing approach to both sites and subjects abstracted from the everyday experience of the people.

DISCUSSING THE ROLE OF THE STREET AND ITS IMAGERY[13]

Team 10's focus on the street and its imagery played a significant role in overcoming the Modernist division of the city into predetermined four functions and in promoting the idea of *patterns of human association* shaping people's community life. The group profoundly questioned the concept of the street as an element relegated to mere circulation, analysed and designed as independent from the whole city, and, instead, invited to observe it as a place extremely rich in meanings and uses. Indeed, from a relational perspective, the street constituted a fundamental threshold allowing the first encounter between the individual and the society, and, therefore, the first step of his/her re-identification within the broader community. Conceived as a veritable in-between, it became a symbol of the rejection of the modernist dualistic interpretation of reality: it embodies the collision of the inside and the outside, and the reconciliation of the single with the plurality, of the private with the public.

The iconographic documents constituting the focus of this initial research work significantly influenced the aesthetic and imagery of post-war reconstruction. Moreover, the use of photographs as tools to grasp the essential qualities of urban life also pushed an operational shift to the scale of detail enforced ny the camera. Contrary to the practice of mapping mostly in use at the period, it seemed to put the observer at the very doorstep of the individual and the community, closing the gap between the inhabitants and the observer as an incoming outside expert.[14]

Before entering the heart of this paper's topic, it seems extremely useful to consider the architectural historian Adrian Forty's discussion about the term user, in his seminal publication *Words and Buildings* (2000). Indeed, as "one of the last terms to appear in the canon of Modernist discourse … [its] origins coincide with the introduction of welfare state programmes in Western European countries after 1945."[15] In that context, the word "user" brought with it a strong connotation of disadvantage and marginalization, essentially referring to subjects not involved during the conception and design of their environments. In the context of the extraordinary role and influence of the architectural profession in the ages of the reconstruction, the use of that concept has been expedient for Modern Democratic Societies and a strategy to satisfy the architects' belief-system to "secure the myth of a Welfare State treating its citizens as of equal social worth and to legitimize the architect's claim to be working for the unprivileged class, while in reality working for the State."[16]

On the contrary, Heram Hertzberger was one of the first architects and intellectuals to describe and insist on a positive connotation of the term, portraying the user as a subject who expresses his agency while *using the space*, that means while appropriating it and interpreting its elements and functions through different inhabiting practices. Continuing a reflection founding its origins in postwar CIAM Congresses and Team 10's meetings, Herman Hertzberger theorized and deepened the concept in that perspective, arguing that the very aim of architecture was to enable users to become *inhabitants*, therefore conceiving spaces that allow as many occasions as possible for creative and personal interpretation of use.[17]

The photographs of people inhabiting the streets collected, (re)framed, and exploited by Alison and Peter Smithson, Aldo van Eyck, and Herman Hertzberger as eloquent and complementary elements of their reflections could profitably be regarded in parallel to that emerging and changing definition(s) of users, as similarly prompting a shift from conventional to alternative modes of engaging in the relationship with the ordinary people, who concretely inhabited the urban space.

A second important aspect to consider is the significant presence, if not predominance, of children as preferred subjects in both the case of the Smithsons and Aldo van Eyck's examined images. Indeed, this choice intentionally contributed to shaping the rhetorical narrative of re-birth, youth, and innocence in a world physically and psychologically devastated by the recent war and at the heyday of its reconstruction. The images of children could convey a message of hope and of a new beginning; they promoted humans in their existential dimension of life, spontaneous creativity, and innocent vitality, having even a cathartic function toward the horrors of the war.[18] Nevertheless, the role of children as a trope for urban photographers was already present in different media and geographies. Not many years before Henderson's photographs of Bethnal Green, the CIAM president Josep Lluís Sert had used images of children to document and denounce the modern city conditions from an anti-urban biomedical gaze that portrayed the city as an unnatural, oppressive environment for children and people's wellbeing in general. [19] As the scholar Roy Kozlovsky highlighted, it is impressive how quickly similar images became part of a dialectically opposed discourse as proof of neighbourhood streets' vitality and sociability potential.[20] Analysing them

and their linked rhetoric makes it possible to retrace the profound evolution of concepts and approaches during the shift from the different generations most directly involved, respectively, in prewar and postwar CIAM Congresses. Indeed, in the images of Aldo van Eyck and the Smithsons, the children were primarily represented as active agents appropriating public space as the very *arena of life*.[21] Portrayed simultaneously as vulnerable and enjoying the peculiar freedom of play, they epitomized the vital quality of urban space as sheltering and intimate yet open to interaction and communication.[22] From that perspective, the street acquired the communal, ceremonial dimension of a place where collective identities are performed, and vitality can be observed as a qualitative criterion for measuring the success of a city. However, in both cases, the child was more an abstraction than a concrete subject: the images were imbued with allegorical meaning and part of deliberate narratives and "what the social reformer claimed as deprivation, the neighbourhood-scale defender regard[ed] as joy."[23]

THE STREET AS THE LOCUS FOR THE CITY'S EXPLORATION

The first street pictures considered in this paper were taken by the British photographer and artist Nigel Henderson in the neighbourhood of Bethnal Green, in London's East End. In the post-war years, Henderson collaborated with his wife and sociologist Judith Stephen to document the material conditions of working-class life in poor London neighbourhoods. Since the Smithsons started collaborating with Henderson as part of the artistic collective Independent Group, his way of documenting, exploring, and reworking the vast array of elements of the urban landscape through photographic techniques profoundly influenced Smithson's way of observing and imagining the city, crucially contributing to the development of an empiricist and existentialist-inspired attitude they opposed to the modernist analytical approach.

As argued by the curator and researcher Victoria Walsh, the images produced during the encounter of the Smithsons with the social and spatial reality of Bethnal Green, as mediated by the Hendersons, embodied two dimensions and modes of photographic practice.[24] On the one hand, they were driven by the intention to build a social documentation of existing and concrete ordinary human practices; on the other hand, the images produced, while revealing irregular patterns of everyday life, constituted an innovative aesthetical exploration of the built environment.

The Smithsons capitalized on those sequences of photographs as part of a discourse in opposition to the one of pre-war CIAM: the portrayed human beings disorderly inhabiting and appropriating those spaces in-between "demonstrated the bond between street, home, and hearth" and signified the vitality, authenticity, and agency of an active community.[25] However, despite the existentialist research of the pure spontaneity of life, behind the raw photographs of ordinary things and scenes of communitarian rituals and incidents, the artist's gaze and willingness to create a particular narrative emerged.[26] While these pictures were undeniably the outcome of a profound and passionate curiosity of their author, and they had the power to involve and touch whoever looks at them, as Henderson himself declares, his personal experience was that of an "affectionate but unfamiliar look" toward the streets of Bethnal Green.[27]

PORTRAYING THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE IN-BETWEEN

The second set of analysed images portrays Aldo van Eyck's Amsterdam playgrounds. This series of photos was published for the first time in the book of Liane Lefaivre and Alexander Tzonis *Aldo van Eyck Humanist Rebel* in 1999. They were part of a photographic project on about thirty playgrounds, all taken from high up and documenting the sites before and after the architect's intervention. Unlike the many large-scale and emotionless projects more often associated with urban interventions during the Second World War reconstruction, Aldo van Eyck's playgrounds revealed a remarkably human vision of postwar urban planning, where the community has a central place. Each playground was a small-scale project made of unconventional, unsophisticated materials completing an urban void left by the war in the urban fabric, both in its physical and metaphorical meaning.[28]

In reaction to the a priori, abstract, and dogmatic planning principles of the Athens Charter, the playgrounds were embedded into actual circumstances, and they accepted and blossomed from the narrow constraints of the surrounding conditions of everyday, ordinary Amsterdam.

For the Dutch architect, the choice to assign a primary and revealing role to the point of view of the children, who always constituted a preferred subject in both his projects and reflections, had two main reasons. On the one hand, he searched for a profound cultural continuity with the Dutch tradition of images of children playing in the streets, the so-called *Kinderspelen genre painting*, evoking civic virtues and lively, harmonious communities. On the other hand, by using the allegory of the child, Aldo van Eyck claimed a new conception of the project and the city as subjected to continuing metamorphosis via human appropriation. Thus, differently from the Smithsons, the child's image for Aldo van Eyck was a model and an allegory to recognize the possibility of a distinct way of experiencing the world, playfully inventing and re-inventing the way to interact with the built environment, and therefore, the need to "keep the adult's city a city for the child."[29] Children's restlessness and resistance to a world easily reduced to rules thus symbolized the fight against a reductive order and a commitment to relationships and dialogue.

Moreover, unlike the Smithsons' images, van Eyck's playground photographs of children's appropriation and creative use of space shaped another kind of relationship from the one of a fascinated but detached artist's gaze toward conditions of material rough poverty. Even if born as constructed artefacts (part of before-and-after documentation or portraying children posing for the

1

snapshot, as in the pictures of the Amsterdam Orphanage), these images were not imbued by a restless existentialist quest or palpable obsession for authenticity. Indeed, they conveyed a universal dimension to those dignified images of human beings interacting with their environment in tranquillity and engaging in a necessary, spontaneous but calm, human activity.[30] **Figg. 1 | 2**

STREET'S PICTURES CHALLENGING THE CIAM GRID

The third kind of considerations that the article advances regard the role that some photographs so far had in the Smithsons' and Aldo van Eyck's grids exhibited during two postwar CIAM meetings in particular, in challenging the operational and epistemological assumptions of the CIAM grid when used inside it. Therefore, in that perspective, street images will be discussed based on the transformative interactions they engaged with the other elements of the grid and with the grid itself as a thinking tool.

In July 1953, at the IX CIAM Congress in Aix-en-Provence (France), Alison and Peter Smithson presented for the first time their Urban reidentification Grid (URG), whose mode of organizing the panels and represented subjects overturned the analytical and standardized classical grid in three main aspects.

First, they replaced the CIAM four functions on the x-axis with the new "house," "street," "district," "city," and "relationship" categories; second, they destabilized the grid's cartesian order by not specifying the y-axis; and, finally, they included human images in a core position: both in the form of Henderson's photographs of children playing in the street throughout different grid frames and as a drawing of a human figure transgressing the structure of the individual panels and extending over an entire column.

The choice to, simultaneously, continue to use and radically transform the grid is a critical aspect since the grid had always played a central role within CIAM discourse and activity, functioning as both an operative tool to compare the different projects exhibited by the diverse national delegations and as an ideological one for interpreting the city and structuring the knowledge of reality.

The traditional CIAM Grid was universalizing and analytical; it was conceived to establish a shared scientific, deductive, and static method of reading the city and designing its future forms. Therefore, modifications of the grid's structure consisted not only of a change of method to represent and communicate but also challenged an entire epistemological system and set of values. Indeed, the *new grid* was a claim for a more empirical, flexible, and interpretative approach to contemporary problems of the urban environment.

Notwithstanding this paradigmatic shift, the undeterred

1
Aldo van Eyck, Laagte Kadijk Playground (Amsterdam City Archive / Archives of the Planning Department / image number 10009A002338).

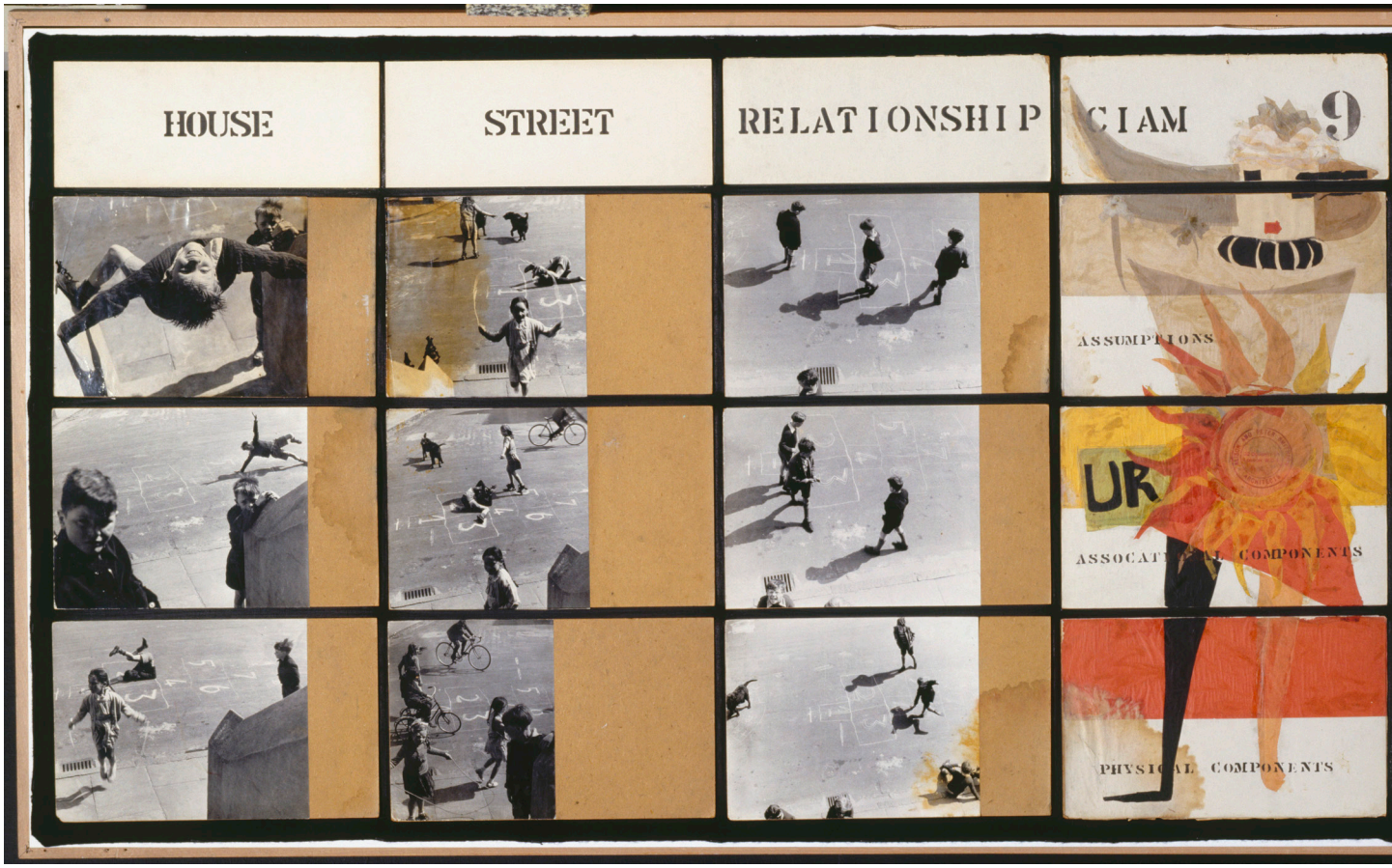
2
Aldo van Eyck, Dijkstraat Playground (Amsterdam City Archive / Archives of the Planning Department / image number 010009003407).

3
Alison and Peter Smithson, Grille pour le C.I.A.M. d'Aix en Provence, 1953 (Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Georges Meguerditchian).

use of the grid demonstrated that even the most radical members of the new generation of architects entering the postwar CIAM discourse were still searching for a way to categorize reality and establish universal principles relevant to architectural design. Indeed, throughout the mental architecture of the grid, the Smithsons displaced the specificities of the portrayed neighbourhood of Bethnal Green, which they juxtaposed to some drawings from their recent project for the Golden Lane competition, thus transforming both into universal statements about urban life.[31] Therefore, although those images certainly undermined the *reductivist* vision of the Athens Charter and renhanced the street as the very arena of life, the illustrated urban life situations became symbolic, general(ized) images of human behaviour in space, abstracting from their concrete, situated contingencies of origins.[32] However, this approach can also be regarded as a purely subjective search for new meanings and ways of reading the urban phenomenon. Both the Smithsons and Henderson, through experimental, soft-impressionist approaches of observing the city and its inhabitants, identified, collected, and reassembled significant fragments of the urban discourse into personal but powerful narratives and used them to inspire and orient the project.

Aldo van Eyck's *Lost Identity Grid* was presented six years after the URG, on the occasion of the tenth and last CIAM meeting in Dubrovnik (1956). In that case, being the meeting led directly by Team 10 (that, indeed, took its name from the task of organizing it), no more graphic system was imposed for the presentation and discussion, and, as a consequence, the Dutch architect's grid had almost nothing in common with the ASCORAL one. In these poetic and reflexive documents, Aldo van Eyck combined descriptive text, poetry-like statements, and photographs of (again) children interacting and animating the urban environment. The latter were pictures taken in a snow-covered Amsterdam, extremely allegorical in representing the process of identification of the children with the surrounding environment through their playful movements and behaviour, which, at the same time, adapt, appropriate, and leave their traces (thus modifying) the winter urban landscape.[33] **Fig. 3**

2



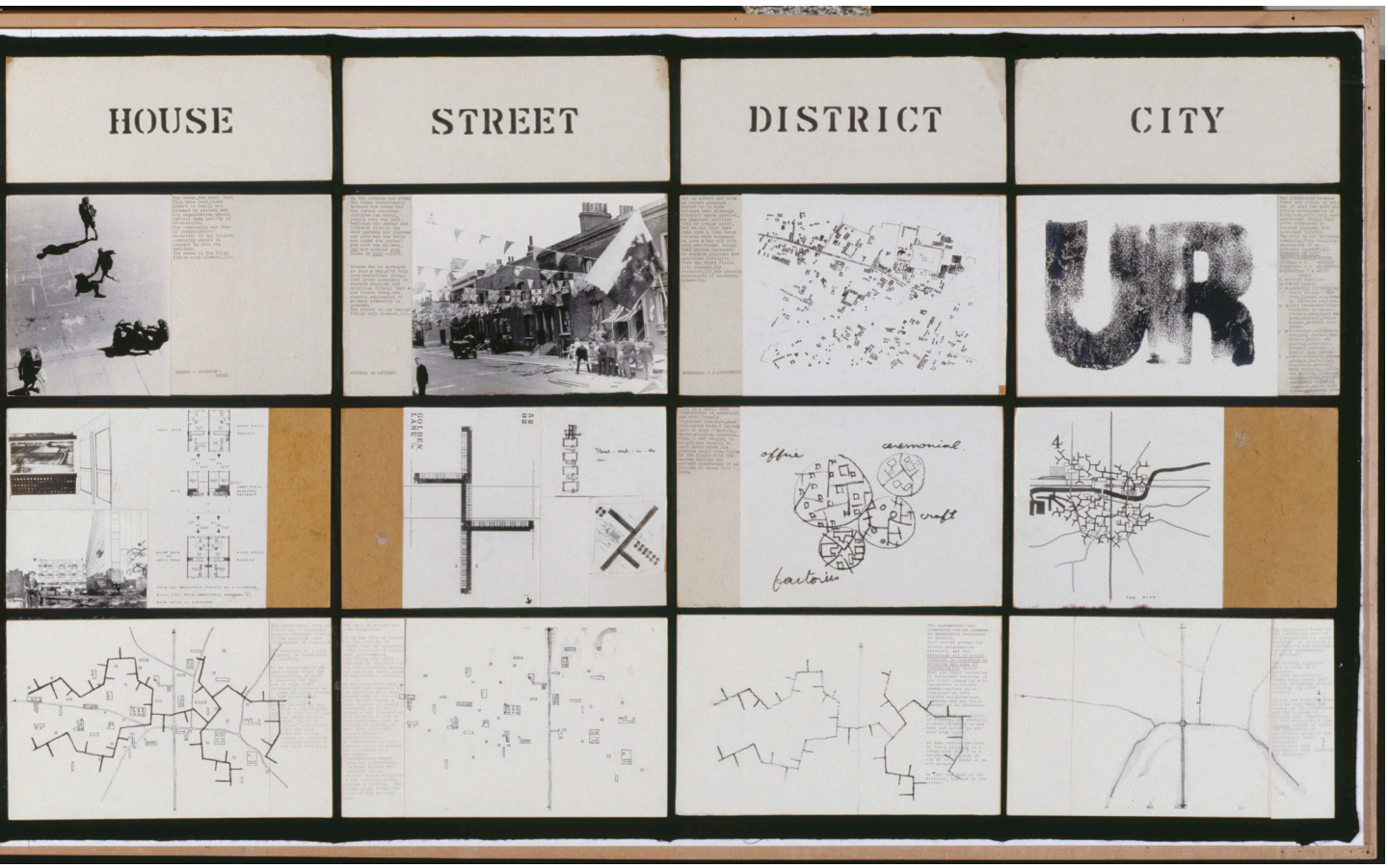
3

A CONCLUSION: LEARNING FROM STREET IMAGES

About thirty years after the described meetings, Herman Hertzberger published the book Lessons for Students in Architecture, showing similar images of human beings enacting public spaces, including numerous streets. Despite its apparent distance from the aims and theoretical discourses connected with the CIAM grids' use, Hertzberger's images effectively worked in continuity with the reflection and approach of Team 10 regarding the reciprocal relation between human beings' modes of association and the shape of the urban space. Many of the keywords at the centre of Team 10's theoretical discussions (such as *in-between, pattern and scale of association, street as an arena of life, and threshold*) became chapters of Hertzberger's books and were illustrated through a comprehensive collection of images, often coming from very different contexts and geographies. Moreover, despite the diverse way of organizing the images in his publication, also for Hertzberger, the question of the rhetorical potential and legitimacy of using photographs, disembedded from their initial contexts and resituated to generalize people's behaviour in public space, remained open.

In that perspective, Team 10's effort and commitment to embrace the search for strategies to imagine and shape, again and again, the public space lies unsolved, as a dialectical and creative force intrinsic to a design practice authentically devoted to people. On the one hand, we still need to explore and give centrality to the spontaneity, vulnerability, and poetry of humans inhabiting and appropriating the urban spaces. On the other hand, the desire to translate too easily those observations into narratives shaping and legitimating the decisions for the city's project persists, along with the necessity to avoid excessive abstractions, environmental determinism, or new *functionalist reductionism*.[34]

Moreover, the relational understanding of space initially theorized and advocated by the protagonists of Team 10, a perspective that, in the eyes and words of Aldo van Eyck, had the potential to transform spaces into places, remains significant nowadays, in particular when observing, as the Smithsons and van Eyck invited to do, the space of the street. Adopting a relational conception of the city and peculiar attention to the street as the quintessential democratic and public place is still a way to claim the possibility of "informal yet stable forms of care and community" and opposing the violence of capitalistic profit-oriented design approaches toward the urban environment. In this perspective, to engage with the legacy of Team 10, "it is not with a sense



of unsullied tradition but with a sense of the terrible fragility of the most taken-for-granted aspects of everyday life," and making a place out of our streets is as well a practice of de-privileging hierarchical spaces, opposing the richness of spontaneous, diversified, and specific ordinary modes of life against overarching and homogenising abstractions in urban planning.[35]

In recent times, several contemporary scholars, mainly from the social sciences, worked and reflected on the street as a crucial urban place to investigate the dynamics of public life. Again, these reflections demonstrate the still-present urgency and unresolved search for a methodological and theoretical framework to help manage and capture the fluctuations of public life and the ever-changing character of urban social relations. Sharing a similar attitude to the one of Team 10's protagonists, these scholars suggest that the main focus of analysis should not be an object or single concept (whether an urban place or the whole city) but rather a process, i.e., the existing unstable interactions which shape a democratic society and are always-in-the-making.[36]

In this context, the approach of the designer/architect/anthropologist towards the observed reality continues to be an issue that claims for an answer, also in terms of disciplinary and philosophical positioning.

In his *El Animal Público: Hacia una Antropología de los Espacios Urbanos*, the professor of Anthropology Manuel Delgado proposes to adopt the method of *floating observation*,[37] which shares interesting similarities with the practice of Alison and Peter Smithson and Aldo van Eyck. As a *furtive hunter* the observer does not focus on singular objects but collects an array of different information waiting and looking for a pattern to emerge. Moreover, with a methodology that could resemble the one experimented by the Independent Group, the observer collects different, apparently disconnected, material fragments, which, once composed as collages of moments, help grasp something about how society is made.

A constructive engagement with the legacy of Team 10's theoretical reflections and experimental practices still prompts us to redefine life in terms of the vitality of human relationships enacted in public spaces, and makes us aware that new urban solutions have to be conceived being both *pragmatic* and *utopian*, which means by profoundly questioning the system's assumptions that created the problems and using a bold imagination.[38]

[1] Roy Kozlovsky, *The Architectures of Childhood: Children, Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Postwar England* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 221–22.
[2] Herman Hertzberger, *Lessons for Students in Architecture*, vol. 1 (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2005 [1991]).
[3] Herman Hertzberger, "I'm a product of Team 10," in *Team 10 in Search of a Utopia of the Present: 1953-1981*, by Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel (Rotterdam: NAi Publ., 2005), 332–33.
[4] Grahame Shane, "The Street in the Twentieth Century," *The Cornell Journal of Architecture*, January 5, 1982, 36–9.
[5] Kozlovsky, *The Architectures of Childhood*, 8–9
[6] Sarah W. Goldhagen, and Réjean Legault, "Introduction: Critical Themes of Postwar Modernism," in Anxious Modernism. Experimentation in *Postwar Architectural Culture*, eds. Sarah W. Goldhagen, and Réjean Legault (Montréal: Canadian Centre of Architecture, 2000), 18.
[7] Sarah W. Goldhagen, "Freedom's Domicile," in *Goldhagen and Réjean. Anxious Modernism*, 79.
[8] Alison Smithson, *The Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM Documents* (London: AA, 1982).
[9] Goldhagen, "Freedom's Domicile," 78.
[10] For a broad, in-depth discussion about the Independent Group's *as found* attitude, see *As Found: The Discovery of the Ordinary*, eds. Claude Lichtenstein and Thomas Schregenberger (Baden: Lars Müller Publishers, 2001).
[11] Max Risselada, and Dirk van den Heuvel, "Introduction. Looking into the mirror of Team 10," in Risselada and Heuvel. *Team 10*, 11–3.
[12] Ben Highmore, "Rescuing optimism from oblivion," in Risselada and Heuvel. *Team 10*, 271. This is how the various members of Team10 formulated their response to CIAM and The Athens Charter CIAM IX, in Aix-en-Provence.
[13] The term *imagery* (noun), crucial in this text, refers to arrays of mental images, more or less articulated in the form of narratives, deriving from myths, literary and film productions, advertisements, and, more generally, cultural experiences and objects of material culture shared by a collectivity. The *collective imagery*, which is both received and (re)produced within a social and cultural context, acts as a set of symbols able to influence the behaviours and thoughts of people consciously and unconsciously. The paper considers the mentioned photographs both to discuss the capacity of the five architects to ground their reflections within specific *collective imagery* and to give shape, re-produce, new *collective imageries* through pictures that acquired broad popularity.
[14] Volker Welter, "In-between space and society - On some British roots of Team 10's urban thought in the 1950's," in Risselada and Heuvel. *Team 10*, 258–63.
[15] Adrian Forty, *Words and buildings: A vocabulary of modern architecture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 312.
[16] Forty, *Words and buildings*, 314.
[17] Hertzberger. *Lessons*, 28–31.
[18] Highmore, "Rescuing optimism from oblivion," 271–75.
[19] Josep Lluís Sert and C.I.A.M., *Can Our Cities Survive ?: an ABC of Urban Problems, Their Analysis, Their Solutions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942).
[20] Kozlovsky, The Architectures of Childhood, 220.
[21] Beatriz Colomina, "Couplings" in "Rearrangements, A Smithson's Celebration," OASE, no. 51 (1999): 20–33.
[22] Kozlovsky. *The Architectures of Childhood*, 227.
[23] Kozlovsky. *The Architectures of Childhood*, 226.
[24] Victoria Walsh, *Nigel Henderson: Parallel of Life and Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2011).
[25] Coward, *Nigel Henderson's Streets*, 14.
[26] Jean-Louis Violeau, "Team 10 and structuralism: analogies and discrepancies," in Risselada and Heuvel. *Team 10*, 282.
[27] Coward, *Nigel Henderson's Streets*, 14.
[28] Liane Lefaivre, and Alexander Tzonis, *Aldo Van Eyck Humanist Rebel Inbetweening in a Postwar World* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1999), 17–8.
[29] Lefaivre and Tzonis, *Aldo Van Eyck Humanist Rebel Inbetweening in a Postwar World*, 133.
[30] Violeau, "Team 10 and structuralism: analogies and discrepancies," 282.
[31] Violeau, "Team 10 and structuralism: analogies and discrepancies," 255.
[32] Welter, "In-between space and society," 262.
[33] Aldo van Eyck, *Lost Identity Grid*, Dubrovnik, 1959. Retrieved from Van Eyck Foundation, accessed on January 31, 2024, http://vaneyckfoundation.nl/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/057-A1SpeelplatsLostIdentity_1to4GsHQ-copy.jpg.
[34] Cristina Bianchetti, *Spazi che contano: il progetto urbanistico in epoca neo-liberale* (Roma: Donzelli editore, 2016).
[35] Highmore, "Rescuing optimism from oblivion," 273.
[36] Monica Degen, "Manuel Delgado, Capturing Public Life. Review: El Animal Publico: Hacia una Antropologia de los Espacios Urbanos," University of Alberta, accessed January 31, 2024, https://sites.ualberta.ca/~rshields/sc/7-8-9%20ASSEMBLAGES%20CD/delgadobr.pdf.
[37] Manuel Delgado, *El Animal Público: Hacia una Antropología de los Espacios Urbanos* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1999), 49.
[38] Dirk van den Heuvel, and Max Risselada, "Introduction. Looking into the mirror of Team 10," in *Team 10: in Search of a Utopia of the Present 1953-81* (Rotterdam: NAi Publisher, 2005), 13.

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KEYWORDS
crisis; Greater Beirut; marginal; residential street; social practices

ABSTRACT
Streets are enduring public spaces, which epitomise a city's culture and identity. While lively streets are often located in central urban areas, the street's vibrant quality could fade away in marginalised residential neighbourhoods. Moreover, crises could impact economic activities and the everyday lives of residents. The concept of liveability serves to study streets in a relational perspective, by analysing the relation among their morphology, functions and diverse social activities. This paper aims to investigate residential streets in marginal neighbourhoods, and their role in providing public spaces that are conducive to social practices, especially in crisis situations, taking the case of Lebanon. The research builds on urban design literature, site visits, observations and informal interviews with residents, to map the street interface and corresponding activities. The study area was selected in a neighbourhood to the north of the capital city Beirut, in the administrative area of Sarba, which is characterised by population of mixed backgrounds, and accessibility through the highway to other cities. Our research findings suggest that there is a relation between the street interface that extends from the ground floor up to the residential building roof, and the opportunity for staging social activities beyond this interface, blurring boundaries between public and private. Further studies in other streets are required to validate the applied methodology.

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Re-reading, Revaluing Residential Streets: Exploring Neighbourhoods in Beirut's Suburbs

INTRODUCTION

Public spaces could reflect resilience in crises by supporting everyday life. The COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns revealed how some residential streets compensated for limited social interaction through reconnections across balconies, rooftops or the reorganisation of the street itself. However, residential streets with car-dominant mobility, under-supplied infrastructure and deteriorated environments, face further challenges. In the case of Greater Beirut, Lebanon, the compounded crises and the absence of residential neighbourhood planning have adversely affected street liveability and consequently social interaction. Liveability is defined by the spatio-temporal relation between the street itself, and its interface – defined by adjacent lots and buildings, objects and greenery. In this research we ask: what is the impact of informal interventions on street liveability along vehicular residential streets with mixed ground-floor uses in the Greater Beirut area? Next, we explore street liveability, interface and activities, especially in crisis situations, where we focus on the context of Beirut. We then present the methodology for analysing the residential street liveability, our findings, then the conclusion.

REVISITING THE LIVEABILITY OF RESIDENTIAL STREET

We start by defining weak planning, which is characterised by crisis situations, where the state's power to plan is often limited to meeting basic needs, as opposed to stability, when authorities assume their role to strategically plan and provide residents' everyday needs.[1] When strategies are absent, needs are met by new actors who resort to tactics, which could have a narrower scope, shorter term and more limited impact. These tactics vary according to contextual specificities. One case is that of marginalised residential neighbourhoods, characterised by a vulnerable population living in environmentally poor conditions, with little investment, limited access to amenities and contested

public spaces, leading to low neighbourhood vitality.[2] In this context, residents' tactics of blurring public-private boundaries to enable diverse street activities and meet collective needs could impact street liveability.

The discussion on liveable streets is not a recent one.[3] Within urban design, streets as public spaces enable encounter and the tolerance of differences, which shape urban life.[4] Donald Appleyard[5] characterised the liveable street as one catering for differences. Yet, liveability is not deeply investigated in contexts of weak planning and marginal neighbourhoods. A relational perspective enables a dynamic exploration of streets, based on what they offer to people spatio-temporally, what interactions they facilitate among people and objects, and also how people reconfigure streets.[6] Diversity in contexts of weak planning could be contested due to some users' dominance over the street and the proliferation of private over public activities. In his guidelines, Appleyard referred to the adverse role of traffic on walkability and the environment, the importance of street furniture and sidewalks, street maintenance and safety, but also spaces between buildings to support social activities, and a sense of place. We unpack these guidelines to focus on liveability within marginal neighbourhoods and examine the contestation of pedestrians by cars, limited management of the public domain, street configuration and interface, and the activities enabled by the intersection of the public and private domains.

Street configuration and management

Liveability is specifically studied within residential collector streets characterised by medium-high vehicular traffic, with mixed ground floor uses.[7] They often connect the neighbourhood to a primary commercial street, or even a highway.[8] Traffic flow – related to the street cross-section, provision of sidewalks, cycling lanes, traffic direction, signage – affects both environmental and social aspects. Under weak planning and absent urban design, sidewalks with crowded utilities, scarce greenery, lighting, drainage and street furniture, adversely affect walkability. Issues of safety and health arise, stemming from car speeding or parking on sidewalks, noise and air pollution, resulting in "ecologically unsustainable, antisocial, unhealthy, and aesthetically dull" streets.[9] This could be mitigated through street design and management.[10] Alternatively, tactics by residents along the street interface could compensate for this state. For example, cafés and shops could extend onto sidewalks.[11]

Street interface

The street interface reflects contextual practices, focusing directly on the inhabitants' activities over time, as affected by the combination of the street, sidewalks, setbacks, the building interior and exterior.[12] In fact, Nolli's plan of Rome[13] represented these collective spaces that extend street activities to indoor spaces, setbacks, and vacant lots, blurring the boundary between public and private.[14] The role of such spaces for residents' wellbeing has been emphasised in the literature.[15] While on the street level, the ground floor comes in direct contact with pedestrians, the upper floors could also impact what happens on the street through the presence of windows or balconies that facilitate visual or even verbal interaction. Understanding the street interface requires analysing both, lot boundaries and building envelope with its characteristics both horizontally and vertically, the different degrees of interaction, accessibility or ability to enter a space, and permeability – defined by the building setback, frontage, openings, and whether there are any interstitial spaces at setbacks lending themselves to social activities.[16] Under weak planning, buildings not abiding by regulations affect the street interface, and consequently interactions along the street.

Street activities

Diverse street activities and users reflect the extent of the street's liveability. Carmona et al. indicate how based on space management, ownership, control, and location, urban spaces display an array of public to private qualities, conducive to different activities.[17] Examples include transportation hubs, waterfronts or third places. Gehl also related public space activities to design and management, and classified them as necessary, optional or social.[18] Necessary activities include shopping, or walking to a destination, even if the streets were not designed for pedestrians. Optional activities include those that individuals decide to perform in public, for example sitting outside, and are related to the space's conditions. Social activities occur when diverse people interact spontaneously in spaces encouraging a variety of activities. This could include: walk, sit, play, congregate, have a chat, or be in contact with nature. So long they remain publicly accessible, social activities are not limited to outdoor public spaces, but could equally occur on balconies, private open spaces, workplaces or shops. In the case of weak planning, activities are mostly limited to the necessary, depriving residents from practising the optional and social ones within their neighbourhoods.

RESIDENTIAL STREETS IN GREATER BEIRUT

Lebanon is an automobile-dependent country with about 80% of trips done by car, and 20% by shared transport.[19] The capital Beirut has developed into the metropolitan area of Greater Beirut. It comprises suburbs and nearby urban areas within several municipalities and is characterised by residential neighbourhoods with mainly commercial activities and services. In addition, urban sprawl has converted highways into commercial strips, while collector residential streets struggle with vehicular dominance. With a free-market economy, Lebanon's urban planning system prioritised vehicular movement to facilitate the private sector's trade, while less attention was given to liveable public spaces and streets, thus affecting walkability.[20] This is also evident in the housing sector, which is mainly developed by real estate companies, which maximise exploitation in the absence of residential neighbourhood design guidelines. The result is unaffordable housing within

i.Study Area 1 - St. John Street
ii.Study Area 2 - Al Khandaq Street
iii.Lebanese Army Cazern in Sarba

1
Location map of the study area (graphic re-edition by Beatriz Freitas Gordinho, based on material provided by the authors, 2023).

Greater Beirut with limited regulation of the construction quality or street integration.[21]

The protracted civil war from 1975 to 1989 resulted in a state of weak planning, local authority's limited role with implications on the built environment, and abrupt demographic changes including several population displacements, and the densification of settlements in Greater Beirut since the mid-1980s. Consequently, higher residential buildings emerged side-by-side in areas next to lower ones, with staggered building frontages and poor street alignment, while interfacing with streets designed for low-rise buildings. This densification strained available infrastructure, shrunk public spaces, and limited car parking spaces, which resulted in on-street or on-sidewalk parking, air and noise pollution. Residential mid-rise buildings generally compensate for open space scarcity through the provision of balconies, which are very often enclosed to enlarge the living space, and block pollution.

METHODOLOGY

Based on the reviewed literature and to analyse street liveability, we conducted five site visits on weekends and six on weekdays during March and April 2022, during which we observed and mapped street configuration and management, and the street interface. To understand street activities, particularly any changes during the economic crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic, we conducted informal interviews with shopkeepers and randomly selected residents along each of the two streets. **Fig. 1** summarises the analysed dimensions, with corresponding criteria and methods.

Case study selection

Located about 15 kilometres north of Beirut, the study area is in two municipalities Sarba, and Zouk Mikael, which are in proximity to the Sarba military cazern. In terms of urban planning regulations, in both municipalities the floor-to-area ratio is 50%, total built-up area is 2.00 and 1.65 in Sarba and Zouk Mikael respectively, and setbacks are 3 meters from the sides and 3-4 meters from the back of a lot in Zouk and Sarba respectively. **Fig. 2** This attracted soldiers serving in the cazern, to relocate with their families along the collector residential streets in the area. Two residential collector streets, indirectly linked to the highway, were chosen in each of the municipalities. With its strategic location, St. John Street (alias Moscow) in Sarba was attractive not only to displaced Lebanese due to internal migration, but also migrant workers of different nationalities, mainly Ethiopian, and Syrian refugees. Its buildings vary from one-storey to eight storeys. Al-Khandaq Street in Zouk Mikael is populated by Lebanese residents, and some Syrian workers with their families residing in makeshift accommodation annexed to shops or within vacant buildings. Its buildings range from two to eight storeys.

Findings

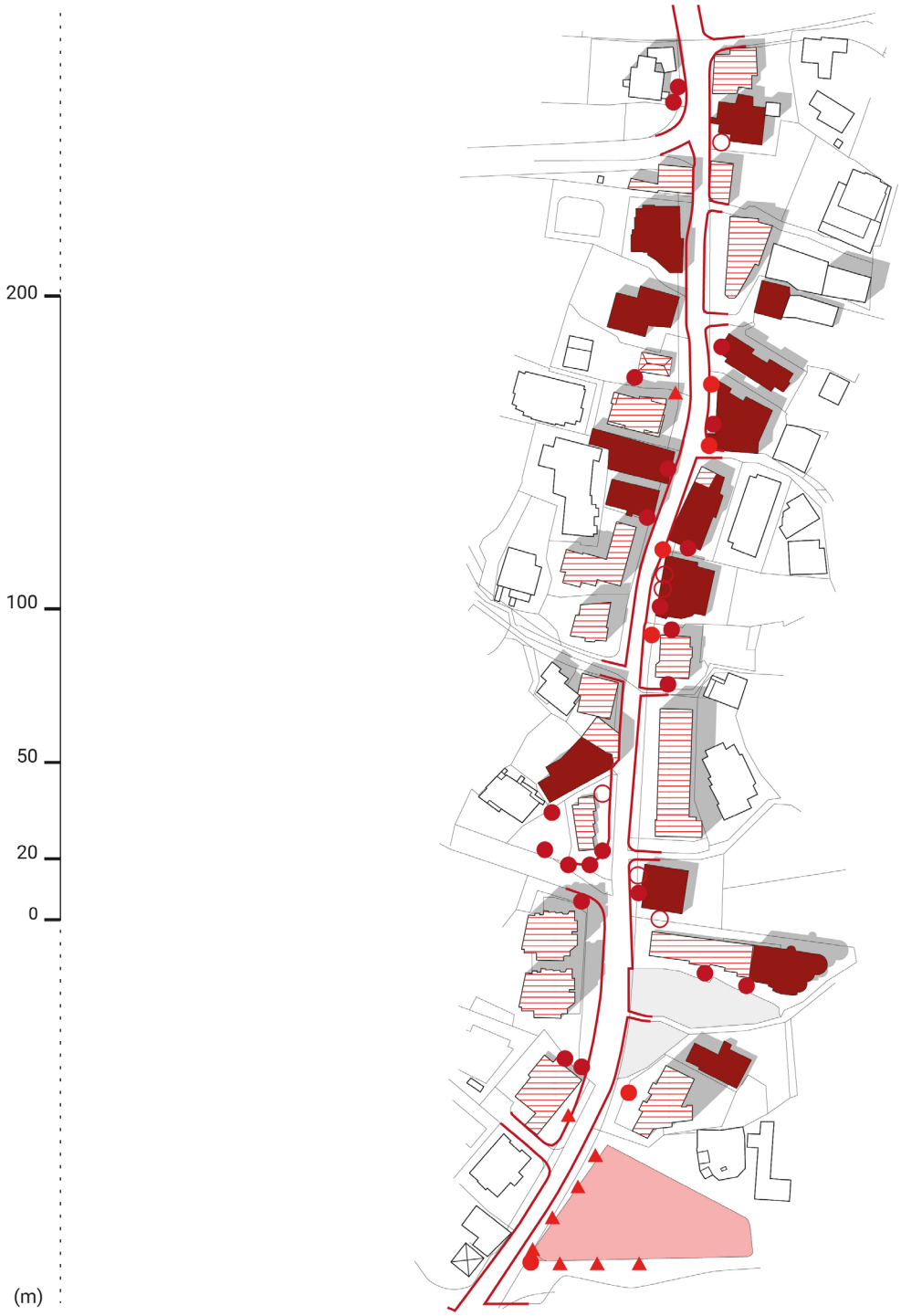
In analysing the two streets, we follow the criteria outlined in **Fig. 1** to identify aspects of the street configuration, interface and practised activities.

We explain the emergence of spatial tactics in the context of weak planning later in the discussion.

St. John Street

Starting with street configuration, St. John Street has a width ranging between 4.8 and 9.5 metres, with a mild slope of 4.8% Fig. 3. It has one-directional vehicular traffic, with frequent intersections, no traffic lights, signage or provision of bicycle lanes. The sidewalks are disrupted by the infringement of cars parking, or the infringement of private activities. Residents, especially those living on the ground floor, indicated their discomfort from cars' noise and air pollution. The street has few streetlights, no urban furniture, two old trees adjacent to streetlights where sometimes residents gather, and few others in the vicinity of the municipal mini-football ground. There are electric wires stretching along utility poles, and one exposed medium-voltage transformer jeopardising pedestrians' safety. At the street level, there are commercial and service activities such as notary, public and local authority offices, grocery, mini-market, pastry shops, snacks, clothes and accessories, beauty parlour, electronics, pharmacies, studios, photocopy centres, taxi service, and one furniture carpentry. The St. John sportsground was initially intended for the residents' children and youth. However, the municipality could not afford its maintenance, and started charging fees, which residents could not afford, leading to the facility's closure. Within this setting, we observed social activities specifically around ground floor balconies, trees and some shops.

Horizontally, the street interface has a width ranging 6.5-18 metres, a variation resulting from sidewalks, infringement on setbacks, and ununiform building alignment. One vacant lot is used as parking by the locals, in addition to cars transgressing sidewalks. Permanent and temporary structures encroach upon street setbacks, with some ground floor shops expanding onto the street, or even balconies appropriating part of the sidewalk for private uses, delineated by plants or objects. In some cases, ground floor balconies merge with the horizontal street interface. Most building entrances are on the street. Vertically, balconies provide street covers. Balconies are either enclosed, extending the interior, or open and serving as spaces for socialising with an externalisation of activities onto the street. This interface has defined social activities at interventions related to balconies and setbacks, defining semi-public spaces. This public-private domain blurring of the interface serves for some public activities as evident from the fieldwork. In the absence of playgrounds, side setbacks are transformed into play areas. Some parts include plants in pots or in ground floor flower beds, enhancing the environment. **Fig. 4** Also, setbacks and open-air staircases and landings were being used for gatherings by some of the street residents, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. **Fig. 5** The grocery shop serves as a gathering place mainly for residents but also visitors to the area, while the steps and balcony edges along the street serve as a semi-public meeting point. **Fig. 6**



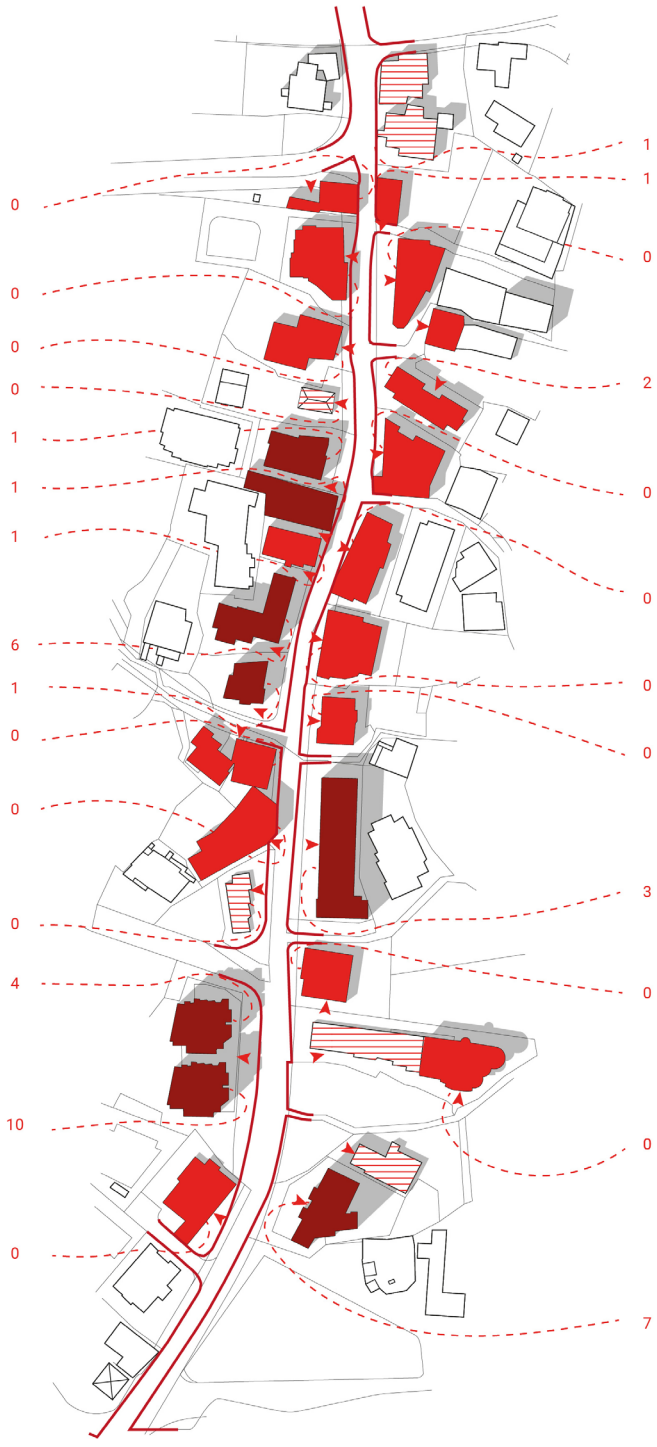
Street Configurations

- Residential on GF
- Commercial on GF
- Parking on GF
- Vacant Plot
- Vegetation on private properties
- Existing old trees
- Trees Planted by Local Autority
- Garbage Bins
- Lighting Pole

Street Interface

- 1 to 2 Floors
- 3 to 5 Floors
- 6 to 9 Floors
- Building entrance
- Pedestrian Sidewalk
- Enclosed Balconies on Building Frontage

- Site Photo



Street Configurations

- Residential on GF
- Commercial on GF
- Sports Activities
- Vacant Plot
- Vegetation on Private Properties
- Existing Old Trees
- Trees Planted by Local Autority
- Garbage Bins
- Lighting Pole

Street Interface

- 1 to 2 Floors
- 3 to 5 Floors
- 6 to 10 Floors
- Building Entrance
- Pedestrian Sidewalk
- Enclosed Balconies on Building Frontage

4

2 | 3
Map of St. John Street (graphic re-edition by Beatriz Freitas Gordinho, based on material provided by the authors, 2023).

4
Greenery and shrine (author's photograph, 2022).

5

6

5
The stair used as a meeting place (author's photograph, 2022).

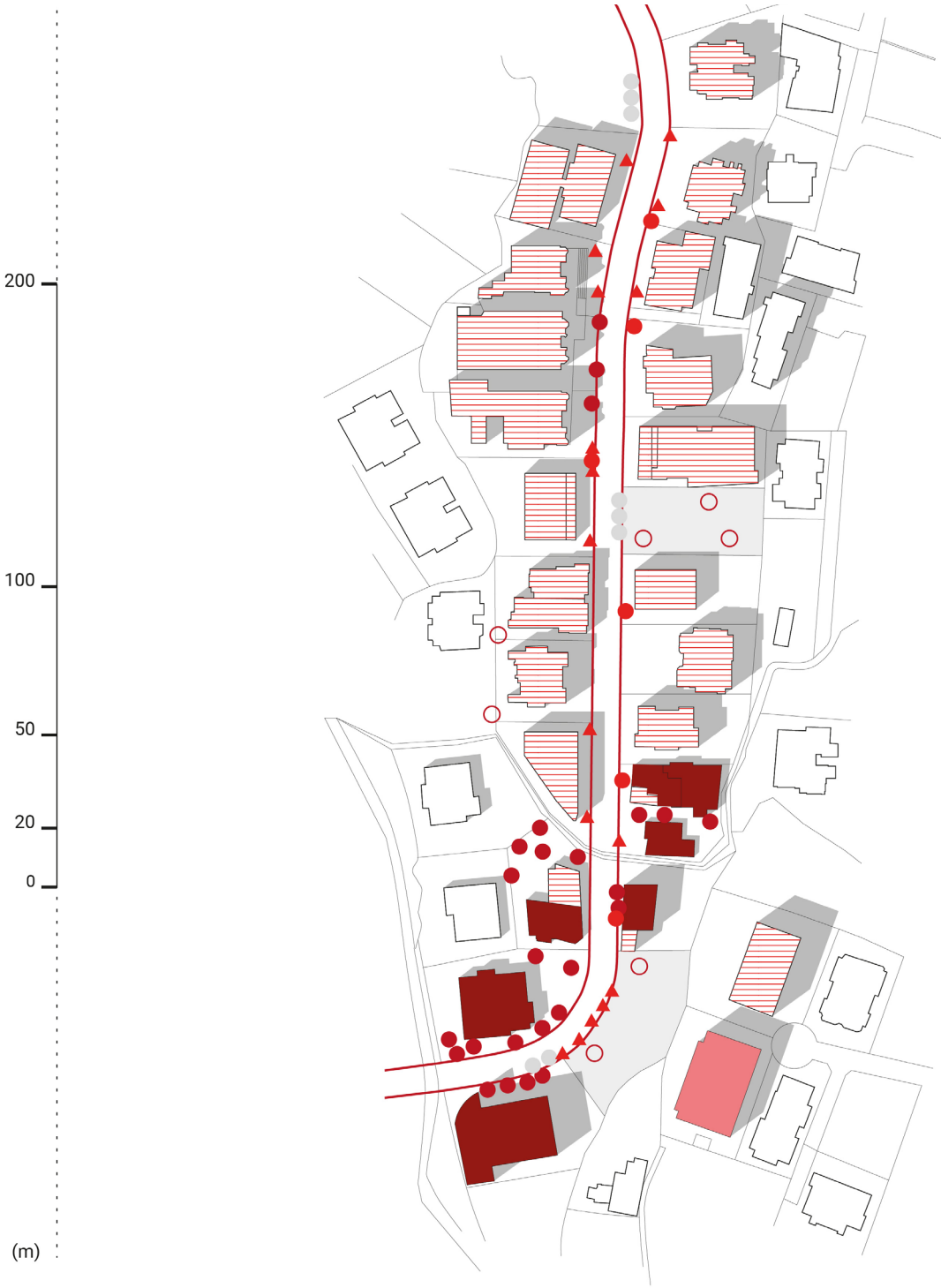
6
The grocer shop (author's photograph, 2022).

Al Khandaq Street

Regarding its configuration, Al Khandaq Street has a width ranging between 8 and 10 metres, with a slope of 5.1%. **Fig. 7** Traffic is two directional, with limited street intersections, no traffic lights, cycling lanes and only scarce signage. Its sidewalks are disrupted by parking spaces in setbacks serving commercial shops. Al-Khandaq has few streetlights, no urban furniture, except for garbage containers placed in front of two vacant lots. Few trees are planted by the municipality, yet residents felt that the priority of using a municipal budget should go to the provision of playgrounds, greenspaces and proper infrastructure. Electric wires stretch across utility poles along the street. At the street level, building uses include diverse commerce and services: grocery, mini-markets, pastry shops, snacks, clothes and accessories, electronics, beauty parlour, pharmacies, studios, photocopy centres, and light car-repair. Within this setting, we observed social activities specifically around shops.

Horizontally, the street interface has a width ranging 11.5 and 38 metres. Similar to St. John's, it comprises one-sided sidewalk, setbacks, infringements, and ununiform building alignment. Having only one side with a sidewalk, means more space for on-street parking. Street setbacks serve as parking spaces for shop customers, and after-hours for residents. Other parking spaces are available in vacant lots, ground floors with columns (pilotis) or basements for buildings constructed after the 1990's. There is generally poor integration between the street level and that of shops. This not only obstructs accessibility but also disrupts the continuity of adjacent uses along the street. In other cases, ground floor steps merge with the horizontal interface forming occasional seating areas in front of shops used by xxx. The majority of building entrances are along the street. Vertically, covers are provided by balconies. This interface has defined social activities/ interventions in setbacks or leftover spaces, defining semi-public areas.

Similar to St. John's, the public-private domain blurring serves for some activities. On ground floor level balconies and setbacks, there are some plants in pots or flower-beds. **Fig. 8** The horizontal interface is used for seating and gathering, especially adjacent to shops. **Fig. 9** Some ground floor balconies extend forming patios for social activities mainly among residents. **Fig. 10** Also, one open staircase was converted to a semi-public meeting place during the COVID-19 pandemic.



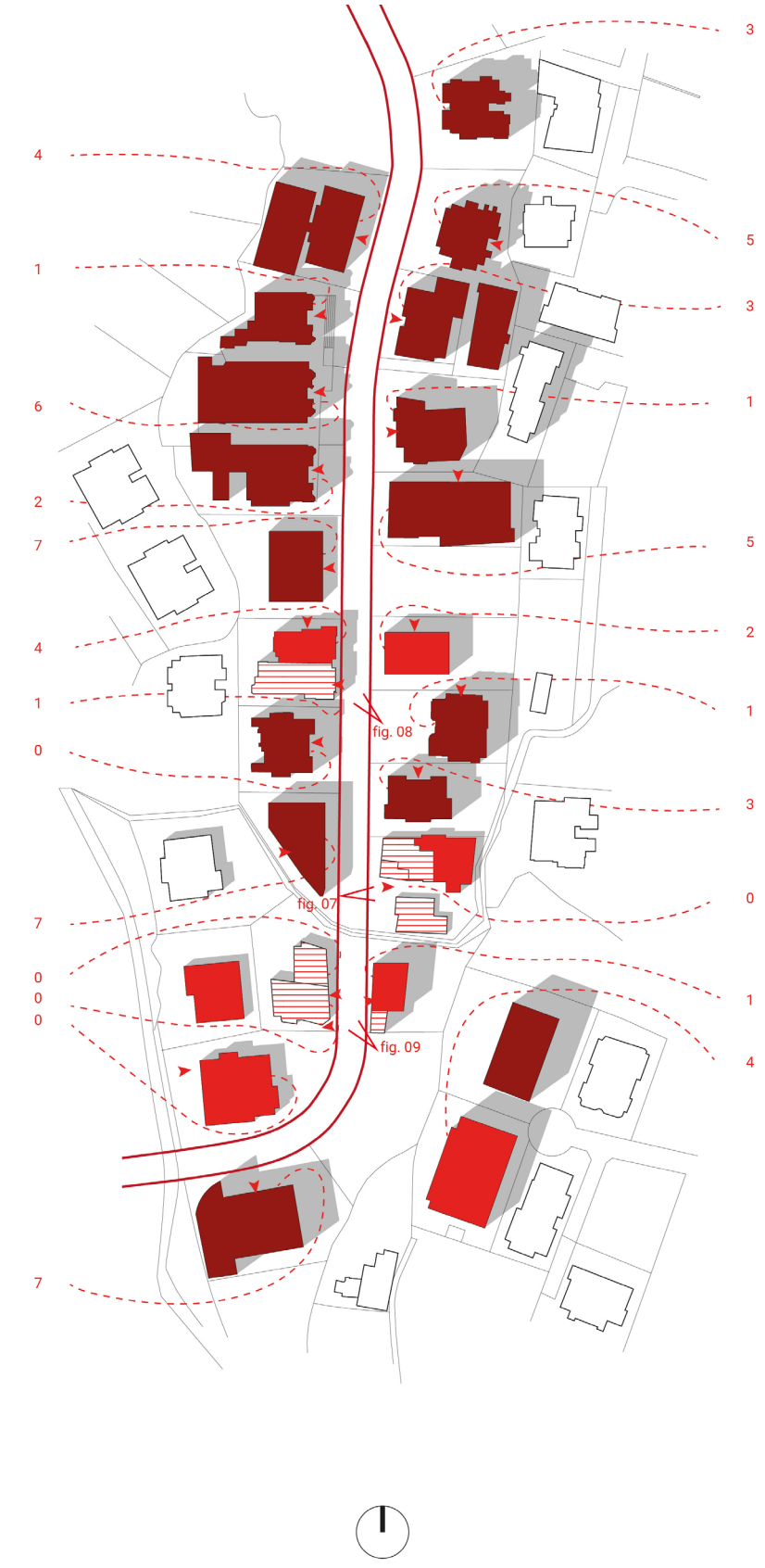
Street Configurations

- Residential on GF
- Commercial on GF
- Parking on GF
- Vacant Plot
- Vegetation on private properties
- Existing old trees
- Trees Planted by Local Autority
- Garbage Bins
- Lighting Pole

Street Interface

- 1 to 2 Floors
- 3 to 5 Floors
- 6 to 9 Floors
- Building entrance
- Pedestrian Sidewalk
- Enclosed Balconies on Building Frontage

- Site Photo



Street Configurations

- Residential on GF
- Commercial on GF
- Sports Activities
- Vacant Plot
- Vegetation on Private Properties
- Existing Old Trees
- Trees Planted by Local Autority
- Garbage Bins
- Lighting Pole

Street Interface

- 1 to 2 Floors
- 3 to 5 Floors
- 6 to 10 Floors
- Building Entrance
- Pedestrian Sidewalk
- Enclosed Balconies on Building Frontage

9

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

We revert to our question: what is the impact of informal interventions on street liveability along vehicular residential streets with mixed ground-floor uses in the Greater Beirut area? Within both municipalities, the state of weak planning manifested through car-dominance – even vacant lots are used for car parking rather than street activities – meagre provision of walkable environments, limited street maintenance and laxed control of building regulations. This resulted in poor integration of buildings with the street level in some cases, and in other infringements on the public domain. The absence of strategic plans has enabled market forces, as well as residents yet without any coordination, to model their streets, and impact their liveability. The approaches were rather ad hoc and piecemeal, relating to basic interventions affecting walkability, permeability, greenery enhancing the environment and contributing to place identity, the provision of leisure and service spaces. These interventions affected street configuration, interface and activities.

There are similarities and differences between the two streets' configurations and interfaces affecting liveability: blurred boundaries between ground floor public and private properties often result in gathering spaces; makeshift seating along the street; makeshift play areas. Along Al-Khandaq, about 40% of the shops rented by outsiders recently closed, limiting interaction with passers-by. The neglect of landscaping along the two streets has been partially compensated by residents' tactics. While some ground level balconies transformed to patios, open upper-level ones especially on first floors, serve as eyes-on-the streets in both streets. This controls who participates in optional or social activities at street level at locations capable of accommodating them. Also, there seems to be some porosity between in-and-out, public-and-private – such as building entrances – and merging of interstitial spaces with the streets, all serving optional and social activities mainly for the residents.

Regarding activities, in St. John, a sense of place is established through the given street name among locals, the religious shrine, the eyes-on-the-street phenomenon, and the grocer's shop, who is the street's gatekeeper, knowledgeable about residents' activities, preferences and concerns. In Al-Khandaq, it is rather the planted trees, and given name, which provide the street's sense of place. The extent of horizontal interfaces used for optional and social activities along St. John Street is higher than that along Al-Khandaq, with its poor drainage, building integration, the presence of gates and fences, and minimalist design of stairs to access ground floors. The lack of green and

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gathering spaces is evident and was continuously raised by the locals. Both aspects result from weak planning.

This paper presented a framework for studying medium-high traffic residential collector streets in terms of their liveability, by examining street configuration and interface, and the level of activities, within a context of weak planning. Two streets were analysed within Greater Beirut. The analysis indicated that the state of weak planning has led to tactics by the locals that enable street activities beyond the necessary. These interventions reflect constraints and opportunities to meet collective needs and reveal the network of actors involved in determining street liveability. Moreover, the two cases indicate the impact of blurring public-private boundaries on creating opportunities to serve optional activities. With only two case studies, the findings are indicative, informing about the specificities of these streets, yet with the potential of testing this framework in other contexts. Also, the informal interviews are not representative of all residents and their changing needs. These limitations could be addressed by conducting further interviews with households, the municipality, shopkeepers, and further observations over a continuous period and along several streets in Beirut's suburbs.

7 | 8
Map of Al-Khandaq Street (Graphic re-edition by Beatriz Freitas Gordinho, based on material provided by the authors, 2023).

9
Setback with plants (author's photograph, 2022).

10
Seating area on the ground floor (author's photograph, 2022).

11
Ground floor balconies and extensions (author's photograph, 2022).

11

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informal settlements; sustainable development; urbanisation; spatial features; Tanzania

ABSTRACT
Due to a massive shortage of housing alternatives, the creation and expansion of informal settlements in the global South have become an instant answer for individuals searching for places to live. Researchers and organisations are stressing the importance of public spaces in informal settlements. This paper uses the method of a case study to understand and assess the typological features of specific streetscapes by identifying their spatial characteristics, attributes, and socio-spatial configurations. The process of permanently claiming and appropriating open spaces in the streets is examined through the Mlalakuwa informal settlement neighbourhood in Dar es Salaam. Observations and qualitative data collection were the methods used in this research. The findings show that the space typology is a product of local human activities and connection networks that have been created to support the daily uses and routines, together with the liveliness with which the streetscape functions as a collective space. The contribution of this paper is to create knowledge on the different typological shapes of collective spaces in the Mlalakuwa community and how they are linked to their local needs. It will also raise explicit awareness among the community and policymakers. Understanding these shapes will be a step forward in the treatment of streetscapes for the purpose of improving people's future lives.

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Streetscapes as Collective Spaces in Dar es Salaam's Informal Settlements

INTRODUCTION

The identity of urban cities is created by the pattern of the streets, which play an important role in the development of urban space Morphology. Streets are characterised by social groups and lifestyles which give a perception of images and perspectives that enhance life in the existing streetscapes.[1] Streets have been seen as "multimodal rights of way designed and operated to create benefits relating to movement, ecosystem, and community."[2] According to Reeman Rehan (2013), the street can be a fundamental component that helps people experience the environment when they use urban community space.[3] Streets share common attributes in connecting different places within the city.[4] It is inevitable to disregard streets in urban spaces because they fill people's images of the city's perception and experiences.[5] The three-dimensional spaces in cities depend on the character and identification of the city's features, which can be perceived through the role of city streets. The spatial value of urban space and the space character of the city play a vital role in consolidating important features like environmental, historical, social-cultural, and functional elements that help people's perception and impression of the urban pattern.[6] A similar idea may be seen in the global north, where the physical reality of street use in urban cities is experienced by human activities that improve the quality of streets.[7] Street lanes and public and private frontage are among the important elements of streets that tend to add not only to urban identity but also to socio-spatial value. Streets have been a part of creating a subset of collective spaces through the provision of physical spatial arrangements for multiple activities as a distinct character of urban settings.[8] Scheerlinck (2016), in his work "Streetscape Territories," sees street collective spaces as interconnected spaces with varying degrees of common usage that are characterised by diverse physical, cultural, or geographical borders.[9] De Solà Morales invented the phrase "collective spaces," in

which people gather and engage regardless of whether the facilities are owned publicly or privately.[10] Schoonjans and Zhang (2020) consider collective spaces in relation to how society and neighbourhoods respond to cultural and social elements contributing to spatial configurations, even in the context of informal urbanisation, where streets are not being taken into consideration as a part of the urban development process.[11]

Informal urbanisation cannot escape this discussion. It is one of the most visible challenges in the rapidly urbanising cities of the Global South. Scholars John Turner (1967), Hernandez, and Titheridge (2015), as well as Rocco and van Ballegooien's Routledge Handbook on Informal Urbanisation (2020), have described informality as a process and activities that exist outside of the policies and standards of contemporary advance planning and have their own meanings and pleasures that contribute to urban growth.[12] In Tanzanian cities, the growth of informal settlements tends to breach existing regulations, such as the Land Management and Home Building Acts.[13] Nevertheless, the heavy urban density of informal settlements puts a strain on the spaces. This, of course, shows the undeniable importance of the streets as a possible collective space for movement, trade, economics, or leisure in informal settlements.

Streets as urban spaces in cities have always attempted to increase the value and nature of informal urbanisation, which experiences a shortage of public spaces and where streetscapes and paths are alternatively used as collective spaces for social, economic, and cultural settings. Also, in informal settlements, streets are not top-down designed but organically fabricated. The Mlalakuwa informal settlement in Dar es Salaam is here not an exception where urban space developments and distribution of social space can be made by the visible race of the environmental idea, where streets and neighbourhoods have their own radical and social morphology to contribute to the rule of urban growth.[14] Streets provide access to social, economic, and cultural interaction, strengthening community cohesion. As a result, they are an essential and fundamental component of human connectivity in their everyday lives.

This paper, therefore, aims at examining the diverse typological features of Mlalakuwa informal settlement's collective spaces in the streets and how they relate to their local requirements. It also promotes knowledge of using collective spaces among members of Mlalakuwa neighbourhoods. Acknowledging these structures will be a step ahead in the future treatment of streetscapes in informal settlements with the objective of improving community lives.

METHODS

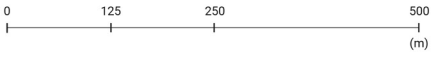
This paper's information is based on field research done in the Mlalakuwa informal settlement neighbourhood in Dar es Salaam using a case study methodology.[15] One can detect a multitude of collective activities taking place on the streets as a part of the daily lives of most of Mlalakuwa's residents. The study included site observation, a literature review, and data gathering methods, as well as interviews with collective space users in the streetscapes and with local government authorities. Through observation, those activities were documented in sketches and photographic registration. Documentary outsourcing from earlier research on the settlements was also employed to collect secondary data. However, it was detected that social and economic aspirations seem to be the main driving forces that influence the typological features of streetscapes in informal settlements, allowing for qualities and spatial configurations in the settlement.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Formation of Collective Spaces in Streets

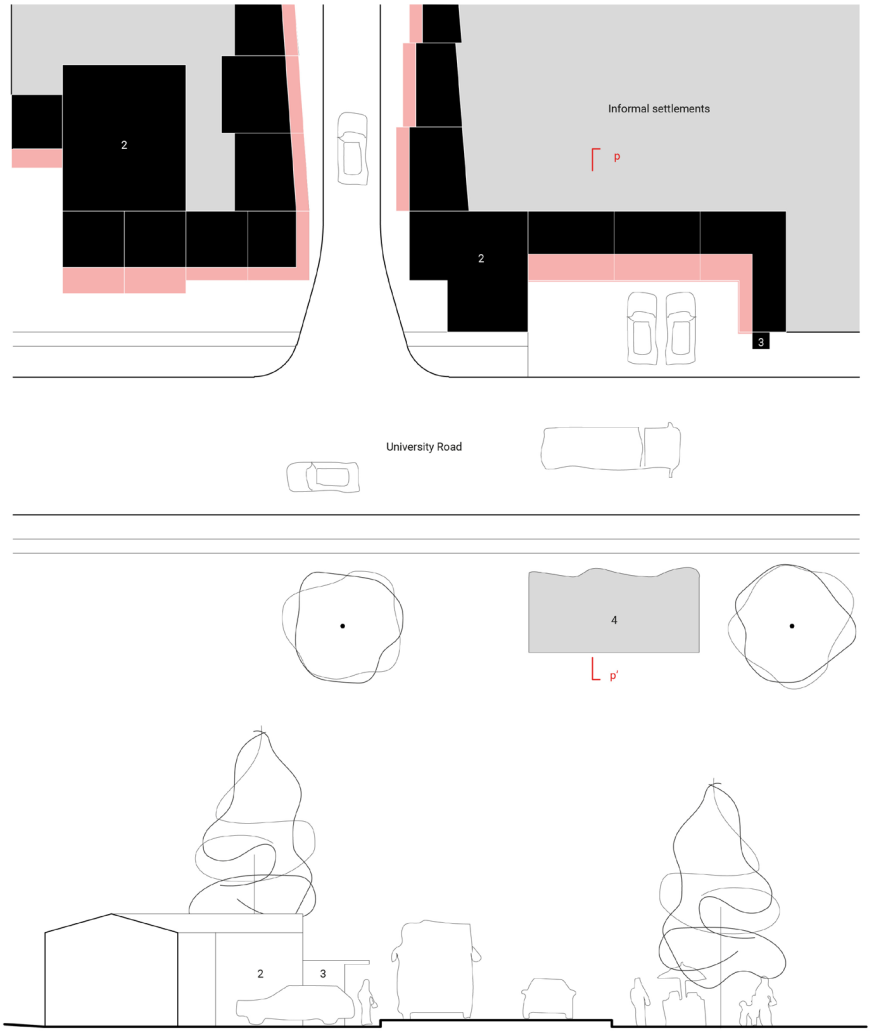
The network of streets and urban roadways has been seen as a foundation of the urban environment that acts as the city's spatial framework. Streets in most informal settlements in Dar es Salaam are packed with various elements in order to compensate for the paucity of collective space that would aid in accommodating the current functions. Therefore, the formation of collective spaces in the streets is a subset of retrieving the need for services that led to the growth of the informal economy. Many streets have been designated as "collective spaces," which are based on the notion of restoring existing underutilised spaces. Street pockets are used by people to overcome the present constraints of places that serve social and economic activities for the neighbourhood's sustainable development. That appeared to have encroached, by creating several collective spaces and appropriating them for different functions.

According to the **Fig. 1**, the most prominent collective spaces for commercial purposes were identified in several streets in the Mlalakuwa informal settlement. The streets at the neighbourhood edges, largely located along sides of the University and Sam Nujoma Roads were prominent for economic as well as social activities for mostly vendors, motorcyclists, taxi drivers, and tricycle operators. However, as you proceed into the interior part of the settlement, you will see more local places collectively used in various streets and alleyways. A wide range of activities were detected in the vicinity of the streets that are left and right along sides. The densification of the urban structure together with the high number of users of each house puts a strain on the need for places outside the houses. More often, streets are used by passengers at bus stops, for hand car washing, for conducting economic activities like small stores for vendors or repair activities. But next to those private uses of the public street, they also become places for socialising and community life. According to the results of the interviews, the majority of the entrepreneurs and motorcyclists have established or plan to establish spaces for vendor stores along the streets and alleyways in the Mlalakuwa neighbourhood to cope with the existing scarcity of spaces for running their social and economic activities. The interview revealed that 11 out of the 19 vendors and other users along sides of the streets who were interviewed had established either temporary structures or open-air activity/shed for economic and social activities.



Existing spaces developed for commercial purposes built before 2005
New spaces developed betewwn 2005-2015
New outlook of streets spaces developed between 2015-2022
Other collective spaces

1



Section p-p'

Extended shops from buildings
2 Bars
3 Extended restaurant
4 Open ground flower ground

2

1
Distribution of Collective Spaces in the streets of Mlalakuwa Settlemen t (graphic re-edition by Beatriz Freitas Gordinho, based on material provided by the authors, 2023).

2
Encroachment of economic activities at the sides of the main streets in the Mlalakuwa informal settlement (graphic re-edition by Beatriz Freitas Gordinho, based on material provided by the authors, 2023).

3
(a) A spot for motorcyclists and tax drivers along the sides of University Road Street. (b) Fruit vendor store, flower, and tiles vendors on the side of University Road (author's photograph, 2022).

3

To investigate the collective use of the streetscapes more deeply, three major areas were examined and inspected: the roads as edges of the neighbourhood, the streets in the neighbourhood, and the smaller alleyways. Different tiers of streets were noticed, each with a diverse set of functions, as indicated below.

Encroachment at Main Roads. Extension of Building Structure

Spaces were developed along major roadways by stretching portions of houses to provide collective spaces for stores, bars, workshops, and restaurants facing the main street. The bulk of individuals from various places seek services from these locations. They have been the prominent areas for connecting people from various adjoining settlements. **Fig. 2** shows the morphology of street spaces being adopted for social and economic activities.

Encroachment at Main Roads. Open ground Collective Spaces for Motorcyclists, Taxi Drivers, and Flower Vendors

Other spaces were seen on the two main roads of Sam Nujoma and University Roads, where the road reserve areas have been adapted as collective spaces for motorcyclists, taxi drivers, tricycle riders, and flower vendors to run social and economic activities. **Fig. 3** People are getting together to request that the local government grants them the right to continue their activities. One of the interviewees during the interview narrated:

> We are holding an open space along the sides of the streets that is not ours. We developed this area at our own expense, and it wasn't too expensive. We helped by sourcing wood and building these benches. This is a great location for us to meet with customers on public transit before transporting them to other locations. We know almost everyone in this neighbourhood, which makes it easier for us to do business. It gets exceedingly troublesome during the rainy season since trees cannot cover us from the rain.[16]

Encroachment at Main Roads. Temporary Structures on Road Reserve Areas

Temporary structures in road reserve zones are another sort of collective space on the main street in the Mlalakuwa neighbourhood. **Fig. 4** These collective spaces are built with precast steel frames, coated with cladding sheets, and covered with canvas PVC sheets. These temporary constructions appear to be near other existing establishments and frequently restrict pedestrian walkways. Occupants of these collaborative areas rent them out to others, primarily street food and fruit vendors. These structures have been a space for people to collectively meet and have services provided by them. Contrary to the principal role of streetsin Mlalakuwa, streets have contributed to the value of collective spaces in Mlalakuwa

4

5

4
Temporary structures for economic usage along University Roads Image shows a temporary structure for food vendors at the Savei area along University Road (author's photograph, 2022).

5
(a) A collective space for social activities at Savei Street. (b) A collective space for social-economic activities on unknown streets (author's photograph, 2022).

where a pedestrian can walk in and have services that are offered elsewhere. This tells us that it is more necessary that the functioning street seems to be actively working than relying on the fundamental aspects of the street. This adds more value to the streets by having a diversity of activities that contribute to the growth of the community's economic and social preponderance.

Encroachment in Interior Streets

The Mlalakuwa inner streets have been utilised for a variety of purposes since they have been deemed to be essential routes that connect the interior areas of Mlalakuwa from the three main roads of Bagamoyo, Sam Nujoma, and University. It was discovered that they were used by different groups in a collective way. Children, women, and the elderly are drawn to these streets for social interaction and children's activities. Various activities, including children's games, may be seen on the street on a daily basis. **Fig. 5 (a)** and **(b)** Diverse store units on the inner street sell a variety of items, such as street food vending, stationery, and other businesses functioning as collective spaces. It has been discovered that the majority of these shops' consumers are Mlalakuwa residents and students from Ardhi University and the University of Dar es Salaam, which are close to the neighbourhood. In an interview with a Mlalakuwa resident regarding the use of these street spaces, he responded that:

> … in this neighbourhood, there are no open areas. We remain and stay out over the street's collective space while the car passes by, which is risky. Nonetheless, some kids disregard road safety by playing in the streets. We are grateful for the drivers' efforts. They enjoy driving along these streets since they are constantly busy. As you can see, our roadways serve a number of functions. They save for mobility, children's play, and hangout spots. On these streets, we are linked to existing stores and small marketplaces. We generally talk about soccer and other topics connected to our lives. It was formerly a unified façade with just house doors or windows on the front.[17]

Encroachment at Alleyways

Investigations showed that alleyways functioned as spaces for a variety of purposes, including dishwashing and laundry areas. Other alleys are being linked to household rooms to create semi-collective spaces for gathering where inhabitants may rest or discuss various matters.[18] They are also used for small-scale commercial activities, such as tabletop food stores. As little more than a result, the alley may be seen as both a leisure and commercial place, reinforcing people's everyday adjustments to fulfill fundamental local requirements and community bondage.

6

Residents of the Mlalakuwa community indicated their satisfaction with their way of life by identifying the characteristics of the informal activities that shaped their streetscapes and improved their living conditions. As a result, the alley's layout allows for transition and promotes the preponderance of collective spaces with multiple tenants inside alleyways and main streets. **Fig. 6 (a) and (b)** The interdependence of humans, places, and activities allows for the revival of collective spaces in urban spatial growth.

Social-Spatial Configurations at Streets in the Mlalakuwa neighbourhood

The study revealed that collective spaces in streets are structured in a linear manner. Along the streets, there are a number of activities, as mentioned above, that are arranged along the line of street morphology. **Fig. 7** Bus terminals have been observed to be dominant places that attract various small activities to be operated nearby bus stops, which makes them a part of the linear organisation. For example, many vendors' activities, taxi drivers, and motorcyclists were discovered to be connected to bus stops as their collective spaces for picking up passengers from public transport and bringing them to other places in the Mlalakuwa neighbourhood.

Collective Space Typology in the Streets

Two distinct typologies of collective spaces on the streets were uncovered: The first typology is linked to important functional features such as shopfront structure and between building structures, creating a specific streetscape. **Fig. 8 (a) and (b)** The second type of collective space is the open ground beneath trees in alleyways and on the sides of roadways, such as bus stops, motorbike stops, taxi stops, and tricycle riders' locations. **Fig. 9** Various societal operations were discovered in these places, and it appears that each collective space typology is governed by a distinct set of activities. Collective spaces on Mlalakuwa's streets appear to be the basic unit of urban space through which individuals perceive their surroundings. One of the street users described the usage of collective space in the streets as follows:

> Mlalakuwa's streets encompass the building borders and space uses and define each open area available to our community. Despite their basic role of providing space for mobility and access, they also appear to promote a range of uses and activities, as seen by the abundance of vendors functioning spontaneously along the streets. Streets are thus dynamic over time to support sustainable development, economic activity, and cultural value.[19]

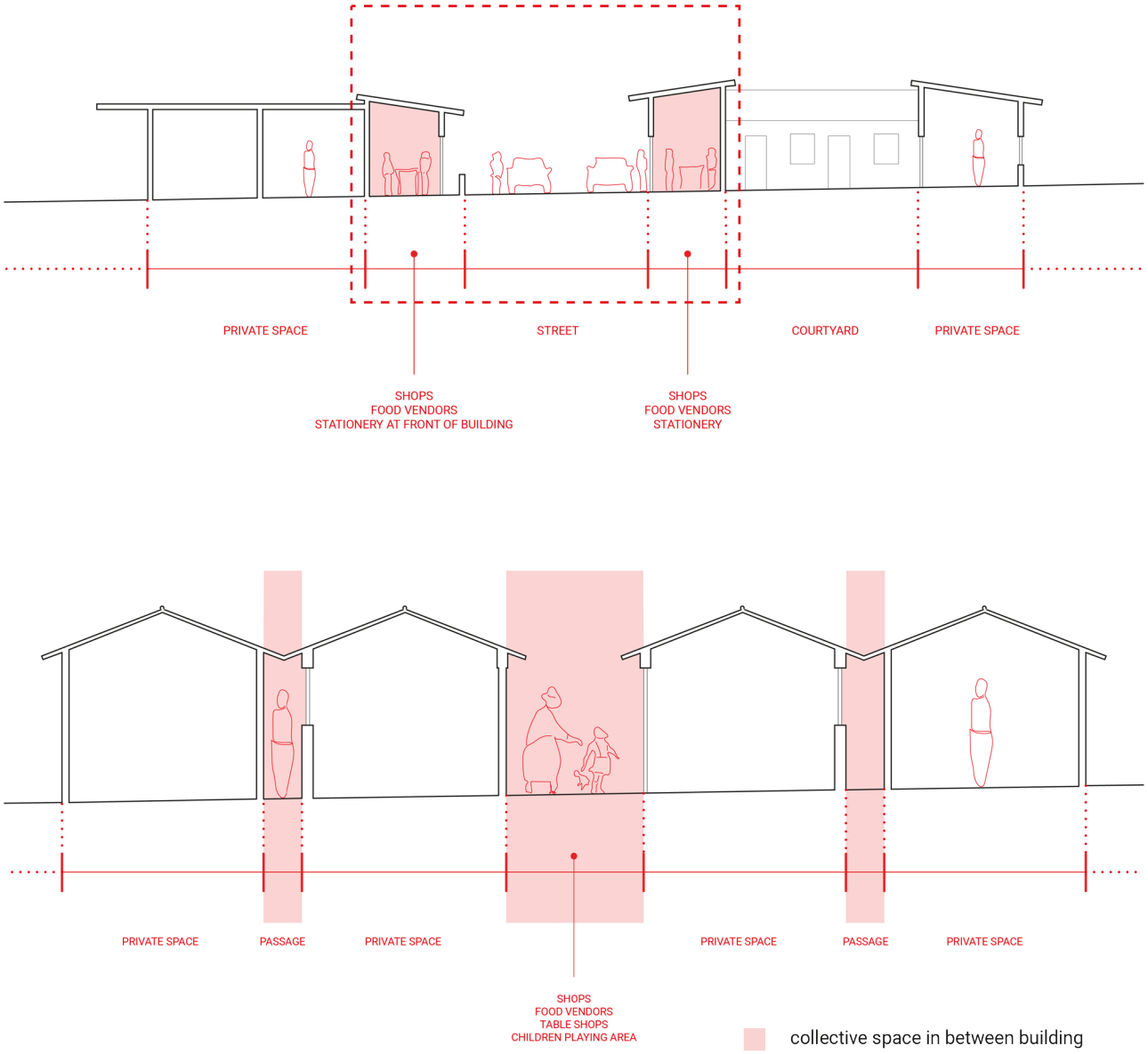
i.Encroachment at bus stop

ii.Encroachment at road reserve area

7

6
(a) Collective space for children to play in an alley. (b) A Collective space for social-economic and laundry activities at alley (author's photograph, 2022).

7
Linear Streets Spatial configuration (graphic re-edition by Beatriz Freitas Gordinho, based on material provided by the authors, 2023).



8

8
Spatial typology at the (a) shopfront and (b) in between buildings respectively (graphic re-edition by Beatriz Freitas Gordinho, based on material provided by the authors, 2023).

9
A typical collective space on the roadsides (author's photograph, 2022).

9

This suggests that streets in Mlalakuwa are social places influenced by a variety of activities and frequently governed or established by a variety of views with the goal of supporting human livelihoods in the community. Knowing the different portions of a street provides a flexible way for people to have a sense of diversified knowledge about creating street space morphology which accelerates human preponderance.

CONCLUSION

This article makes the case for a street as a container for a series of diverse but very important collective spaces in an informal neighbourhood and for community building operating in various ways. The city's success is characterised by strong street connectivity and infrastructural facilities, which enhance sustainable development and an efficient standard of living. In other words, streets create connectivity and permeability in the city. This is also the case for informal settlements, although street design is much more of a bottom-up process.

Streets in informal settlements can be perceived in a variety of ways. People are battling for space, as seen in many informal communities. As a result, streets become part of the community's struggle for space, with many of them altered to serve as collective spaces for social, economic, and cultural activities. More effective strategies are needed for development actors to take positive actions and view the emerging collective spaces in the streets as another chance for them to create a more sustainable urban future. UN-Habitat (2013) highlights the significance and priority of street collective spaces since they provide a fundamental element for humans to practice. The presence of a diversity of activities and other services in informal settlements improves productivity and adds to the neighbourhood's quality of life. Bottom-up creation is a strong factor in their success because it is directly linked to local needs and expectations. But at the same time, due to their nature as irregularities, there is a danger if they are not taken into consideration. Their informal character can be threatened by sudden needs, the privatisation of certain groups, or sudden top-down changes without understanding the local logic. Finding the right balance is important in the urbanisation process. The UN-Habitat report "Streets as Tools for Urban Transformation in Slums: A Street-Led Approach to Citywide Slum Upgrading." (2012) depicts the interesting and important process of how streets are an important part of community development. Several streets can be redesigned to encourage users, and it is believed that the quality of life in the informal settlements has improved even more through having healthy but also socially sustainable streets.[20]

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[17] An interview was conducted in August, 2020, with a Mlalakuwa resident (38 years old) who is the owner of the shop in one of the streets in the Mlalakuwa area. He has been living at Mlalakuwa since 2013 after shifting from his home village-Kilimanjaro to Dar es Salaam searching for a new life.
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KEYWORDS
food as a tool; adaptive transformation; evolutionary uses; social activities; placemaking

ABSTRACT
A successful urban project cannot be achieved without taking into account the sedimentary character of the places and the actions that take place there every day. We tried to read the mechanisms that trigger changes in order to plan the use of space through the spatial design of social activities related to food. In modern cities, moments of aggregation can be used as a design tool to create a "recipe" to re-analyse a place.
The research conducted applies the metaphor of food and its rituals as a tool to redefine street spaces and evolutionary relations between uses and the built environment in the city. Different devices are designed to bring participants to carry out the activities of their daily life in different spaces: the house is opening more and more to the city and vice-versa. It is a process that starts "from below," with simple and replicable technologies. It is not just a matter of building new spaces, but of highlighting and spatialising processes related to food. So, the project is not only a driver of change but also a key to understanding the complex relationships between the already existing urban devices and the processes that have always had a great influence on the city. The design devices go to work on the program of cities, introducing new spaces to eat together, in the street, they go to break those rigid boundaries that distinguish and separate uses based on ownership, introducing the hybrid form of sharing.

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EAT (in) THE CITY. An Adaptive Process of Transformation Applying the Tool of the Food Metaphor

> For a long time, food consumption was seen merely as a rational activity, linked only to implicit economic activity, thus excluding its social relevance from the analysis. This perspective on consumption is very different from the one we have today, where people consume more and more to differentiate themselves, their values, their vision of the world and of society; now, more than ever, in complex societies, a desire to participate can clearly be seen.[1]

THEMES

The topic of this research is food and the relationships that it generates in the street; to show, to bring out the potential of this theme, we will proceed to break down the individual elements of rituals linked to food and reveal a complexity richer and more fascinating than the sum of their parts. Whether or not we care about food, the consequences of the way in which we eat have important external repercussions on life in cities and in particular on the streets. Whatever the size and shape of the city in which we live, we can use food as a tool of physical and social design, using it to exert a direct influence on our way of urban living. We can choose which type of food to buy, where and when to eat, with whom to eat and how. All these choices influence the locations in which we live, from their physical aspect, to the social fabric that regulates them and animates their daily life,[2] these will be the variables of the experiment that help us define rules to the process.

The research carried out by the *Politecnico di Torino* aims to read, interpret and therefore design the urban living space

using the metaphor of food. Food is seen as a design tool which can be defined as urban food. A city should have strong links with its surrounding area, through a structured food network, with active markets, shops selling local products and a strong sense of food identity. The kitchen is the place of aggregation par excellence in the house, and its space has expanded over time from a place of service to a place of sharing. Urban gardens – even on roofs and terraces – are an integral part of the urban planning of cities, and spaces dedicated to the shared consumption of meals animate our streets, in an even clearer and more impactful way in the wake of the pandemic. By recognising food as a socialisation tool, the city can use it to bring people together and to trigger transformation processes, capable of bringing physical and social benefits to its various living spaces, where the street is the star.[3]

The space is defined by elements with their own characteristics which generate a certain use, which can be hypothesised by the designer of those spaces, but determined only by those who live there, based upon the variety of requirements that evolve, increasingly rapidly, over time.

Working on a small scale guarantees a greater possibility of interaction with users, flexibility and sustainability, allowing them to identify themselves in the design and to make it their own.

The innovative mix of functions revitalises the space and stratifies the volumes through platforms, covers and equipment. Therefore, the elements identified to "equip" the space determine new dynamics, new places clinging to the buildings, grafted into residual areas or underused open spaces. The implementation in phases facilitates the monitoring of use of the device in such a way as to adjust the design depending on the reactions of the community: flexibility in progress and after the transformation prevent abandonment.

METHODOLOGY

The proposed experiment aims to focus on abandoned or underused locations of the city streets, whose main users are the neighbourhood's inhabitants: it is therefore essential to stimulate the process of identification and appropriation of the places to ensure the intervention is effective and not ephemeral, participated and shared. A square thus becomes the dining room of the house, while the passers-by become diners, friends or even relatives. If these actions are able to stimulate the active use of a space, new habits and modifications will be created, while the new activities taking root will trigger community re-appropriation processes of the space. In order to generate a process of this nature, we began with the individual elements that constitute the narration of an urban design formulated through rituals of food. The elements were organised through a matrix. The combination of the elements of the matrix is the supporting methodology of the research; these combinations lead to the creation of rituals that materialise in designs of shared spaces for food consumption.

How are the elements identified and catalogued? How is the matrix created and combined? Which logics and principles are followed?

To explain the elements that are used in the construction of the different scenarios of the experiment we will use words as a metaphor between food and the spatial elements of the architecture of the city. The elements can be divided into three classes: base, modules and atmosphere, to which the category of the type of food is added.

The base represents the urban components on which the device is built; it is the support that allows for the ritual to be constructed. This is the spatial component that generates the ritual.

The modules are elements that can be assembled and which are inserted in the base to define the specific space of the ritual; the components are modular and can be combined in different configurations to allow for their autonomous use, adaptable to different specific requirements. This is the tactile component of the ritual.

The atmosphere is the lightest and more ephemeral physical component; it includes lights and images that complete the device, immersing the participants in the urban experience. This is the visual component of the ritual.

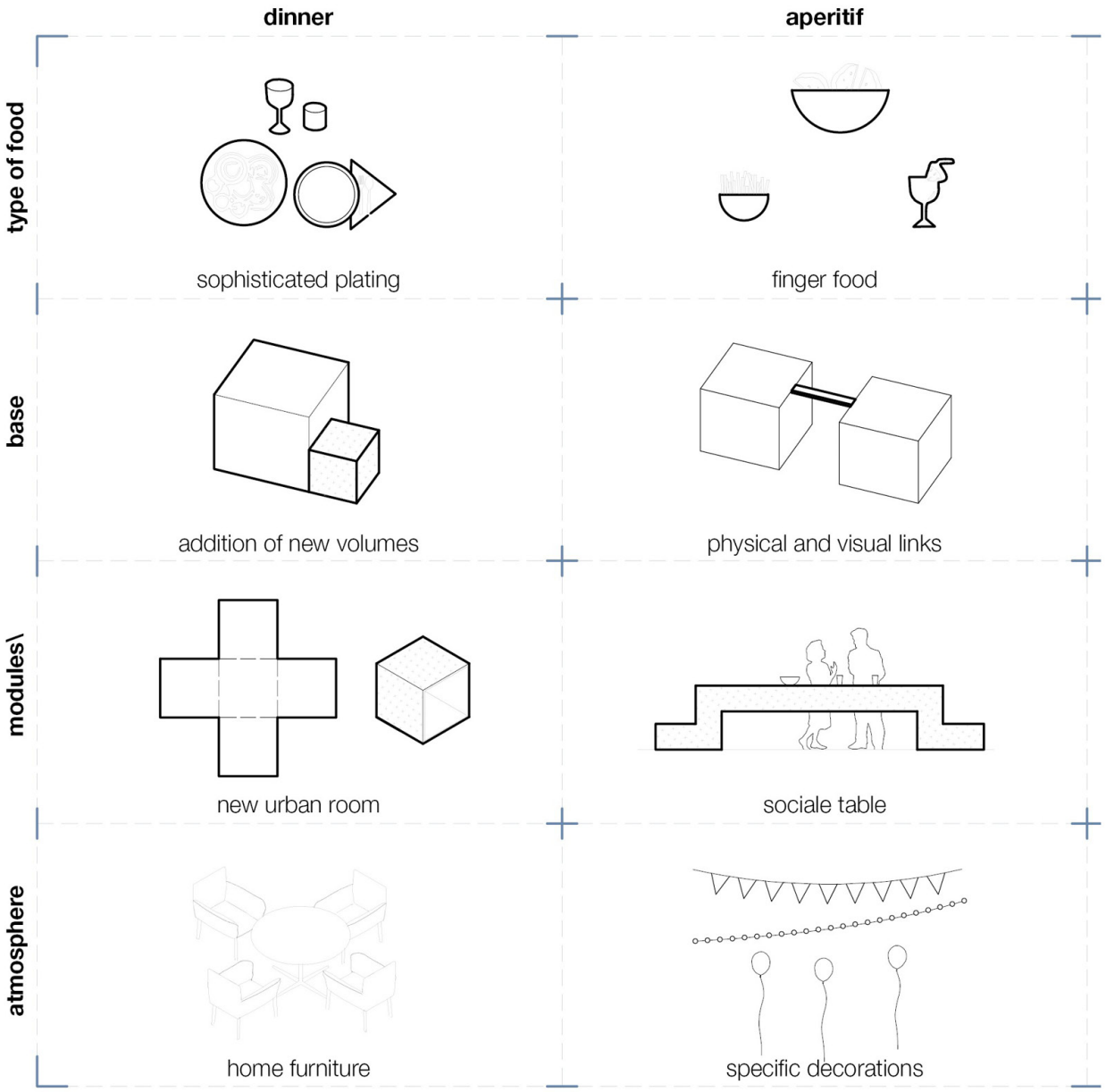
The composition is completed by the category of food: it does not relate to the foods consumed, but the manner in which they are served, namely the form in which they are consumed, whether in individual single-serve portions or in takeaway boxes, whether in the form of finger food or plated-up meals.

The combination of these elements has led to the reconstruction of the image of a domestic ritual of food in the urban dimension. The street is the location where the process takes place, where the new rituals are implemented; it is the space of experimentation, of expansion of meaning and of evolutionary uses capable of giving life to an innovative dimension. The hypothesised design experimentations are flexible and reproducible, so that they can be adapted to different areas, being characterised by way of the different combination of the individual elements. The possibility of increasing or differentiating the combinations facilitates transformations over time, in accordance with changing requirements. **Figg. 1 | 2**

EXPERIMENT

To emphasise the link between food and the street, we have used the metaphor of setting the table. The table and the room that surrounds it are two indivisible elements; the table represents an architectural device constructed on the slow sedimentation of habits, customs and popular beliefs, and thus also in their social structure and the rituals that form the foundation of daily life. The table represents the sharing of food and accordingly also the initial forms of socialisation and politics.[4] The domestic dining room is attributable to forms of public and collective space, when considering its organisational and functional role, not exclusively as a single element. The table is the domestic model through which the home is projected onto the city: A table and the room that surrounds it form one space inside another.[5]

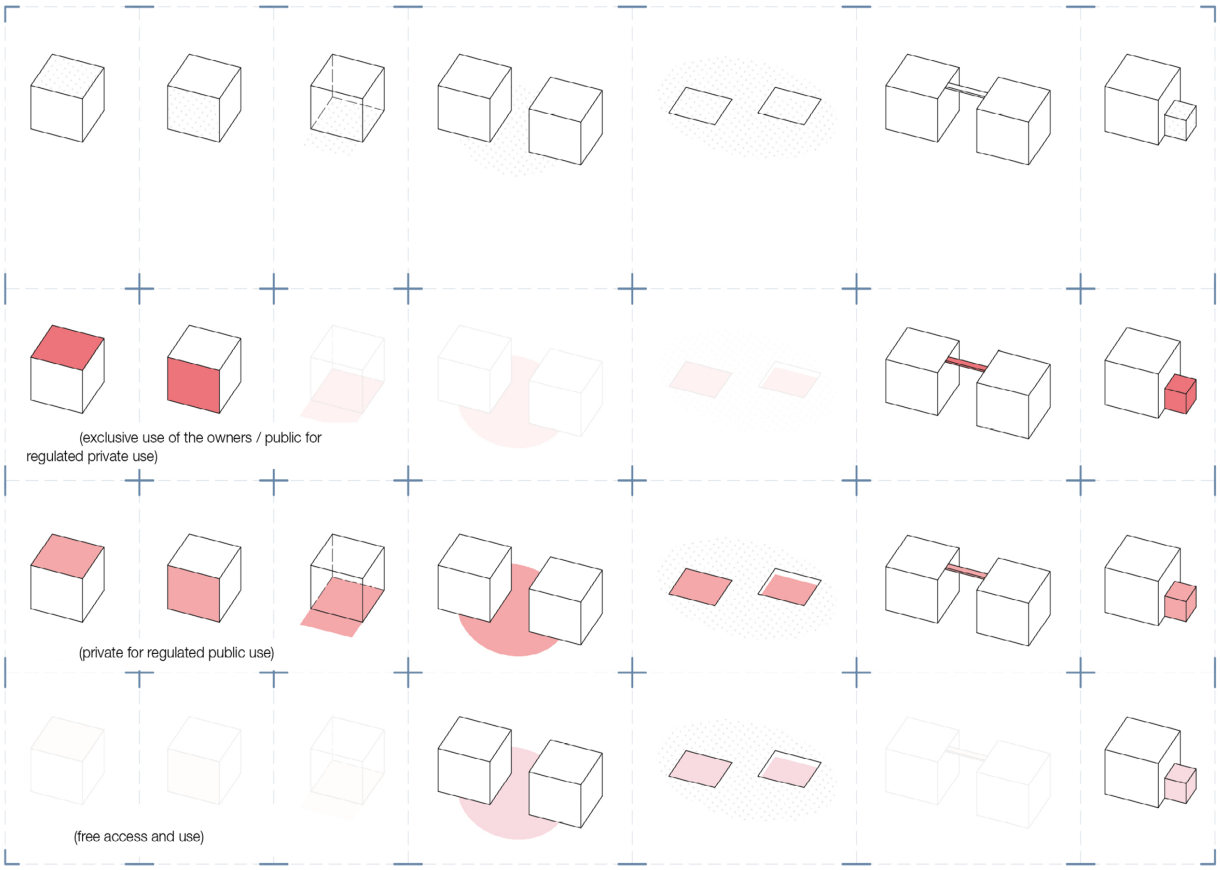
The table embodies the encounter between matter and space; when this is not present, the same function is fulfilled



1

1
The matrix (authors' edition, 2021).

STRATEGIES AND UNDER USED SPACES



2

by a tablecloth, as occurs during a picnic. The lawn that previously had no boundaries and specific attributes, through the simple gesture of laying a tablecloth on it, assumes the meaning of a place. The table is the fulcrum of the kitchen and the kitchen is the fulcrum of the house; the table is the place where the meal is consumed and around which the main social activities are carried out. Just like the table, the square is the fulcrum of the city; it is a place rich in diversity. Together with the street, it is the place where the main urban activities take place. Laying the table means organising the elements that enter into relationship and define the nature of the space and the activities that are performed there. Laying the table is an action able to stimulate different sensorial aspects; similarly, the construction of the image of a street will trigger relationships that lead to the definition of a specific use of the urban space.[6] **Fig. 3**

TOOLS/RITUALS

By placing within the city devices that evoke a domestic ritual, alluding to the rupture between private and public space, this identifies the city as a space to be furnished and to be lived in. Constructing the design of the space according to the changing habits of food consumption rituals, perhaps the oldest form of socialisation, leads to a change in perception of the space itself.

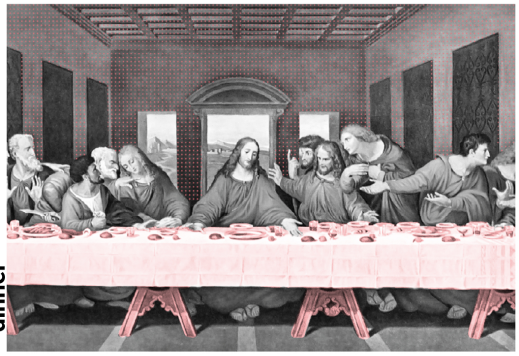
The rituals that best define our way of eating in the city have been identified; they correspond to four macro-categories into which we can subdivide the various activities linked to food. They are distinguished by their physical components and the types of food they involve. The selected rituals – aperitif, dinner, picnic, breakfast – can be broken down even further into infinite hybrid forms that animate our houses and the city streets.

This does not merely concern the repetition of gestures, but a specific combination of visual, spatial and tactile elements that recall in the mind of the individual a profound meaning, culturally linked to the society to which they belong. **Fig. 4**

Dinner, seen in its most classic form, has represented since antiquity the mirror of society. It is a moment of collective gathering that is not only aimed at satisfying the natural need to feed oneself but is the place for sharing experiences and thoughts. During dinner, a process of convergence and intimacy takes place, activating feelings of involvement; how and what we eat has a precise meaning in terms of identification, based upon a set of products and conventions. When the table is located outside of the house, it becomes a powerful instrument for translating the image of the kitchen into places that previously had distant and completely

4 Rituals

dinner

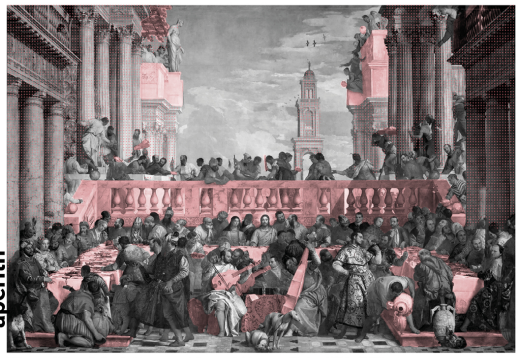


Leonardo da Vinci, "Ultima cena", 1494-1498, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milano.

pic nic

Édouard Manet, "Colazione sull'erba", 1862-1863, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

aperitif



"Nozze di Cana", Paolo Veronese, Museo del Louvre, Paris, 1562–1563.

breakfast

"I nottambuli", Edward Hopper, Art Institute, Chicago, 1942.

+ Street Food

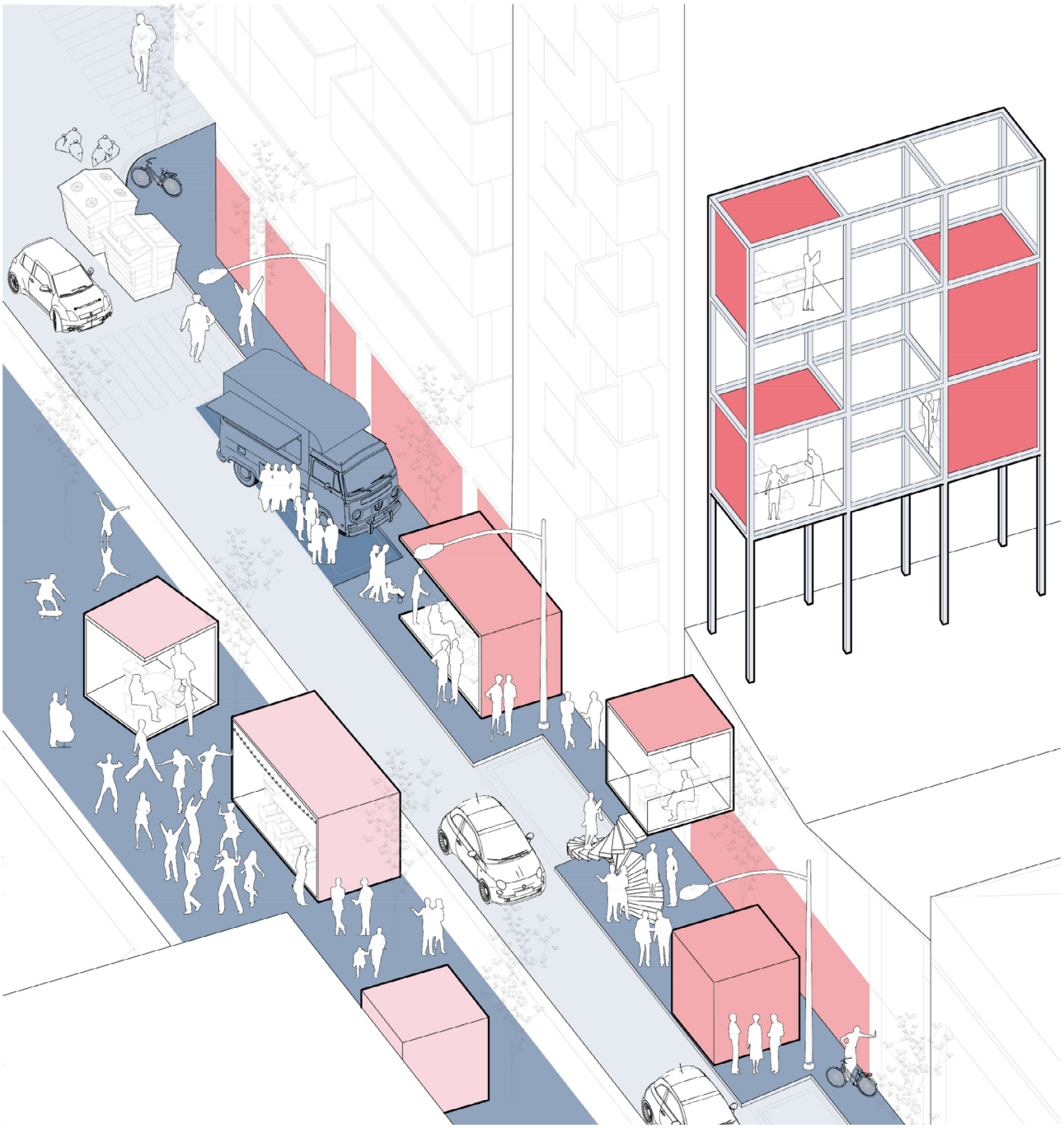
3

different meanings. The spatial sensation is given by the walls of a domestic room. Taste is a social product, as it can be shared and communicated.[7] In this sense, food sharing is at the origin of rituals of the table; it is the repetitiveness of the gestures that sediments the behaviours over time, transforming them into habits. The temporal cadence that regulates human actions, the order in which things happen – being repeated over time – is always determined inevitably by food.[8] **Fig. 5**

The aperitif is the main ritual of the big cities; it is that period of relaxation after work or university, that time to hang out informally to conclude the day. The aperitif was established in the city and is closely linked to it; it could not exist without the drinks served by pubs in the centre or without snacks from the neighbourhood bars. Generically, this ritual takes place between 6pm and 8pm; during those hours, the streets take on a different configuration, amidst the busy throng of people returning home, there are corners where people stop, a space in which the image of the city is animated with colourful glasses and background music. **Fig. 6**

But what happens if we decide to have a picnic on a city street? The tablecloth becomes a permeable floor, akin to a tatami mat; the shade of the tree is provided by a curtain tied to the poles of a lightweight structure. Friends make a date to consume a meal organised at the last minute, with food brought from home or with a sandwich bought from the bar next door. The ritual of the picnic is a moment of shared gathering to consume a meal in contact with nature; the predominant element is the tablecloth, a filter between people and the ground, lightweight and permeable. The picnic location is the shade of a tree, the bank of a river, a glimpse over the panorama. **Fig. 7**

Breakfast is the meal with which the day begins; it is the initial interface with the city. We stop to enjoy a coffee before starting work, before studying, before meeting others... It is an activity that is often performed in solitude but it is also a good opportunity to socialise. Breakfast is that meal that can be consumed in any corner of the city, based upon routine and the specific events of the day. You can drink a coffee while standing, enjoy pancakes while seated at the kitchen table, or eat a croissant on the sofa while reading the newspaper or in bed on a weekend morning. The device represents an extension of the house externally, a passage to a greater degree of sharing.[9] The choice of location of this device embodies the moment that precedes the start of the activities in the city and constitutes the initial interface of the day between persons, the city and food.



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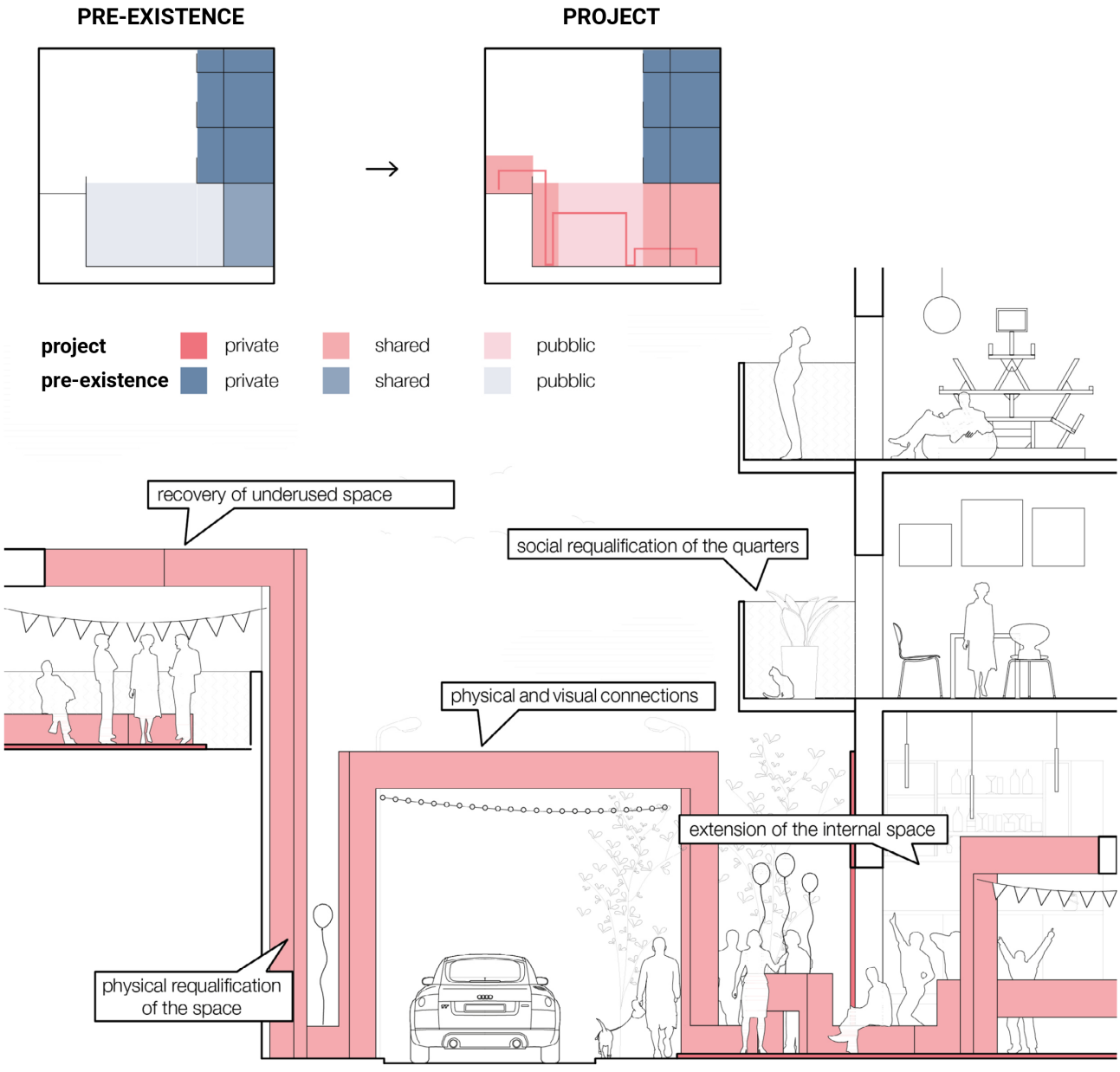
PRE-EXISTENCE
PROJECT
project
pre-existence
private
private
shared
shared
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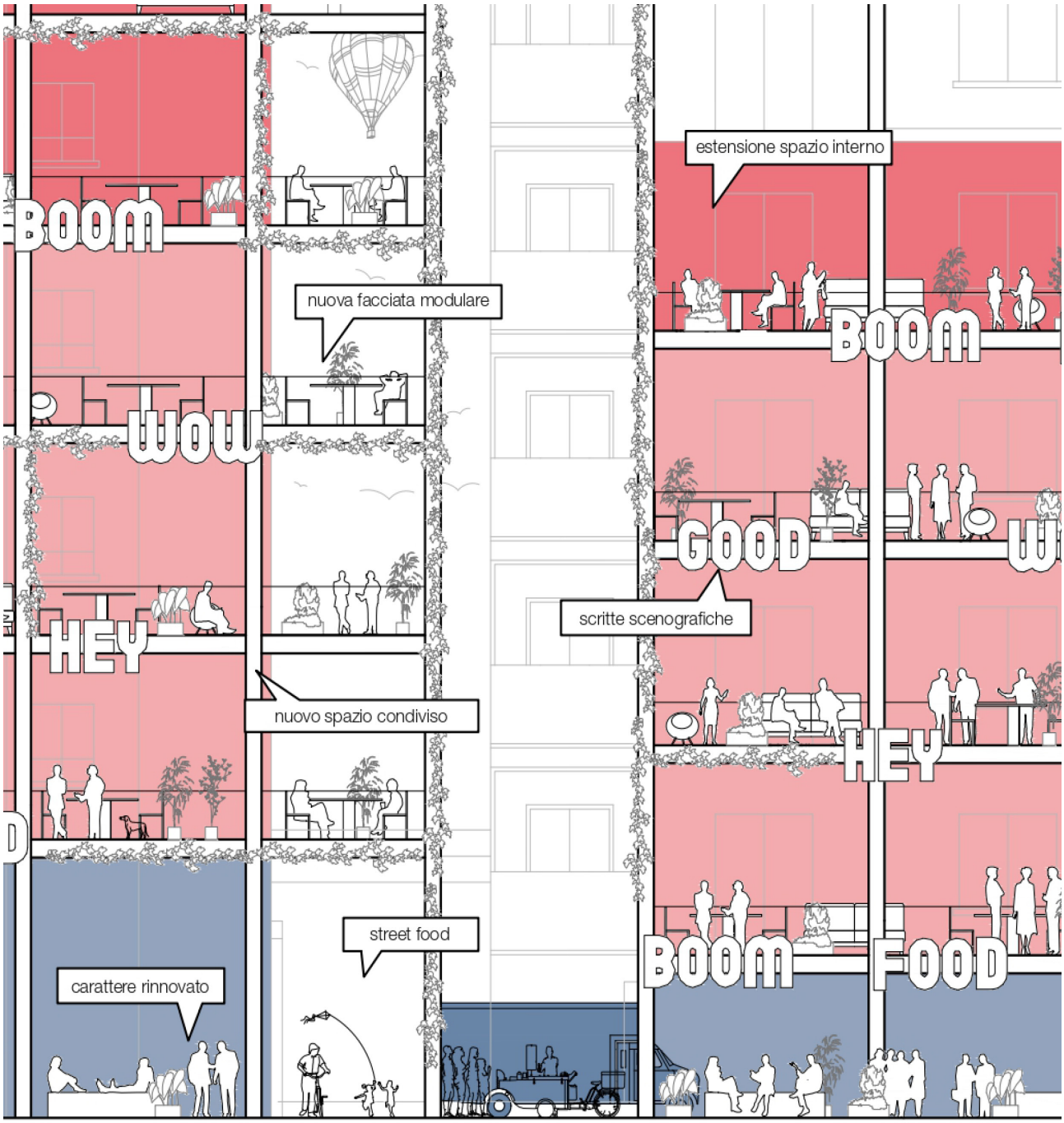
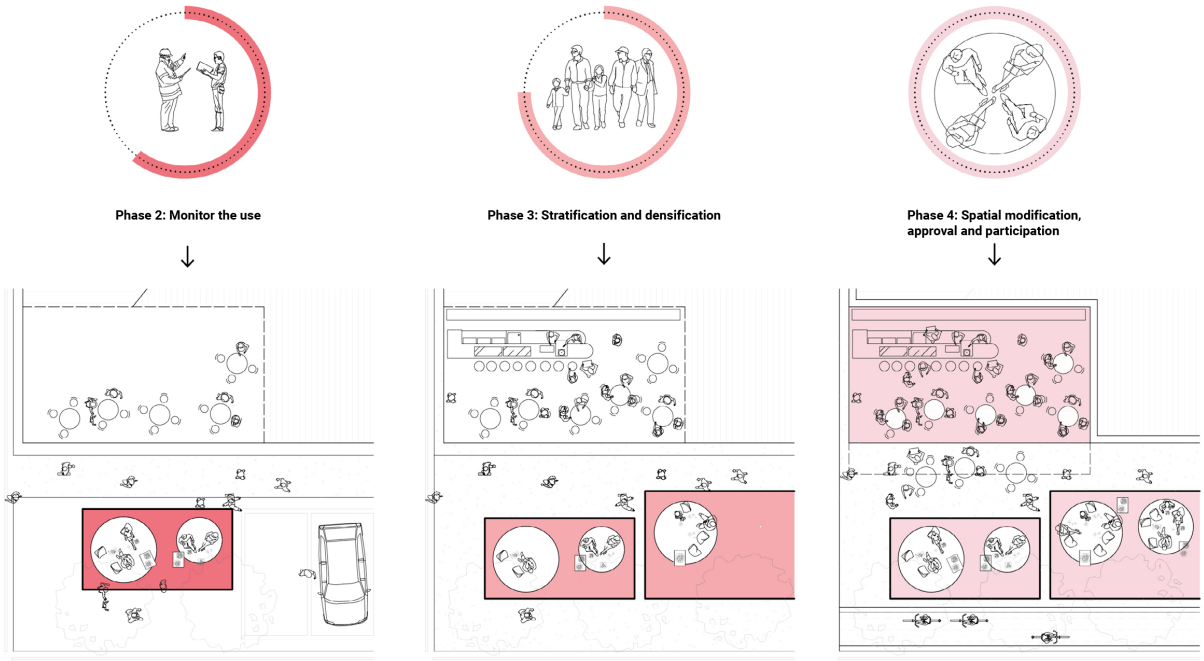
pubblic
recovery of underused space
social requalification of the quarters
physical and visual connections
extension of the internal space
physical requalification of the space

5


BOOM
WOW
HEY
nuova facciata modulare
nuovo spazio condiviso
street food
carattere rinnovato
estensione spazio interno
BOOM
GOOD
scritte scenografiche
HEY
BOOM
FOOD

6



7

2
The elements to define the project (authors' edition, 2021).

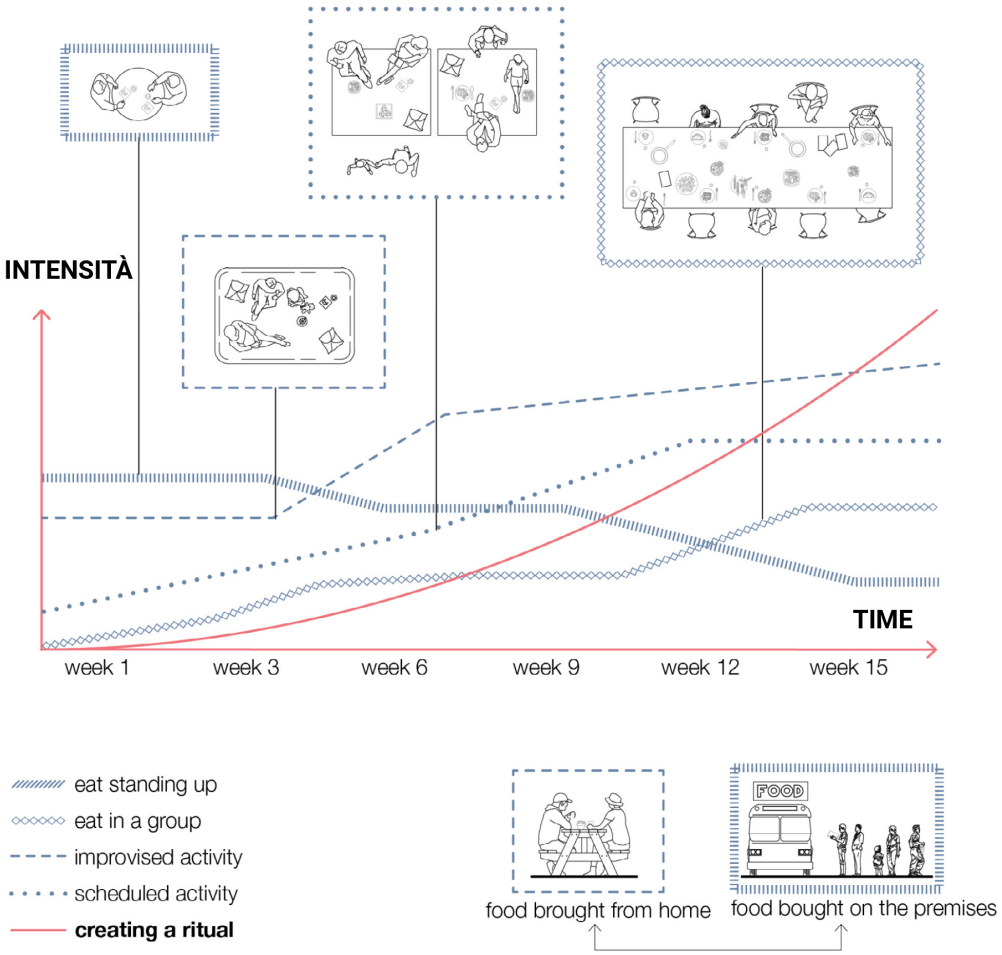
3
The 4 rituals (authors' edition, 2021).

4
Rituals: "dinner" (authors' edition, 2021).

5
Rituals: "aperitif" (authors' edition, 2021).

6
Rituals: "pic-nic" (authors' edition, 2021).

7
Rituals: "breakfast" (authors' edition, 2021).



8

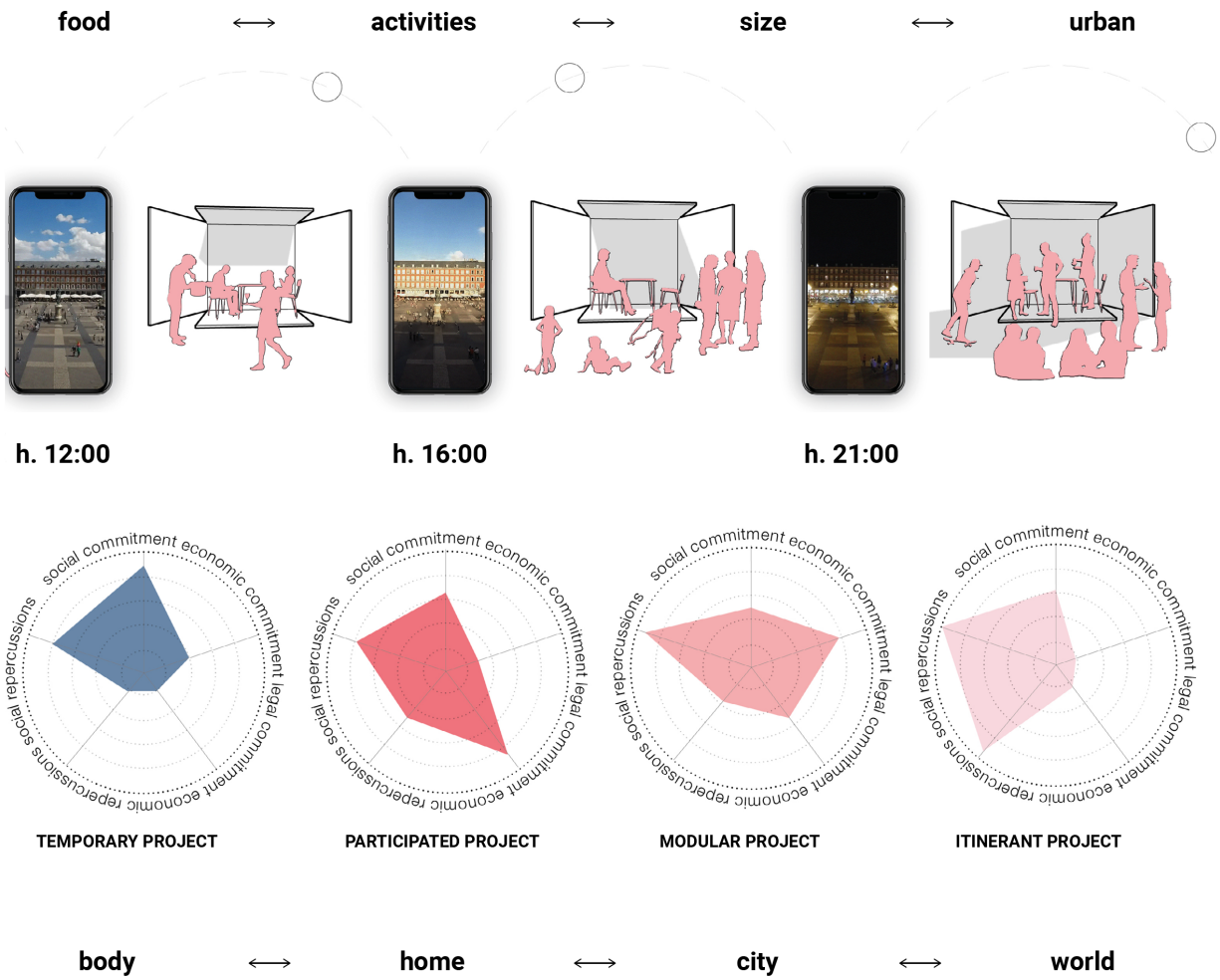
ANALYSIS

Despite the increasing lack of synchronisation of mealtimes in urban life and the global metastasis of some types of food model, such as the American one essentially based on high-calorie fast food, meal times continue to mark – particularly in southern Europe – the different speeds of life over the course of the day. Eating is an activity that is increasingly present in the city, and to a large extent also in the street which, at certain times, can be completely defined by this use. The rhythm in the succession of different breaks and their duration – and thus also their meaning – has undergone various fluctuations over history, according to different cultural models.

Aside from daytime hours, which are at the same time affected by work schedules, it is still possible to identify quite a few differences between the different days of the week and of the year in relation to the wide range of possibilities linked to the food phenomenon. The city, obviously, is not the same in spring, summer, autumn or winter. Besides, the year is also full of different specific holidays which, in one way or another, almost always revolve around a certain type of food, which often disappears during the rest of the year.

With the emergence of new lifestyles, consumers assume more critical attitudes and also become interested in production processes as well as the choice of end product. Due to the abundance of food and a cultural pluralism, new food habits have spread; we eat more outside the house, alone or in the most disparate locations. The normal rituals of the past appear to have disappeared, although in actual fact they have simply multiplied. The standardisation of mealtimes occurs for different reasons, but paradoxically the least influential of all is the physiological need to feed ourselves at marked frequencies.[10] Obviously, we all need to eat, but there are different opinions on how many times a day and in what quantities. Without the influence of established times, the normal thing would be for significant imbalances to appear between the times when people become hungry. The majority of the studies that have been carried out in this regard reach the conclusion that "food synchronisation"[11] has more to do with practical, organisational, collaborative or cultural issues than physiological ones.[12] **Fig. 8**

The same device can be used for different purposes over the space of the day. If we stop for 24 hours in a square and observe what happens, we note that its image drastically changes based upon the different times of the day and the activities that take place there. In general, the early hours



9

of the morning are dedicated to restocking; we witness the comings and goings of vans and boxes supplying the stores with what is needed for the day. Towards lunchtime, the space fills with pavement cafes and tables for lunch and consequently the first groups arrive to animate the square. In the afternoon, the flows of people are variable; towards aperitif time, more people begin to stop in the area until the sun begins to set and the city lights come on. The image changes towards the colours of the night. **Fig. 9**

CONCLUSIONS

This experimentation has highlighted the complex system of relationships that exist between the living space of the house and the entire city; the intimate and private spatial dimension used as a key for reading and interpreting the space of sharing, whether public or private, can re-establish relational balances capable of constructing multiple and multifaceted identities.[13] Urban design is enriched with a vocabulary capable of re-interpreting and constructing dynamic, innovative and provocative uses, where the social dimension expands, offering new prospects of aggregation which were often subtended in manifestations of hybrid, informal and temporary uses. The kitchen is the starting point and the final destination of the urban design, referring to this space at the same time as the main place of aggregation of the house and of connection with the city. The study of the urban phenomenon of food, however, invites us to see the house as an incomplete entity if not viewed from multidisciplinary perspectives.[14]

Taste is a social product,[15] as it can be shared and communicated. In this sense, the sharing of food is at the origin of table rituals; it is the repetitiveness of the gestures that sediments behaviours over time, transforming them into habits. The temporal cadence that regulates human actions, the order in which things happen – being repeated over time – is always determined inevitably by food. The passage of urban space-time can also be interpreted through the fragments of the day that we dedicate to the consumption of food which have inevitably ended up moulding the locations of urban life. Free time, work, and rest are activities in which food is the determining factor. The attention paid to setting the table, arranging food and dishes, forms part of the daily ritual. The ritual is a set of actions, whose repetition over time creates the cultural models of a society.

The city is the place of plurality and experimentation, which must be capable of offering non-standardised life

10

8
Dynamic pattern (authors' edition, 2021).

9
Devices' mutations during the daytime (authors' edition, 2021).

10
The rituals applied to the neighbourhood Aurora in Turin – Urban regeneration (authors' edition, 2021).

opportunities. The street, following this interpretation, can increasingly be seen as part of the house,[16] with little importance given to the condition of public or private, where the proprietary dimension does not determine a formal dimension.[17] The design is inserted as a tool of regeneration that questions the boundary between private and public, generating new relationships between the existing spaces.

Several examples of non-institutionalised spaces have led to significant outcomes, such as in the case of "Esto no es un solar,"[18] a project carried out in Zaragoza in 2006, following an experimentation established as part of a city festival of urban art "En la frontera." The temporary collective use of public and private spaces within the city triggered virtuous re-appropriation processes of abandoned places, with few financial resources, yet with a strong social impact.

The project devices introduce into the city transformation programme new spaces where food becomes the opportunity and the excuse for aggregation, creating a mix of rituals that break down those rigid boundaries which distinguish the uses of the street based upon ownership, introducing the hybrid form of sharing.[19]

The project aims to activate a process of renewal, through a critical action on the built environment and on urban lifestyles. The fragments of the city in which to implement the project are all those underused urban spaces, where the street is just infrastructure and does not establish relationships, but merely performs an instrumental function. By hybridising different disciplines and themes, the architect is the coordinator of projects in which the space "in-between" is the main author and site of the transformation, ecological transition and social inclusion. **Fig. 10**

[1] Xavier Monteys, ed., Quaderns 271. *About Buildings and Food* (Barcelona: COAC, 2018).
[2] Lim CJ, *Food City* (New York: Routledge, 2014).
[3] Domitilla Dardi, "Zoom. L'alimento come materia prima del progetto," *L'architetto* (April 2015).
[4] Juan Cruz, *El tenedor: un cortesano en la mesa,* 2011.
[5] François Ascher, *Le Mangeur Hypermoderne* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2005).
[6] Jamie Horwitz, and Paulette Singley, eds., *Eating Architecture* (Cambridge-London: The MIT Press, 2004).
[7] Claude Fischler, *El (h)omnívoro. El gusto, la cocina y el cuerpo* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1995).
[8] K. Kumar, and E. Makarova, "Portable Home: The Domestication of Public Space," *Sociological Theory* 26, no. 4 (December 2008): 324–43.
[9] Ugo La Pietra, *Interno / Esterno* (Mantua: Corraini Edizioni, 2014).
[10] Carolyn Steel, *Hungry City. How Food Shapes Our Lives* (London: 2008).
[11] A. Elshater, "Food Consumption in the Everyday Life of Liveable Cities: Design Implications for Conviviality," *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability* (2019).
[12] Ascher, *Le Mangeur Hypermoderne.*
[13] Ugo La Pietra, *Abitare la città. Ricerche, interventi, progetti nello spazio urbano dal 1960 al 2000* (Turin: Allemandi & C., 2011).
[14] Susan Parham, *Food and Urbanism: The Convivial City and a Sustainable Future* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015).
[15] Massimo Montanari, *La comida como cultura* (Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2006).
[16] A. Heller, "Dove ci sentiamo a casa?," Il Mulino, n. 353 (May-June 1994): 381–99.
[17] E. Greco "Definizione dello spazio urbano: architettura e spazio pubblico," in *I Greci. Storia cultura arte società, vol. II, t. 2: Una storia greca.* Definizione (VI-IV secolo a. C), eds. Salvatore Settis, and others (Turin: 1997), 634.
[18] Patrizia Di Monte, and Ignacio Grávalos, "Estonoesunsolar Zaragoza España," *Paisea* 16 (March 2011): 95–9.
[19] Marianne Dagevos, and E.J. Veen, "Sharing a meal: a diversity of performances engendered by a social innovation," *Journal of Urbanism* 13, no. 1 (2020).

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KEYWORDS
coastal urban slums; flood adaptation measures; slum streets; urban morphology; Dharavi

ABSTRACT
In developing countries, coastal urban slums are acknowledged as highly susceptible areas to the consequences of climate extremes. With a limited capacity to absorb and prevent rising waters, coastal slums experience recurring floods. This challenge has led slum dwellers to develop local adaptation measures over the years.
The public space embedded within the slum morphology provide for spatial interplay between the floods and measures of adaptation. Formerly perceived as a threat, the excess of water is evolving into an opportunity. In these contexts, streets provide for essential physical space in the slum fabric, also useful to address the effects of floods. The form of the street allows temporary cyclical occupations that relate to the activities of the slum dwellers, the daily or seasonal rhythms, in which water level plays a lead role. Thus, the character of the street is both defined by the fixed section and the cyclical adaptive measures and elements that compose the liveable space.
Dharavi, in Mumbai, consists of a highly diverse informal settlement comprising streets that support the livelihoods of different communities, such as fishers in Koliwada, potters in Kumbharwada, and laundry workers in Dhobi Ghat, among others. In this paper, the diversity of street form and cycles is decoded and translated by interpretative drawings based on cartographic and collected images.
This study seeks to showcase the crucial role of slum streets, as urban morphological elements, in addressing cyclical floods. It contributes to the wider research into the typification of flood adaptation measures and the systematisation of a lexicon of flood adaptation measures for coastal urban slums.

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Street Rhythms in Dharavi: The Cyclical Flood Adaptation in Coastal Urban Slums

INTRODUCTION

Flood risk for coastal urban slums

Flooding is the most common hazard in coastal urban slums in developing countries. Climate change effects and urbanisation have aggravated the vulnerability of these areas. As per the recent 2019 announcement from UNISDR, floods remained the most impactful natural disaster, impacting a significant population, with 35.4 million people affected in 2018.[1] A flood is the result of combinations of meteorological, hydrological, and human factors. Coastal urban slums are more vulnerable due to their predominant location in areas prone to flooding and marshlands adjacent to coastlines or riverbanks, with inadequate infrastructural facilities and flood preventive government interventions. It is strongly anticipated that coastal systems and areas with lower elevations will witness a continued rise in submersion, flooding, and erosion in the 21st century and beyond, largely due to the elevation of sea levels.[2] Water is both the source of risk and the source of livelihoods. The perception of the most vulnerable that live in urban slums which is based on the immediacy of their needs is that they are able to create a shelter and a source of livelihood to support families and households, thus the location is the result of lack of choice and more seen as a source of income, proximity to transport and access to space based on the daily activities of the dwellers. This fact is pertinent taking into consideration the dimension of these physically vulnerable areas and the social vulnerability of most people living in these areas, preventing their mass dislocation or the use of conventional and high-cost measures of defence given the costs implied.

Local adaptation to flood

The adaptation to climate change involves an ongoing learning process focused on minimizing vulnerabilities through continuous adjustments.[3] Slum dweller's response to flooding play a crucial role in creating parsimonious coping strategies and adaptation measures tailored to

specific local conditions. Coastal urban slum communities now find it necessary to adopt vernacular adaptation measures to coexist peacefully with water as a fundamental requirement.[4] Costly formal measures, such as the ones implemented in developed countries, are inadequate to provide an efficient reduction of the vulnerability of urban poor. In these areas, the effectiveness of flood adaptation measures relies heavily on the ability of slum dwellers to address physical factors like water leakage prevention, drainage system efficacy, and landscape conditions, often achieved with minimal investment.[5]

On topographic and environmental levels: the physical location of Dharavi being a swampy lowland bordering the Mithi River leads to a higher vulnerability towards floods during the monsoon months. This slum settlement faces recurring seasonal submergence and is expected to be permanently submerged due to sea level rise and increase incidence of hurricanes in a moderate scenario proposed by Kopp for the climate central modelling tool.[6] In this context, slum dwellers have adopted local community led adaptation measures to cope with the severity of the monsoons since its early occupation. These local measures differ according to the seasons (wet and dry), in day and night and even in time relation with a particular flood event (before, during and after), being particularly evident in the space of the streets. These measures include actions like using plastic sheets to cover windows and roofs, elevating plinths and furniture to higher levels for safety, erecting flood barriers, and clearing drains to facilitate water flow. Here, the involvement of social networks and community participation greatly contributes to strengthening the flood resilience of urban slum spaces.

Street as physical space to address flood

The streets are the primary public space in Dharavi. Not just connecting places responding to the need of mobility, Dharavi streets are the space of social interaction and trade between dwellers.

Streets offer abundant economic and social opportunities, facilitating human interaction and commerce. Consequently, streets represent a collective space, with their perimeters potentially incorporating elements that serve as link between public and private spaces, particularly at street level.[7] The urban street interface, depending on its context, function, and layout, can denote areas for socializing and recreational activities, while also reflecting the societal

1

contradictions, expressions, and lifestyles.[8]

In Dharavi, where the narrow streets are surrounded by 2-3 storied houses, the ground floor level is usually used for activities that usually open up and extend out in the streets, while the upper floors are used for residential purposes. Streets in Dharavi provide physical space for livelihood and economic exchange and also consist of an essential space to address cyclical floods. The form of the street allows for temporary occupations that relate to the activities of the slum dwellers, varying with the time of day or changing seasons, with water levels prominently shaping the space. The study endeavours to showcase the role of Dharavi slum streets, as urban morphological elements, in addressing cyclical floods. It contributes to the wider research into the typification of parsimonious flood adaptation measures, aiming to build a lexicon of flood adaptation measures for coastal urban slums.

INTERPRETING THE FORM AND CYCLICAL ADAPTATION IN DHARAVI STREETS

To draw is to learn

Gandelsonas argues that drawing serves as a means to reveal formal configurations that may go unnoticed in reality, thereby influencing our perception of the city.[9] Additionally, Anne Vernez Moudon emphasizes that morphological analysis should take into account three aspects: shape, resolution and temporal changes.[10] Therefore, the coding of graphic representations is crucial for morphological analyses, with its effectiveness depending on the specific research objectives and questions.[11]

The interpretative reading of a street in urban slum from the different neighbourhoods of the fishermen, the potters and the washermen requires a decomposed approach that enables to simplify the complexity and allows to decode the formal composition and the transformation in time of this urban element. This allows to reveal the existent character of the street that is both defined by the fixed section and the cyclical adaptive measures and elements that compose the liveable space in accordance with changing water in time.

The present article focuses on the daily livelihood cycles of the investigated communities as well as the flood adaptation measures and built elements adopted by the dwellers in the streets. Therefore, interpretative morphological drawings are used to interpret and present the daily and seasonal cycles of the street.

While the typical spatial depiction is in plan view,

1
Location of Dharavi slum along the Mithi River in Mumbai (authors' edition, 2022)

2
Cross-sections from the different neighbourhoods in Dharavi (authors' edition, 2022).

3
Occupation of streets in the neighbourhood of Koliwada in Dharavi (authors' edition, 2022).

4
Dhobi ghat in the neighbourhood of *dhobis* in Dharavi (authors' edition, 2022).

5
A view of the streets of Kumbharwada, Dharavi (authors' edition, 2022).

representing it in section aligns more closely with our perception of the space, making the spatial features and characteristics the research emphasizes more apparent. Photographs of the atmospheres in different periods were chosen and rigorous sections were drafted to study the occupation cycles, the persistence, and the changes in the space of Dharavi streets.

Sections are drafted at uniform scales and adhere to consistent representation conditions: fixed elements are depicted with black lines, while the ephemeral elements are depicted with red lines, placing in evidence the day/night occupation cycles but also the flood levels and the measures and physical elements adopted by Dharavi dwellers in each of the neighbourhood communities' street spaces that were studied.

The aim is to identify and characterise parsimonious measures that ancestrally cope with urban floods in different community contexts of Dharavi.

Dharavi overview

Dharavi, located in the centre of Mumbai metropolitan area, **Fig. 1** accommodates nearly one million[12] inhabitants who have settled in this swampy region over the years. In the 18th century, inhabited by the fishermen community; *the Kolis*, today along with other communities, reside and engage in economic activities within Dharavi, significantly adding to Mumbai's GDP: $650 million (USD) annually. It consists of about 80 neighbourhoods or *nagars* with people from different livelihoods that originated and evolved in time with migration of people from different parts of the country. Over the years, Dharavi densified with migrants bringing different skills and backgrounds transforming it into a large informal economy.

The spontaneous and unplanned urban fabric of Dharavi holds great significance as a repository of history and memories for its resident communities. In Dharavi, the pedestrian oriented narrow streets are flanked by buildings ranging from 2 to 4 stories high. These structures typically host commercial activities on the ground floor and residential spaces on the floors above.[13] A characteristic of Dharavi is its very close *housing-workplace relationship*, and productive activities take place in nearly every street, which is not so common to find in other slum areas that are usually almost exclusively residential. It presents a self-sustained work-cum-residential settlement. Despite the lack of infrastructure and formal government interventions, the slum morphology of Dharavi provides for the requirements of both the place for industries and to live. This has resulted in an organic, community-centric, mixed use, high density low-rise streetscape.

The streets are used to support the people's movement but also for casual meetings, street vending and as an extension of domestic life. The children play and dwellers work in the narrow streets that are appropriated by different functions that change in time. The physical space in streets of Dharavi undergoes continual transformation by each community, adapting to their livelihoods needs and reflecting their specific measures for dealing with floods.

Dharavi streets rhythms and cycles

The physical structure of the city comprises a complex array of urban elements, each characterized by distinct morphological attributes shaped by multiple factors. An understanding of these elements and their perception by individuals is significant in shaping a liveable built environment. The configuration of the built environment is the result of adaptation in time and experiences over the years. The following cross-sections **Fig. 2** are derived from different neighbourhoods of Dharavi slum in Mumbai with the objective to understand the character of the street that is both defined by the fixed section and the cyclical adaptive measures and elements that compose the space.

While assessing the cyclical adaptation in different neighbourhoods of Dharavi in time; day-night and dry-wet

DRY SEASON

WET SEASON

DAY

NIGHT

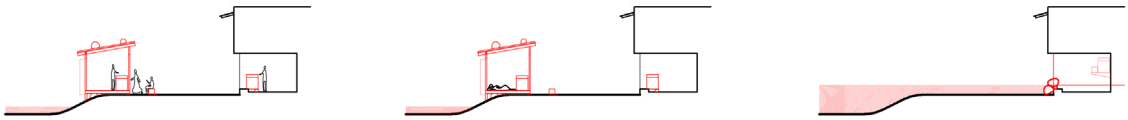
A

B

C

FISHERMEN
KOLI COMMUNITY

1



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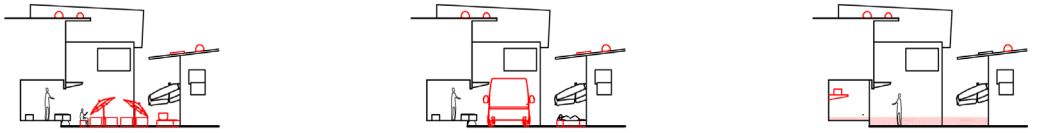

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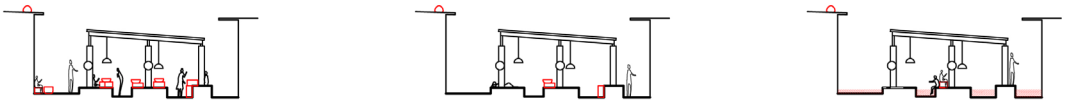

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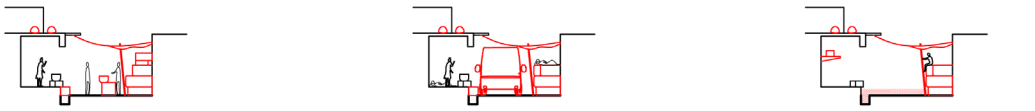
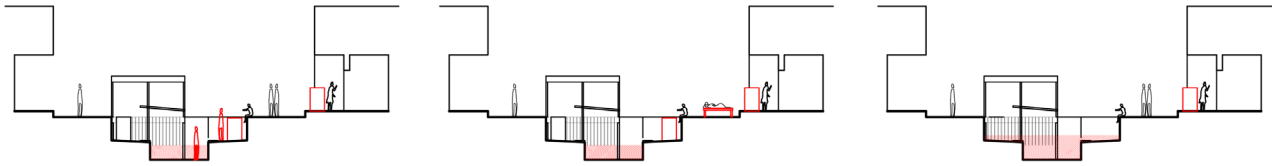


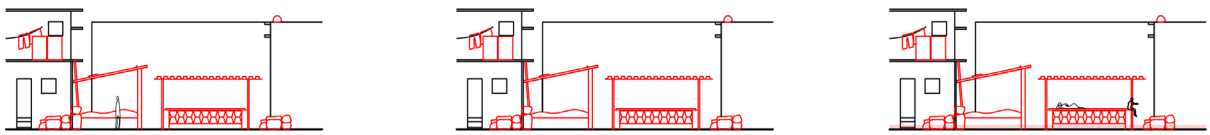
WASHERMEN
DHOBI COMMUNITY

5

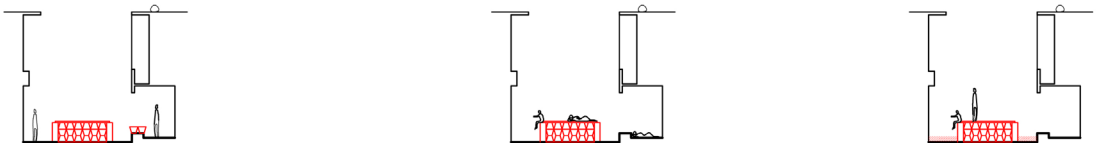


POTTERS
KUMHAR COMMUNITY

6



7



2

3

4

5

Zone/Community area	Social Characteristics	Adaptation measures and elements	Cross-section Ref.
The fishermen (*Kolis*)	Early settlement dated from the 18th century. This community is located along the coast. The men catch the fish from the sea/ river, and women sell the catch in the streets.	Construction of water embankments and retaining walls along the river bank. Constructed fish vending platforms (informal fish markets). The streets are used for vending fishes in day and night. During flood, the vending platforms provide for safe sites of gathering. Streets are occupied temporarily by the vending kiosks along the water lines.	1,2,3,4
The washermen (*dhobis*)	Early migrant community from Andhra Pradesh in Dharavi. This community is located along the *nalas* (the drains): water lines.	The streets along the *nalas* adapted into washing *ghats* with community led measures such as creating washing platforms, stepped retaining walls along the drain, etc. *Dhobi ghats* are used for washing clothes, social gathering, religious and leisure activities. Surrounded by 2-3 storied houses occupied by the families of *dhobis*.	5
The potters (*Kumhars*)	Migrant community in Dharavi for hundreds of years, now forms an essential part of Dharavi. Mostly occupy the neighbourhood of Kumbharwada (the colony of potters)	The streets in the neighbourhood are used for livelihood activities. The moulding of clay, sun drying or baking in a furnace and stocking of final products is done in streets. Potters have constructed raised furnaces, stocking platforms and retaining walls. These elements are prepared in the street in relation to vagaries of water in time.	6,7

Tab 1
Adaptive measures and elements in the neighbourhoods of Dharavi (authors' edition, 2022).

seasons, it was realised that livelihood occupations and water presence or absence has a significant influence in the street space. The cross-sections refer to three different neighbourhoods of distinct communities that inhabit Dharavi: the fishermen (*kolis*), the washermen (*dhobis*) and the potters (*Kumhars*).

The streets along the waterfront in *koliwada* **Fig. 2-1** are occupied by temporary kiosks that during the day are used for vending and during the night are used to sleep. The selling of fishes is a prominent function that occupies the streets in *koliwada*. **Figg. 2-2 | 3 | 4** Traditionally, men bring the catch and the female sells it in the streets. **Fig. 2-2** Slum dwellers have created raised platforms to sell the fishes **Fig. 2-3** which are used later to sleep during the night or as a safe site to gather during the floods. The streets that are used as open-air fish markets in the day are occupied by the loading vehicles at night. **Fig. 2-4** The same ephemeral built element that occupies the space of the street has the ability to support both the commercial function and spartanly answer the residential need, even if at a very basic level. **Figg. 2-1 | 2 | 4** People living in Dharavi employ simple measures to address the challenges posed by the heavy rains, and these are temporary elements which the community relocates to safer sites during the wet season. Also during the monsoon, plastic sheets are used to cover windows and protect the roofs, adding an extra layer to the usually more ventilated built structures. Furthermore, barriers are created at doorways with sandbags and mezzanine structures inside the shops are used to raise the furniture that occupy the streets during the dry season.

In a distinct Dharavi context, the *Dhobi ghat* **Fig. 4** is a space along a river, *ghat* means steps leading down to the river, where the washermen (*Dhobi* community) wash the clothes and it is predominantly used by the *dhobis* (cross-section in **Fig. 2-5**). In this specific example, the slum dwellers have identified the waste water channel, nala, which runs alongside the railway track along the street, as a potential site for a communal laundry area, *dhobi ghat*.

The appropriation of this wastewater channel, adapting it into a ghat, has generated a specific type of linear public space, a water street or channel which is used for the washing of the clothes, for community gathering and as a kids' play area during the day. The same physical space is used for sleeping during the night. Slum dwellers occupy the space with *charpai* (wooden bed) to sleep in pleasant night outdoor weather. The occupation of the street space

6

6
Collage: the cyclical flood adaptation in Dharavi streets (authors' edition, 2022).

changes according to these uses in time, nevertheless its physical structure remains the same, surrounded by the 2-3 story high houses where the families of *dhobis* live. The banks of the channel and the channel itself become a domestic extension of the household dedicated to work life but also to social life in this improbable context.

Kumhar means potter and *wada* means colony. Kumbharwada is a 12 acre area in Dharavi wherein people are solely engaged in the business of pottery. Kumbharwada, as also the Dharavi area, is a nearly hundred year old settlement where the dwellers carried on with their occupation of pottery over the generations. The potters shape the clay on the *chaak* or the wheel in desired shape that afterwards is dried in the sun or baked in a furnace. These activities are performed both in the squares or courtyards and in the streets of this neighbourhood **Fig. 5** and the availability of close water sources is mandatory for their subsistence. To perform in these activities, public spaces are appropriated with elements required in relation with the vagaries of water. **Figg. 2-6 | 7** The pots are stocked in streets along the retaining walls made with mud bricks. These same elevated areas made of bricks, which seem to only delimit a space for storing pottery, provide for protection from water during the floods.

From the reading of the street cycles in these three areas of Dharavi, a systematisation was built **Tab. 1** which presents the characteristics, adaptive measures and elements that were identified. It summarises the social characteristics of the assessed communities in the Dharavi slum along with the corresponding adaptation measures and elements that enable the dwellers to adapt the street space both to daily life and the vagaries of water in time.

Although these are local answers to cope with the daily needs and seasonal flooding, their essential, low-tech and parsimonious character, this identification and characterization consists in a step that might inform the creation of a synthetic lexicon for the adaptation of coastal urban slums with efficient measures and elements.

FINAL REMARKS

Over the years, the Dharavi slum dwellers have adopted local measures in-light of the requirements of their specific needs, livelihood and recurring floods. Here, the slum street, as an urban morphological element, not only supports changeable occupations on the daily life cycle but additionally contributes in addressing cyclical floods and providing physical space for its adaptation. In the absence of institutional flood adaptation measures, the cyclical adaptation in streets consists of parsimonious measures that are implemented by local communities. These measures vary in type (infrastructural, behavioural), scale (individual, community, neighbourhood), time (day, night), seasons (dry, wet), phases (before, during, after), role (defend, retreat, attack) etc. This provides for transformability to the toolkit that is envisioned for the adaptation of coastal urban slums to address future floods. Reading the occupation cycles related to water in the Dharavi streets revealed a set of parsimonious flood adaptation measures and elements that have evolved and perfected in time, according to experience and the availability or lack of resources. These traditional and very efficient measures that cope with seasonal flooding have the potential to be systematised and typified, contributing to build an instrumental lexicon for addressing flood effects from climate change and extreme weather events, not only in Dharavi but also in similar low resources and vulnerable Global South coastal urban slums contexts.

As Kenneth Frampton reminds us while prefacing the 2012, 3rd edition, of *De la Forme au Lieu* by Pierre von Meiss, "we cannot expect pertinent innovation without tradition and inversely we cannot ground a living tradition without invention."[14] In this sense, understanding and learning from the living tradition of street occupation cycles derived from flooding and water management in Dharavi may support the efficient pertinent innovation we strive for when facing contemporary and future urban challenges related to the effects of climate change.

Acknowledgements

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KEYWORDS
public space; urban interstices; urban growth and development; urban morphology and topography; urban voids

ABSTRACT
The urban layout of Lisbon is closely linked with its ancient routes, shaped by the surrounding geography. Many of these routes still exist today as contemporary streets and serve as fundamental axes of the city. Along these routes, traditional public spaces such as *praças, largos, miradouros, jardins or parques*, can be found, while neglected areas known as urban interstices lie in between. Despite their abandonment, these spaces hold significant potential for important ecological and social functions. This paper aims to explore the possibilities of connecting urban interstices with Lisbon's public spaces, guided by principles of urban regeneration and the synergy between formal and informal systems. Through an analysis of the São Bento valley, it is intended to elaborate a strategy for urban integration that will serve, above all, as a platform for discussion about intervention approaches in public spaces.

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Linking the In-Between: A Strategy for the Integration of Urban Interstices in Lisbon

INTRODUCTION

There is a strong relationship between the geography and topography of Lisbon and the development of the built city. Following the theory developed by Saverio Muratori (1910–1973), Carrilho da Graça and Sequeira[1] demonstrated how it is possible to reconstruct and trace the signs of this fundamental relationship in this city. Along with the ridge and valley routes or paths, which, as argued by Carrilho da Graça and Sequeira, are at the origin of Lisbon's urban development and essential for understanding its current form, in this paper we have added one more geographical condition: the hillside line. This condition, as we will describe later, is essential for better understanding the origin and continued existence of urban interstices in the city of Lisbon.

Despite often being seen as residual and problematic elements of the contemporary city, urban interstices are valuable spaces with significant potential for addressing the challenges of sustainable development. However, integrating these spaces into the city's system of collective spaces is a complex task, requiring insights from urban economy and development, sociology, planning, and architecture. In this paper, we aim to explore the potential of urban interstices and how they can be integrated into Lisbon's system of collective spaces from an urban planning and architectural perspective, using the São Bento area as a case study. The analysis will consider the topography, ridge and valley paths, and public spaces, along with a detailed examination of the urban interstices themselves. **Fig. 1**

It is considered, on the one hand, the importance of valley and ridge paths, public spaces and major public buildings; on the other hand, the different nature and characteristics of the urban interstices. Therefore, two new paths are proposed, allowing to articulate the existing urban interstices between themselves and with formal

1

1
Urban interstices, Lisbon (author's photograph, 2022).

public spaces, while opening new possibilities for urban connections and uses.

URBAN INTERSTICES

The contemporary cities are changing their physical structure and their immaterial and symbolic relationships, making difficult to approach them with old concepts and tools.[2] Many authors have attempted a definition for this new urban form, such as intermediate city,[3] *città diffusa*[4] or generic city,[5] planetary urbanization,[6] regional urbanization[7]. Among all these some common features are identified, such as: the absence of clear division between city and countryside; urban and rural dimension interpenetration, overlapping and hybridization, creating blurred and indeterminate boundaries; meeting between material and virtual relationships, where local actions and regional, national, global decisions compete, according to globalized flows and local demands.[8]

Contemporary cities generate urban voids[9] within themselves and at their borders. They have been referred in many ways, such as *terrain vague*,[10] *territori attuali*,[11] *spazi interclusi*,[12] *nuove terre*,[13] spaces in-between,[14] third landscape[15] or urban interstices.[16] Considering the character of the spaces under study, the definition of urban interstices seems the most appropriate, since it concerns unbuilt spaces within urban areas, in a condition of abandonment, marginality, uselessness, ambiguity,[17] and characterized by the lack of articulation with the rest of the city.[18]

There may be a tendency to think that urban interstices have been randomly generated and that have no use. However, they show clearly the relation with the territorial palimpsest[19] and they are often used for informal activities. In fact, emptiness can be thought as both negatively and positively.[20] These spaces allow any possibility and are bearers of hope and freedom. They have a great environmental, social and economic value,[21] since they can be integrated with traditional public spaces, or be linked each other,[22] creating a network of in-between spaces of transition, cooperation, threshold.[23]

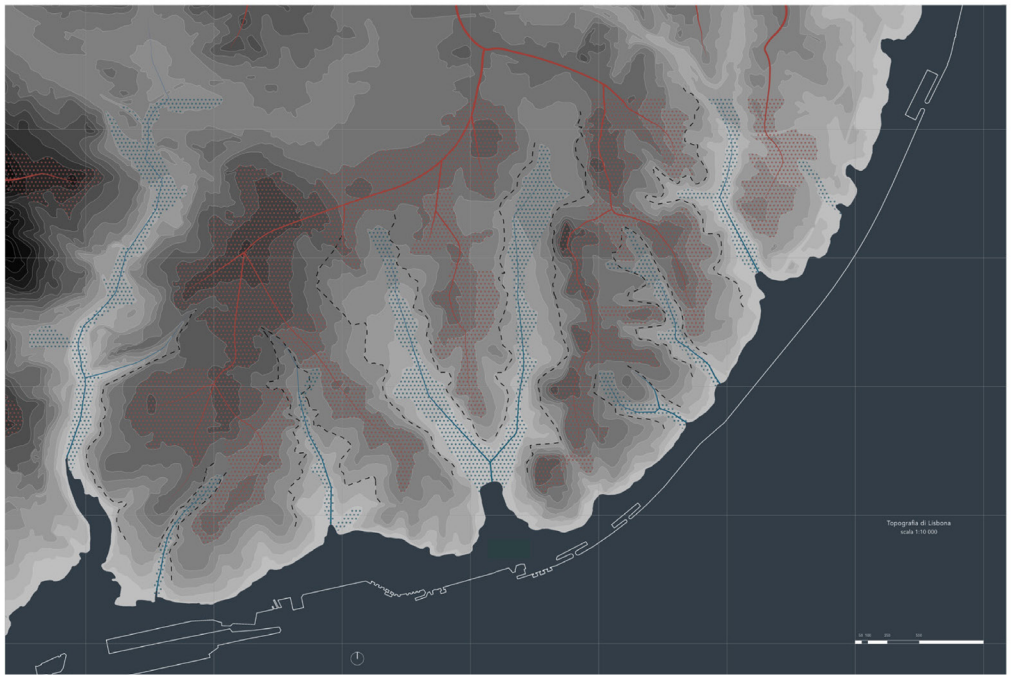
BETWEEN THE CITIES

The geography and rugged topography of the territory have influenced and guided the development of Lisbon throughout its history. Supported by Saverio Muratori's method, Carrillho da Graça Sequeira developed an important study for the city of Lisbon. Through the analysis and comparison of historical cartography and ancient descriptions, they drew the foundational paths of the city and showed how most of these still exist today, despite the great changes that the city has undergone. They also

showed how these paths correspond with the ridge lines and valleys of the territory.
This allowed to understand that, since its foundation, on the castle hill, Lisbon has always developed following the structure of its own territory. A particularly interesting aspect is that the city did not develop from a center, gradually expanding outwards, as in concentric circles, but quite the opposite: the city has continued to expand from the ancient paths and then from the ridges and valleys. Lisbon represents a quite evident example of the Muratori's reading of the territory, since the topography of the territory has such a clear structure and so steep level differences that it has kept this relationship visible. Even in the 1930's, Lisbon showed quite clearly this structure which had formed over the centuries, which extraordinarily reached us, and which has not changed much over time.
As Carrilho da Graça and Sequeira[24] refer, the Lisbon reliefs seem to have essentially created two conditions for the first occupation of the land: while in the valley, the rich and fertile soils were used for agricultural production, in the plateau, due to the poor soils, the first settlements and urban life appeared. **Fig. 2**
These two different conditions have generated the urban development of Lisbon. The first settlements were built on the ridges and promontories and most of the most important buildings were placed, which influenced the subdivision of land for agricultural use, up to the valleys, which still remained mostly rural. With the passage of time the city grew and, still in perfect coherence with the Muratorian theory, the valleys began to take on more and more importance.
In *Os verdes anos* (1963), there is also a scene where the protagonists walk on a green hill in Lisbon, populated by olive trees, while behind them it is possible to see the new residential buildings of modern architecture. This scene depicts how the bucolic landscape faces the advance of the city, with a gap between them?
What is then left in between? The specific development of the city influenced by the geography of the site, starting from the ridge and valley paths, creates almost like two distinct cities, with the void in between. A void, or rather, urban voids that are not accidental. In fact, these voids reflect once again the complicated topography of the city, because they are the most difficult to pass through and, very often, areas with a steep slope, and therefore also difficult to build.
In *Lisboa, Crónica Anedótica* (1930), there is a scene that immortalizes the situation at a time when this condition is still clearly visible. It is possible to see the aqueduct that crosses the valley, two different settlements – the ridge and the valley settlement – and between them, the void. Since then, the city has continued to grow and thanks to the best technologies it has managed for the most part to build in these empty spaces, thus uniting the two cities. However, some large areas with a steep slope still appear today as large unsolved voids within the dense building, divided by walls.
Moreover, as argued by Francesco Cacciatore[25], the rugged topography of the city has also profoundly influenced the development of public spaces, generating a multitude of different types of spaces adapting to the territory. These urban interstices are mainly the places designated to absorb and resolve the frequent changes in altitude, changes in position and connection points within the city. This determines from time to time a wide range of hybrid spaces that are typical of this context. **Figg. 3 | 4**

ANALYSIS

The subject of this study is the São Bento valley in Lisbon, the area between the hills of Estrela and Bairro Alto and which extends over the entire length of the current São Bento Street. As a case study, the São Bento valley approached through two complementary readings: i) the historical and the vertical one, considering urban and geomorphological configuration; ii) the horizontal one, considering the direct observation in situ.
First, the historical and the vertical reading were combined, in order to reconstruct the territorial palimpsest.[26] While the historical reading allows to clarify the process of formation of urban interstices, the vertical reading "from above" highlights the urban and geomorphological configuration of the case under study. Second, the horizontal reading as an "itinerant method over the ground, with a notepad and a camera,"[27] proved to be a fundamental complement to the interpretation of the particular characteristics and values of the urban environment.
The preliminary analysis of the territorial palimpsest allowed to recognize the various traces accumulated over time, of a geographical and anthropic nature. These traces make it easier to identify urban interstices and at the same time to know their origin and characteristics. The current São Bento Street would perfectly coincide with the ancient valley path, which stood on or near the riverbed. This valley is located between the hill where the Bairro Alto rises and, to the west, the hill where the Estrela Basilica stands.
These two hills were part of the city's ancient ridge paths, creating significant elevation differences between the valley floor and the hilltops. In this district two distinct conditions still coexist that are rarely found together: on the one hand the prominent position, central and close to the oldest part of the city, with the presence of important buildings; on the other hand, the rural condition of the area with large voids and therefore the possibility of setting up large buildings. This situation makes the site of interest for the studies of the city and with great potential. **Fig. 5**
Urban interstices were analyzed based on: causes that generated them; surface (permeable / non-permeable); presence of trees; limits (buildings, property walls, retaining walls, breaklines[28]); presence of public buildings; potential for connection and integration with the public spaces of the city.
One of the most significant findings is that none of the analyzed spaces are flat. This is undoubtedly a result of the complex topography of the city and that they are either in the hillside condition or in any case in a geographically intermediate condition between the valley and the hill. Over



Topografia di Lisbona

Linea di valle

Linea di crinale

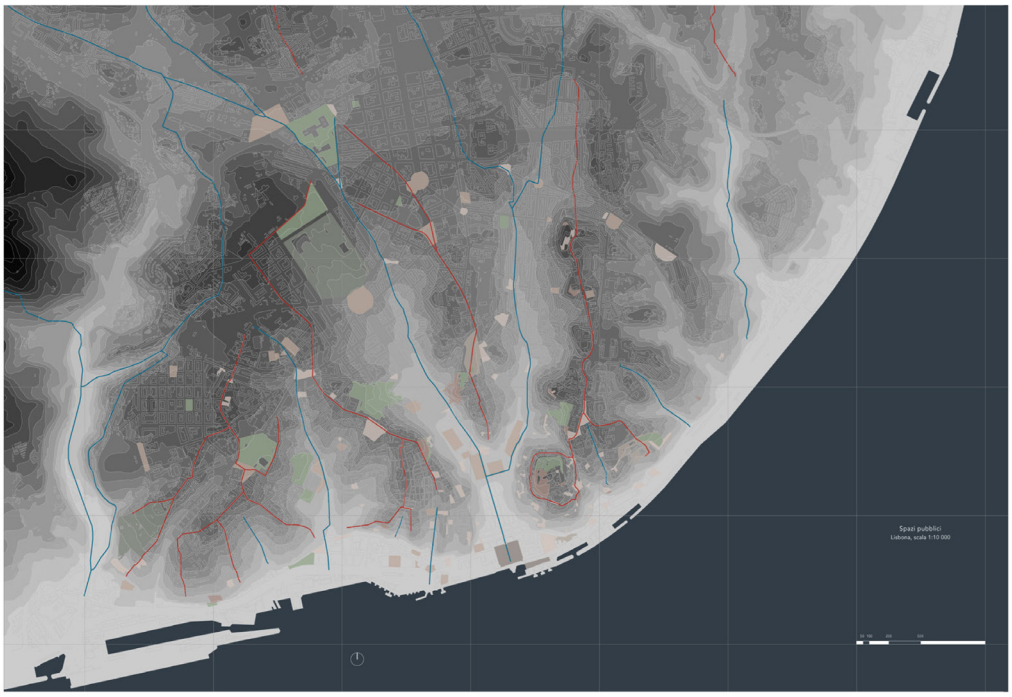
Promontorio

Fondovalle

Mezzacosta

2

3



Spazi pubblici di Lisbona

Praça

Largo

Miradouro

Terreiro

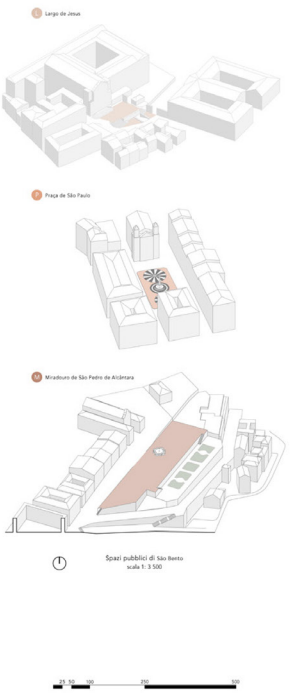
Campo

Jardim

Parque

4

5



Spazi pubblici di São Bento

- Praça
- Largo
- Miradouro
- Jardim

2
Topography of Lisbon (author's edition, 2022).

3
Topography and public spaces of Lisbon (author's edition, 2022).

4
Street of Lisbon (left); urban interstice on Lisbon hillside (right) (author's photograph, 2022).

5
Topography and public spaces of São Bento (author's edition, 2022).

time, this situation has made it more challenging to develop or even design public green spaces in these areas. The presence of greenery is another aspect that the analysis highlighted: the spaces have large areas of permeable surface, very important in this area of the city, and also a considerable presence of trees and vegetation.

It was also possible to recognize a correspondence between the cause of origin of these spaces and some characteristics such as the size and the presence of public buildings, which are determinant elements in the perspective of their regeneration. Spaces 3 and 8, which are spaces that are in the condition of hillside and which were originated from the agricultural appurtenances of the convents, are larger, extend over an extended area between the valley and the hill, and these are the spaces that still have public buildings of considerable interest today.

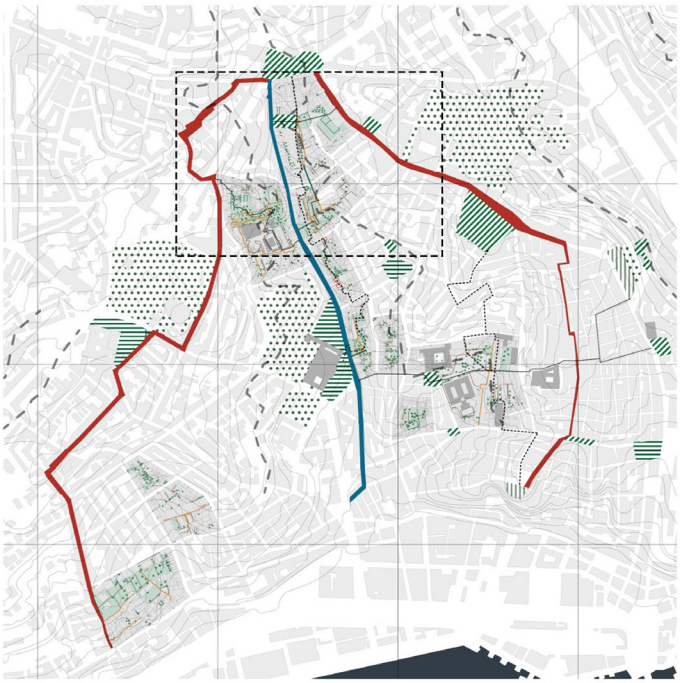
The spaces 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11, on the other hand, originated from the type of district called *Quartierão*, closed-mesh buildings that had a large open courtyard in the center. Due to the presence of greenery, the possibility of bringing light and area to the surrounding buildings, these spaces represent a great value for the place. **Fig. 6**

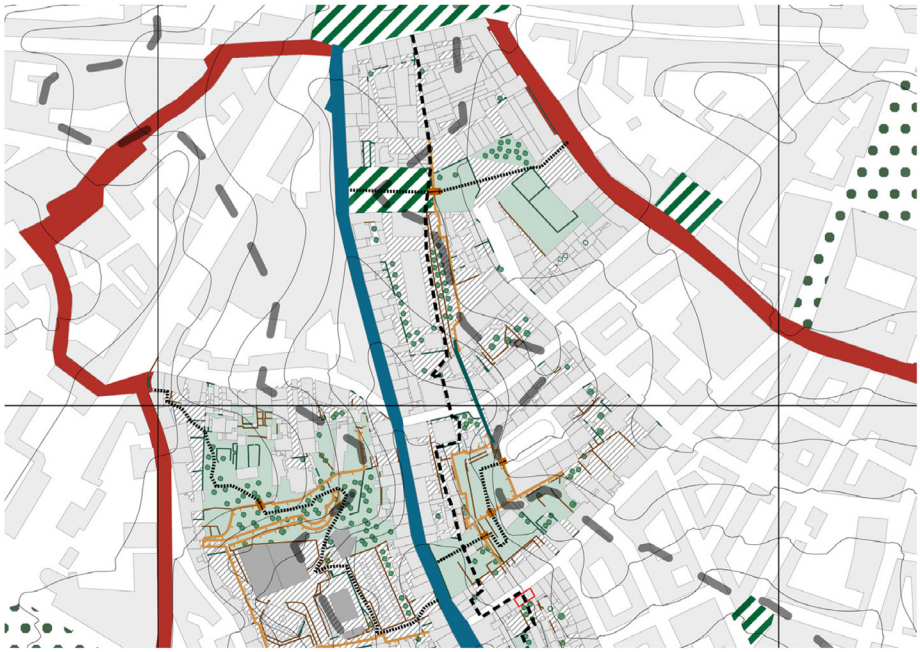
STRATEGY

The study and in-depth analysis of the urban interstices of the São Bento area led to the formulation of a hypothesis on their possible future. These marginal spaces have characteristics that are hardly compatible with traditional collective use spaces or in any case with traditional functions. The most important aspect is that these spaces have few possibilities if taken and conceived individually, but instead have great potential if they are designed and work together, if they are connected.

This is nothing new for Lisbon, where the city hall has promoted a plan called *Corredores Verdes*, aimed at connecting and managing green areas within the city, even if they are small.[29] Following this same principle, a strategy is proposed to connect all these residual spaces and create two new green paths within the city: a path that connects all these residual spaces crossing them in the direction of the valley, and some cutting paths, which, orthogonal to the it, allow a quick connection between the paths of the ridges and the paths of the valley. Furthermore, the connection of these spaces through green paths will increase the permeable area of the city, bringing considerable advantages to the disposal of rainwater and mitigating the problem of flooding. **Fig. 7**

A particularly interesting example for our study is the Chiado recovery intervention by Álvaro Siza. Following a devastating fire in 1988, almost the entire Chiado area was





Strategia spazi di São Bento

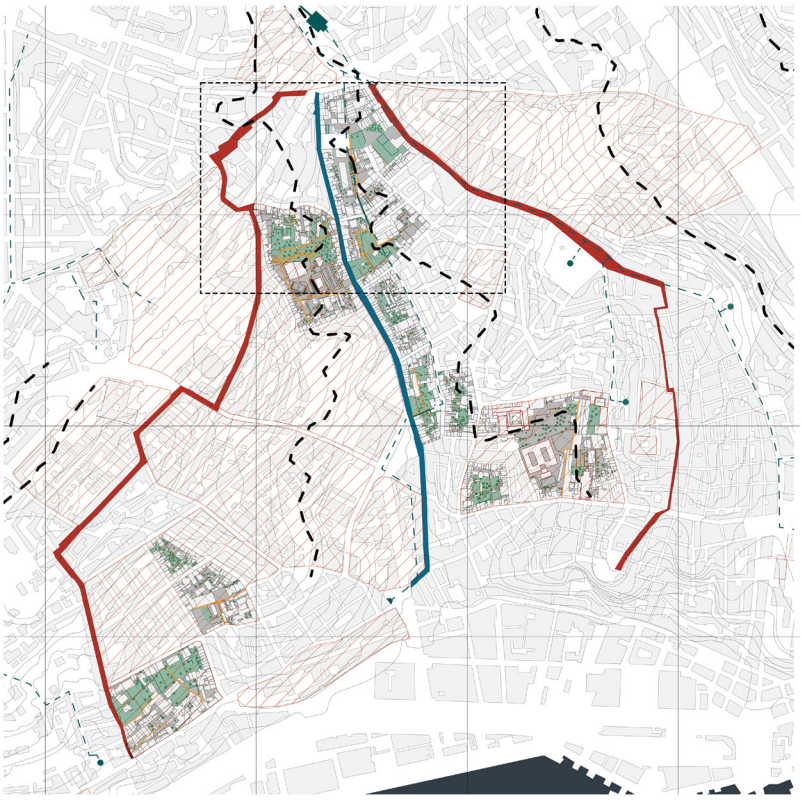
Percorso di mezzacosta

Percorso tagliante

Scala o rampa

Edificio privato

6



Spazi interstiziali di São Bento

- Sup. permeabile
- Sup. non permeabile
- Alberi
- Breakline
- Muro di sostegno
- Muro di proprietà
- Mezzacosta
- Proprietà conventuali
- Acquedotto esistente e progetto

7

6
Urban interstices of São Bento (author's edition, 2022).

7
Strategy for São Bento (author's edition, 2022).

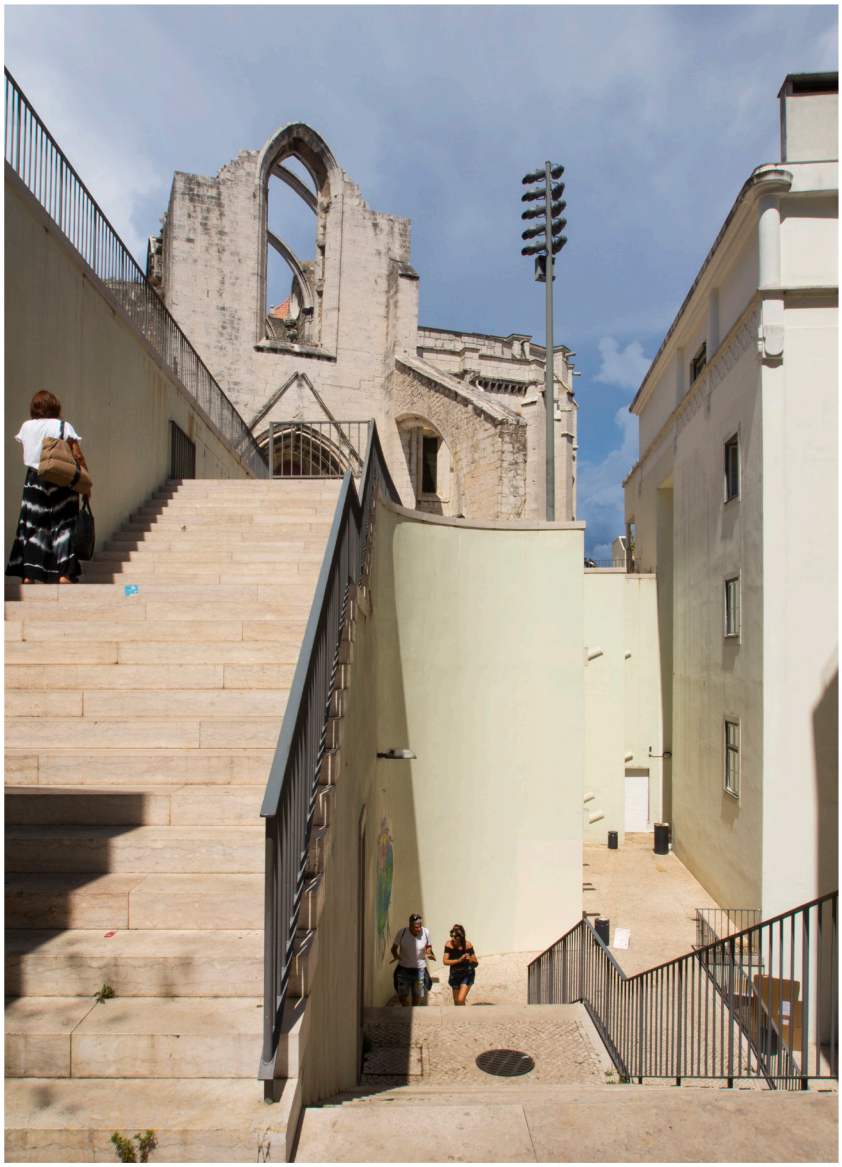
destroyed. Of the buildings only the facades remained, while the interior was completely ruined. This intervention is particularly significant for three reasons: (i) the delicate balance between history and the parts that remain standing, (ii) the public reuse of the courtyards of the buildings, and (iii) the issue of connecting the different levels.

First, it was important to understand the reality and the vocation of the Chiado area, in order to be able to safeguard its function within the city and plan a coherent future. The fundamental question therefore becomes the reading of the topography and the nature of the area's transitional space. These aspects are not only maintained in Siza's recovery projects but enhanced. Siza decides as much as possible to keep the original layout and the buildings that had remained standing, because he thinks that a new plan and new contemporary interventions are not legitimate because architecture does not have the right to overcome the measured transformations of the slow pace of the city.[30] According to Gonçalo Byrne,[31] an investigation following the fire revealed that the extension of a considerable number of free spaces and passages more or less abusive between the buildings, together with the inadequacy of safety standards and the permissiveness of controls, contributed to the rapid spread of the fire.

The project therefore finds in these small empty spaces between the buildings or inside, the legitimacy for an intervention that is both concentrated and measured, so as not to change the nature of this part of the city, but which significantly improves its capabilities. Attention to the natural pace of evolution of the city and the interpretation of the area's vocation, therefore, allows for the concentration of interventions in these forgotten but highly potential interstices. A project with an extremely complex program, which must take into account the multitude of actors involved, private and public.

Regarding the project, Siza states that its definition depended on the relationships with the areas involved, with the margins, with the transition areas, where there is a notable vocation for transformation, with the interstices forgotten in the body of the city. Siza decided to recover these degraded interstitial spaces and exploit them to create a complex system of accesses and connections, conjugating them with the topographical characteristics of this area. **Fig. 8**

However, opening these private spaces to public use is a delicate decision, and one may even question whether it is legitimate. Siza also considers this a sensitive issue, and one that should not be taken uncritically. In the case of Chiado, as he mentions,[32] the decision was due to the possibilities that urban interstices represented an improvement of local conditions, by connecting spaces in a comfortable and direct way, in an area with a difficult topography, and by favoring the regeneration of the inside the blocks.



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8
Álvaro Siza Vieira, Chiado public space
(author's photograph, 2022).

CONCLUSION

With this paper it was intended to approach the urban interstices on the Lisbon hillside, seeking to recognize their nature and origin, their current situation and most importantly, how they can be integrated into the system of spaces for collective use. As revealed by the analysis, these spaces are currently divided into small parts, they are separated from the rest of the city and public spaces. This favours their abandonment and does not allow the use and care by citizens, nullifying the potential that these spaces could have for the city. Despite this, they already serve important ecological and social functions. Urban interstices can be key to creating sustainable and inclusive cities, where green spaces are accessible to everyone, integrated with public areas, and decisions are made together by the municipality and citizen groups.

It seems necessary to develop a new approach to these spaces: no longer an approach based on land consumption, mono functionalism and zoning, but a more flexible, dynamic and reversible approach focused on urban relations systems. A new way of designing based on diversity, which represents the greatest resource of these spaces: social diversity, functional diversity and biological diversity.

The proposed strategy considers all the characteristics of urban interstices and, by solving the crucial question of their connections, starting from the well-known relationship with topography, opens up new possibilities of use in the future. In accordance with the theory of Saverio Muratori, two paths are proposed that correspond to the subsequent phases of land occupation, after the ridge and valley: a cutting path, which solves the difficulties of the slope by quickly connecting the valley path to that of ridge; a path along the hillside, which allows you to connect all the urban interstices, creating an unprecedented green path within a densely built-up area. As stated in this paper, it is not possible to generalize a solution for these spaces, and therefore it seems necessary an in-depth knowledge of each case to support the development of each solution.

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[27] Rossi and Zetti, *In mezzo alle cose*, 76.
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KEYWORDS
public space network; public-private relationship; layering; porosity; Lisbon

ABSTRACT
Streets are fundamental urban elements, defining continuous armatures and framing the sequential organization of private spaces, i.e. parcels and buildings. Nevertheless, the possibilities of using hitherto subsidiary private space elements as urban joints to create new public space articulations can be of interest in contemporary processes of urban transformation and adaptation.
The article explores the possibilities of assembling and recombining different public and private urban elements to devise and structure a new ordering layer in the city. Lisbon's Downtown and surrounding hills are used as a case to illustrate the argument using recent public space and urban requalification projects to link relevant nodes and sites, assemble new important pedestrian paths and therefore complexify the Lisbon's ground plan in a truly three-dimensional frame.
Resorting to a diversified set of urban interventions, a fundamental axis between Lisbon's Downtown two hills was reinforced, becoming a three-dimensional streetscape that now permeates through both the existing streets and the new vertical connections that belong(ed) to the private domain. In this recombined streetscape, buildings become infrastructure and the porous nature of the built fabric becomes a potential source for urban publicness.

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The Public and the Private in the Street-making: Joints, Links and Networks in Lisbon's Downtown

INTRODUCTION

The article explores the possibilities and potential of assembling and recombining different elements of public and private urban spaces to devise and structure a new ordering layer in the city[1]. A case in Lisbon's central historical districts is used to explore and decode the process and the morphological components through which a new axial connection is superimposed on the urban layout, combining a sequence of existing streets and squares with new and adapted connections embedded in the built (private) fabric.

On one hand, the combination of public and private spaces is a fundamental realm to understand and design urban space, as it defines the thresholds between the components of collective life and the private, individualized and more domestic parts that make the most of urban fabric. On the other hand, the role of public space as a structural system is under continuous adaptation and redefinition across multiple scales and under ever-changing needs, technological requirements and ways of living.

Lisbon's case illustrates a situation in which public space is primarily owned and managed by the public sector, with municipalities as the main entities in charge of this task, while the built fabric is predominantly private owned. Therefore, adaptive changes in the urban fabric require a complex articulation of interests and stakeholders, in which morphological and typological issues emerge as part of spatial equation. How to reorganize new flows of people in existing heritage-valued sites, in response to an everchanging metropolitan city and its networked structure, while acknowledging the cultural values and of a centuries-long layered urban production as an opportunity for urban regeneration?

The paper integrates the contributions of two ongoing research projects[2], one dealing with recent processes of public space development in Lisbon's metropolitan area, the other focusing on the complex time shaped transformations of large scale conventual buildings in Lisbon and their adaptation potential. Two scales – local and metropolitan – and two urban morphological elements – public space and large-scale buildings – are, therefore, articulated in an argument that seeks to unveil innovative and synergistic

combinations of public and private spaces in contemporary urban production.

The research stems from the methodological articulation between a Lisbon's metropolitan area-wide inventory of public space qualification projects in the past two decades[3], that allows a comprehensive overview of the processes and rationales through which more or less continuous spatial assemblages are produced in different parts of the territory, and a systematic inventory of buildings, streets and urban blocks, in which accurate architectural representation is the basis for typological analysis and interpretative redrawing[4].

Streets and the building of a public space network

Public space is widely acknowledged as a central concept in contemporary thinking[5], a structural urban and territorial system[6], providing a range of socially valuable services[7] and holding a fundamental relationship with urbanism[8] and architecture[9]. In contemporary urban spaces, shaped by large scale urbanization and metropolitan development, public space can also be conceptualized as an infrastructural support[10], an operative element to tackle territorial complexity and to articulate multiple networks and urban fabrics, in different situations.[11] As fundamental elements of urban public space, streets integrate multiple layers and functions through diverse mechanisms of bidimensional partition[12] and three-dimensional articulation,[13] holding a key role in interaction between the city's public and private domains, defining the way in which collective and domestic spaces unfold in thresholds.[14]

Many of today's metropolises are constructions in which centuries-long processes of incremental growth and transformation clash and overlap under various morphological configuration patterns. Some parts of the city were clearly shaped by linear elements, old roads that became high streets, defining continuous threads supporting more localized development of built fabrics. Others were shaped under planned, regularly laid and designed guidelines, some of them based on the street-corridor paradigm, others promoting its dissolution into a relatively fluid field of open space. The changing nature of commercial streets and of collective spaces of consumption is particularly relevant as it showcases major transitions in the functional, typological and morphological realms of public space in today's urban and metropolitan territories.[15] The recovery of a morphological perspective and attention to urban rehabilitation and older city core regeneration, along with new demands, users and urban challenges (mobility, environment, population ageing, touristification), brings older streets into a new important role. The acknowledgment of its value as inherited and organic trace of collective city-making process, along with the recognition of their morphological and typological consistency, site adaptation, material and constructive coherence, and aesthetic quality, are often supporting the multiple rehabilitation interventions.[16]

Nevertheless, under today's urban dynamics, even the older streets and fabrics in which more persistent patterns are clearer, are subject to very strong pressures towards change, if not in its geometry, surely on the way in which they interact with larger scale networks (mobility, communications, utilities), and with the social and economic life of the buildings around them. In other words, existing street patterns in consolidated urban fabrics are open to change in more or less explicit and transformative ways. The introduction of a special use in a specific building, the opening of a metro station, the temporal reorganization of a cluster of activities, or the change of the traffic and mobility flows in a given area may trigger polarization, diversion or repulsive effects around.[17] In terms of use and network importance, the street hierarchy will accordingly change, even if its spatial layout remains relatively stable. Such fluid networking configurations, dependent on more unstable flows of city users, their spatial practices and temporal frames, in their dependency with the building elements of the private domain, are a layer that needs to be taken into consideration when looking at streets from a morphological perspective.

Three-dimensional articulations and building porosity

A second perspective on public space is brought by the third dimension. Beyond a two-dimensional surface that allows movement and territorial connections, public space negotiates the topographical characteristics of each urban site as well as the multiple levels of urban space, including the underground and, in some cases, upper levels of buildings. Stairs, ramps, terraces and different platforms organize changes in the topographical condition. But also elevators, funiculars, cable cars as mechanized assistants, that bring a specific relationship with technical facilities and a specific public space configuration. In some cases, private buildings are also deeply entangled with publicly accessible paths, often using a specific timetable, less often on a 24-hour basis.[18]

In these cases, the issue of property boundaries, control of access, maintenance and development management raise a number of challenges making these situations relatively exceptional. That's why they are usually found in relatively dense and intensely used areas, often articulated with compatible uses with the collective access, such as commercial and shopping spaces, or large public transport infrastructure.[19]

This possibility of using buildings to establish publicly accessible passages through their interior spaces can be conceptually called porosity.[20] This characteristic can be seen in its most simple configuration in the articulation of commercial shopfronts on the ground floor, defining a transitional space between public and private, and a potential extension of private uses to the exterior (terraces). But it is also possible to read it in more complex situations in which deeper relationships are explored, such as the use of backyards, galleries, and passages through one or multiple buildings and urban plots.[21]

The process of time and layering

A third perspective on the reconfiguration/adaptation/layering of a networked public space is introduced by time.

In cities that went through relatively long development processes, it is possible to read patterns of persistence, many of them associated with structural public spaces, that resist more circumstantial, individualized and land-use changes, such as building adaptation, reconstruction, or re-functionalization.[22]

When larger scale transformations occur in the urban fabric, public space structure can be redefined, although in a complex relationship with elements of constraining and resistance. Earthquakes, fires and wars have reshaped considerable extensions of many cities. Planned urban renewal and redevelopment have also been common processes in derelict and brownfield areas with considerable urban fabric impacts. In these cases, the redefinition of public space structure becomes an interesting mechanism through which urban articulations are redefined or newly introduced. Large building complexes (convents, military quarters, industrial yards, large infrastructure) tend to become elements of persistence in these processes, but also with the potential to reorganize internally or in its external thresholds in order to play an active role in a public space system.[23] On a smaller scale, the gaps, interstitial and in-between spaces that are produced as a result of incremental additions, subtractions and transformations in the topographic ground and in the plot and built fabric can also be of importance to (re)activate (old and) new passages[24] and introduce a fine-grained system of public-accessible porosities.

A CASE IN LISBON: A LINK BETWEEN THE DOWNTOWN AND THE HILLS

Lisbon's Downtown is an important urban and architectural site acknowledged as an outstanding example of the Enlightenment urban practices and rationales, introduced on its global reconstruction after the severe 1755 Earthquake. Its grid-iron pattern and complex hierarchies that organize its street and plazas layout reveal a highly sophisticated public space design approach, in which representational, infrastructural, constructive and economic realms converge to produce a new city centre. Like many European cities, this centre lost its importance as a political, business, and residential district during the 20th century, particularly after the 1960's, as a result of larger scale spatial and functional reorganization of Lisbon's commercial dynamics[25] and metropolitan growth.[26]

Investments in metropolitan transportation networks in the late 1990's had a significant impact on Lisbon's Downtown where major railroad, metro and riverboat stations, hitherto working independently, were articulated into multimodal interfaces, re-positioning the Downtown as a complex hub in terms of metropolitan mobility.

As part of this process, and along with the promotion of car parking limitation on open public space, multiple pedestrian-oriented qualification projects were delivered in the past two decades.[27] Accessibility, attractivity, and heritage valorisation were the main objectives under which these projects were implemented by the municipality, hoping to attract young residents after decades of resident population decline and to provide better conditions for the different city users.[28]

In the following sections, we will present and discuss the incremental development of a public space system that has been layered on Lisbon's Downtown, connecting it to the surrounding hills, using the diverse possibilities earlier identified: 1) a hierarchized network combining important and multi-scalar urban elements, 2) a three-dimensional and topographical integration of the public space system with the private realm of buildings and infrastructural spaces and 3) a reuse and urban recomposition of relevant buildings to recover old connections that were lost under the passage of time, and to promote new collective space porosities.

Defining a public space system: linking metropolitan connections with local spaces

The first step towards a structural reorganization of Lisbon's Downtown public space system **Fig. 1** was taken with the expansion of the metro network with the aim of connecting it with three railroad terminal stations that converge on the Downtown's limits. This expansion connected Rossio station (served by metro since 1959), Cais do Sodré (1999) and Santa Apolónia (2007), creating smooth links between national and suburban lines with the city's transportation backbone. This expansion also allowed to create interfaces with the riverboat terminals of Cais do Sodré and Terreiro do Paço. Public spaces around these interfaces were incrementally requalified to simultaneously organize public transport (bus, taxi, tram), create leisure spaces and promote the city's architectural quality. These station squares became focal points from which a considerable number of users converge, thus activating their immediate surroundings. As part of the metro expansion, a new station (Baixa-Chiado) was built in 1999 in a position that served both the Downtown (Baixa) and the Chiado hill **Fig. 2** to the west, becoming one of the busiest and most important in the whole network. A second step, at the metropolitan scale, was the building of a new cruise ship terminal (2017) in the vicinity of Santa Apolónia railroad and metro station, offering easy access to tourists arriving at and departing from Lisbon, while creating a qualified public space on the Tagus riverfront.

An intermediate scale of structural transformation is associated with the city's traffic network, which historically converged in a radial pattern on the Downtown and the riverfront. With the improvement of the public transportation network, conditions for a more restrictive traffic policy were created and progressively implemented. In the 1960's, four of the district's main squares were used as large open-air car parkings, denoting a fundamental impoverishment of the urban environment. From the late 1990's, they were redesigned to become representational spaces in which car-traffic was limited and disciplined, along with the building of several underground parking facilities to serve the neighbourhood. Since then, cross-through traffic has been widely limited thanks to traffic

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diversion policies and spatial restrictions, mainly visible in the riverfront redesign of what used to be an arterial road that served the port and was used as a major traffic distributor. The result of these actions improved public transport connection and facilitated pedestrian users, improving the Downtown and adjacent neighbourhood for tourist, leisure and commercial uses.

Such change in the city users had a strong impact in the Downtown and adjoining areas, which were faced with residential and commercial decline. A paramount expression of that decline was the 1988 fire that broke in a department store in Chiado, quickly spreading to destroy a wide area around. However, that catastrophic event had an unexpected beneficial outcome, with the reactivation of a strong commercial dynamism after more than a decade of reconstruction, under the architectural supervision of Álvaro Siza. The interplay between Chiado, the Downtown and the Castle hill started to get stronger, benefiting from improved connections and new threads of urban life **Fig. 3**. As will be discussed in the following section, specific components of the Chiado reconstruction plan had an important relationship with the public space system, opening parts of the built fabric to cross-through, defining a significantly more permeable and three-dimensional pedestrian network.

Links and joints: the use of buildings to articulate the public space network

With a relatively stable urban structure, based on the regular post-1755 urban plan, Chiado hill reconstruction didn't change the overall street structure and the main built masses. In fact, much of widely acknowledged Álvaro Siza's approach[29] was based on a contemporary interpretation of the site's typological, compositional and constructive system, keeping its architectural coherence. However, the programmatic update of most of the buildings, aimed at fostering a more mixed-use district, with housing, offices and relevant of commerce, required a more interventive restructuring of the ground floors – including the backyards – and of the main buildings, namely the old department stores of *Grandes Armazéns do Chiado and Armazéns Grandella*. These buildings, themselves a reuse of the large convent of Espírito Santo da Pedreira, were internally reorganized, the former as a shopping centre and the later as a multi-story flagship store. Common to both is the possibility of using their internal vertical circulations (i.e. stairs, escalators and lifts) to allow publicly accessible multi-level connections with the streets around them. In fact, being in an in-between position on a sharp 15-meters slope that divides Chiado

1
Plan of Chiado-Downtown-Castle hill link overlaid on map of public space qualification projects in central Lisbon (1998–22) (Authors' Edition, 2022).

2
Photos of Chiado Square with metro station entrance (left) and of the underground metro station gallery and escalators (right) (Authors' Edition, 2022).

3
Photos of Rua da Vitória, on the Downtown district, connecting Armazéns do Chiado and Baixa-Chiado metro station (left) and the public elevator to Caldas square, embedded on the exiting building on the top of the street (right) (Authors' Edition, 2022).

4
Photos of Armazéns do Chiado shopping center urban block (left), on its south corner adjacent to Escadinhas do Espírito Santo da Pedreira public stairs (right), bearing the name of the convent that was converted to the commercial department store in the mid-19th century, and opened through a small gap between its neighboring buildings (Authors' Edition, 2022).

5
Photos of publicly accessible passage (right) from Rua Garrett (left) and Largo do Carmo, using the backyards of existing buildings (Authors' Edition, 2022).

6
Photos of ground-level passages (left) and courtyards (right) on Chiado urban blocks, rebuilt under an Álvaro Siza's project, after the devastating 1988 fire (Authors' Edition, 2022).

and the Downtown, these new connections reinforce these building's role as complex *urban joints*.

In the case of *Armazéns do Chiado*, the building reconstruction included two more contributions to the public space network: the introduction of a new flight of public stairs that allow 24-hour access on its south side, **Fig. 4a** taking advantage of a gap between the department store and its neighbouring buildings, and the accommodation of one of the gates to the Baixa-Chiado metro station under it. **Fig. 4b** This gate is widely used by people who want to use the station's long escalator system to climb to Chiado hill's upper part, where the second station gate is located. In a nearby position, several buildings in the block of Sacramento church, between Rua Garrett **Fig. 5a** and Largo do Carmo, were also completely redeveloped according to the architectural design of Gonçalo Byrne, again introducing a generous publicly accessible stair **Fig. 5b** and escalator that permeates between the two urban fronts, linking a 10-meter topographical difference. The now opened block's backyards became the space from where accesses to commercial and office spaces are located, reinforcing the district's micro-scale of (privately-owned) public space network. **Fig. 6**

On the Downtown's opposite side, the Castle hill is also undergoing considerable changes as part of a new public space connection system. Topped by the city's castle and surrounded by important historic monuments and old districts on its slopes, the hill has always been a challenge to climb through winding streets and steep stairs. Unlike its burgeoning western counterpart of Chiado, the castle hill was never served by any lift or funicular, denoting a more popular social composition which persists until today. Alfama, on the southern slope, with its medieval and geo-morphic street pattern, and Mouraria, on the north-western slope, historically housing migrants and the lower income strata of population, have been relatively forgotten in post-19th century urban development, keeping much of its morphological integrity. A strong residential decline was felt in the last decades of the 20th century, leaving large tracts of the housing stock in poor condition. In the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, however, important changes in the housing and real-estate market, together with the development of tourism, impacted strongly in these neighbourhoods, namely with the exponential growth of short-term accommodations and tourist-oriented commerce.

In 2013, the first of five major mechanically assisted paths to the Castle hill[30] was opened, assembling the eastern tracts Chiado-Downtown-Castle Hill public space link. This axial link is superimposed over the Downtown's main


ARMAZENS DO C
SHOPPING CENTER


SHOPPING CENTER

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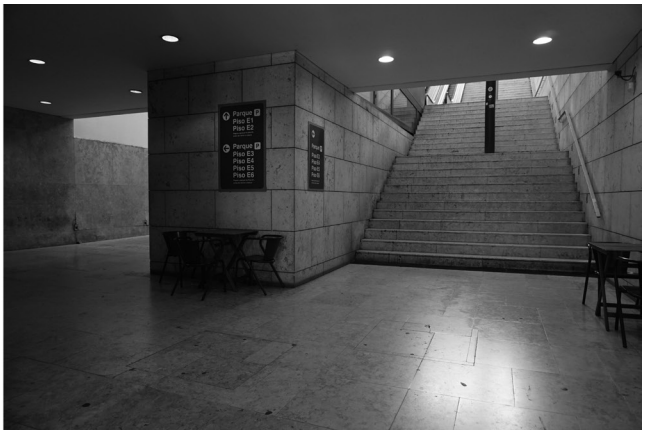
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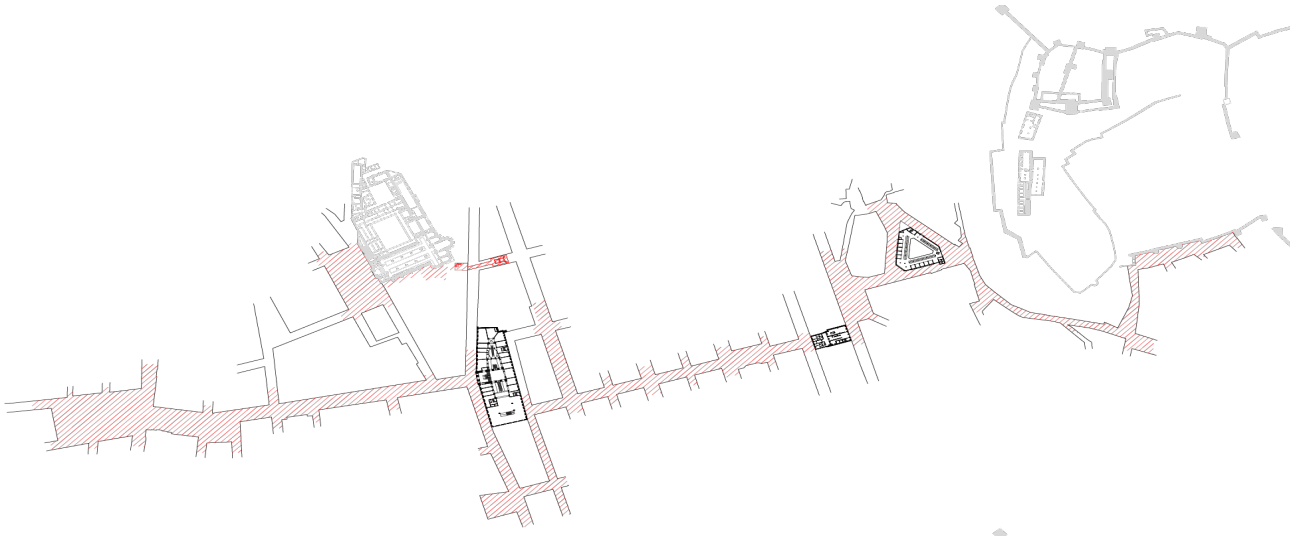

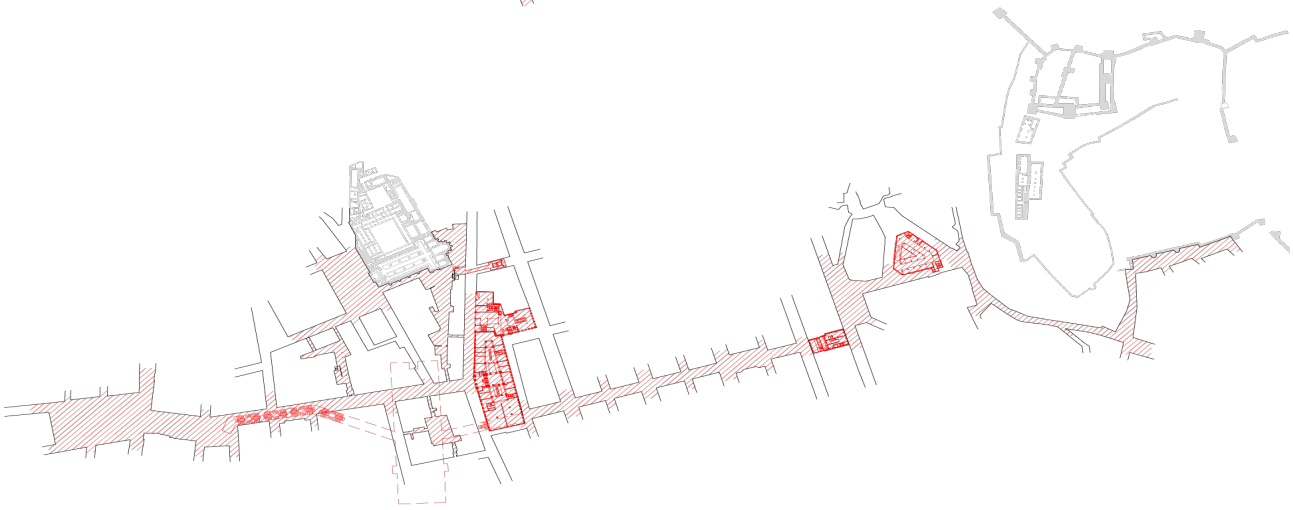

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7
Plan of Chiado-Downtown-Castle hill link in two dates: pre-1988 (above), 2022 (bottom). Section through the link (Authors' Edition, 2022).

8
Plan of Chiado-Downtown-Castle hill link overlaid in early 18th century urban layout (Authors' Edition, 2022).

9
Photos of the public elevator connecting the Downtown with Largo do Caldas, with the lifts occupying the existing building's backyards (left) and the passage to the street on the upper level (right) (Authors' Edition, 2022).

10
Photos of public elevator connecting Largo do Caldas and the Castle upper hill street, reusing a former vertical market building (left) and its entrance at the upper level (right) (Authors' Edition, 2022).

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north-south axis of Augusta Street, taking advantage of Baixa-Chiado metro station entrance to create a new hierarchically relevant street running on an east-west orientation. **Fig. 7** The Downtown's gridded layout, hitherto clearly organized along the north-south axial predominance, with limited permeability to its surrounding hills, becomes a more complex system with a new transversal connection. In a way, this system restores the pre-1755 winding system of narrow streets that connected the downtown to the surrounding hills. **Fig. 8**

The key to organize this new spatial axis was, like the link to Chiado on the opposite hill, a sequence of surgical interventions in existing buildings, in which two free and public accessible lifts were introduced to facilitate vertical connections in a topographically challenging site, without heavier changes in the urban fabric. The lifts are embedded in existing buildings **Fig. 9a** which were renewed and refurbished, not only to become vertical connections, but also to accommodate new activities. The overall project includes three components:

- The renewing and adaptation of two old residential buildings to accommodate the first lift, between Downtown (Fanqueiros Street) and an intermediate street and square at mid-level (Madalena Street and Caldas Square). The two buildings were redeveloped under a single project, in which the new public passage **Fig. 9b** is integrated, along with new facilities, namely a visitor welcome and interpretation centre, local government offices and residential apartments on upper floors;

- The renewing and adaptation of the former Forno do Tijolo Market, a modernistic multi-level building located in a strategic position in which it overcomes a 20 meters vertical slope, where the second public lift is introduced. **Fig. 10a** The building was completely refurbished to a multi-functional structure with a retail supermarket on the ground floor, an art gallery and creative industries offices in the intermediate levels, and a restaurant and open-air terrace with outstanding vistas, along with several levels taken by a vertical public car-silo;

- The qualification of the linear sequence of public spaces along paths, connecting the metro station and the Downtown's commercial streets with the lift buildings, an existing square at mid-level and the upper hill street **Fig. 10b** encircling the castle wall. As a result of this incremental development, a strong flow of users crosses through a system of different horizontal and vertical connections, which not only facilitates movement, but significantly improves the area's commercial attraction. The transversal axial link thus created between Chiado, the Downtown and the Castle hill, became a multi-ground street that unfolds on a porous built fabric. As noted on the following concluding remarks, this new *streetscape* can be interpreted as the material and morphological construction of the time-space overlapping of the contemporary metropolitan territoriality, with its embeddedness on larger scale system of flows and centralities, over the older and more persistent structures, which allowed a highly adaptable and tightly knit typological frame with strong

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relationships between the buildings, their topographical integration and a clear public space structure. In other words, this process introduced a collective use layer in formerly restricted access areas, bringing public space into private buildings and courtyards.

CONCLUSION

Stemming from a 130-year-old Lisbon's tradition of having funiculars and elevators as part of its transportation system on its steep hills and valleys, the Chiado-Downtown-Castle hill link offers an enlarged perspective on public space, including its thresholds and porosities between and across built private spaces, opens valuable opportunities to intervene in consolidated urban fabrics in order to adapt them to today's and future needs. The case of Lisbon's Chiado-Downtown-Castle hill link can be seen as an experience from which several lessons can be identified: 1) the use of the above-mentioned funicular and lift transport system, it opens new typological possibilities to articulate common buildings with collective infrastructure in complex spatial *joints*; 2) the development of this multidimensional *link* includes concerns regarding social inclusiveness, accessible mobility, mixed-use development and heritage-based urban regeneration, notwithstanding potential conflicts in terms of touristification and private appropriation of public investment, namely by fast-growing real-estate prices; 3) the link's incremental development is the result of an intersection between a larger strategic vision regarding the future of the city's core districts, based on a *network* of pedestrian-friendly public space, easy transport interfacing, parking control and traffic-calming measures, and an operative design approach which seeks to use and further promote local three-dimensional connections; finally, 4) although it cannot be seen independently from many different factors, the layering of the new link has produced a significant change in the uses of both the private and the public domain in the adjoining spaces, with a multiplication and renewal of commercial areas, outside terraces and a more lively urban life atmosphere across the day and night. This case in Lisbon is a good example of an ever-changing urban organism in which the definition of a larger scale public space network is tackled by surgical interventions, and not necessarily by heavy and disruptive infrastructure. Streets being fundamental and timeless urban elements in the shaping, ordering and expansion of cities, they can also be imagined and revealed in the more discrete, three-dimensional, time-layered porosities that bring together the architectural and the urban dimensions of contemporary metropolitan territories.

Acknowledgements

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[1] This work is financed by national funds through FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, I.P., under the Strategic Project with the references UIDB/04008/2020 and UIDP/04008/2020.
[2] MetroPublicNet – Building the foundations of a Metropolitan Public Space Network to support the robust, low-carbon and cohesive city: Projects, lessons and prospects in Lisbon, funded by FCT Ref: PTDC/ART-DAQ/0919/2020; Rehabit Convents in Lisbon. Built heritage, adaptive reuse and urban form transformation, funded by CIAUD Ref: UIDB/04008/2020.
[3] João Rafael Santos, "Public Space, Tourism and Mobility: Projects, Impacts and Tensions in Lisbon's Urban Regeneration Dynamics," *The Journal of Public Space* 4, no. 2 (2019): 29–56.
[4] Building Typology. Morphological Inventory of the Portuguese City, funded by FCT Ref: PTDC/ARTDAQ/30110/2017.
[5] Daniel Innerarity offers an insightful perspective on the defining traces and role of public space in contemporary urbanized landscape and its societal framework. Fundamental changes in the functional and social relationships in contemporary societies had a structural impact not only in the physical form of the city but mostly on the conditions that frame individual and collective interactions. The author offers a critical perspective on what he sees as an increasingly privatized common realm, on which public space is often a simple scenario of cumulative individual claims. Daniel Innerarity, El Nuevo Espacio Público (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2006).
[6] Nuno Portas argues that the primary role of public space in the contemporary urban territory is to build a recognizable, unifying and identifiable structure within an increasingly heterogeneous and diverse territory made of multiple complementary parts. Nuno Portas, "Spazio Pubblico e Città Emergente," in *Le Architetture dello Spazio Pubblico: forme del passato, forme del presente*, ed. E. A. L. T. di Milano (Milan: Electa, 1997), 57–9.
[7] Ana Brandão, and Pedro Brandão, eds, *O Lugar de Todos. Interpretar o Espaço Público Urbano* (Lisbon: IST-ID, Associação do Instituto Superior Técnico para a Investigação e Desenvolvimento, 2019).
[8] For a comprehensive collection of seminal works on the street as a multidisciplinary object, see Ángel Martín Ramos, ed., *La calle moderna en 30 autores contemporáneos y un pionero* (Barcelona: Edicions UPC/ETSAB, 2014).
[9] Xavier Monteys, *La Calle y La Casa. Urbanismo de Interiores* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2018).
[10] "Aujourd'hui […] c'est plus que jamais à l'espace public de jouer un rôle structurant du cadre de vie. […] Il est l'appui de la mise en valeur de certaines thématiques locales: le rapport à l'eau, la ville diffuse, le renouvellement urbain, l'hybridation vert-bâti, les déplacements doux. Il établit l'imaginaire du territoire, pour ceux qui y habitent, pour ceux qui viennent d'ailleurs, pour ceux qui le croisent. C'est à l'espace public de jouer ce rôle essentiel d'infrastructure de la métropole, de support du cadre de vie." Oriol Clos, "L'Espace Public, Infrastructure de la Métropole," in *Espace(s) Public(s) Métropolitain(s): Travaux 2013-2015* (Lille: Agence de développement et d'urbanisme de Lille Métropole, 2016), 6.
[11] Using relevant recent cases from Portuguese cities, Rodrigo Coelho explores three urban and territorial situations in which public space qualification projects played a prominent role: 1) ordering expansions, 2) reconstructing the unplanned city, 3) (re) structuring the metropolitan city. Rodrigo Coelho, "Designing the City from Public Space. A Contribution to (Re)Think the Urbanistic Role of Public Space in the Contemporary Enlarged City," *The Journal of Public Space* 2, no. 1 (2017): 95–108.
[12] "Partition," the sectional organization of street surfaces and pavements according to their different functions, is one of the analytical lens used by Sérgio Proença on his morpho-typological decoding of Lisbon's streets, the others being the "layout" and the "transversal section." Sérgio Proença, *A Diversidade da Rua na Cidade de Lisboa: Morfologia e Morfogénese* (Lisbon: Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade de Lisboa, 2014).
[13] The idea of material three-dimensionality is explored by João Rafael Santos in three tiers: 1) depth, in which the vertical axis of symbolic, topographic and gravitic characteristics are articulated on a vertical axis; 2) network, as the realm in which functional interconnection, accessibility and distribution are coherently organized and integrated; and 3) tectonics, as the built and constitutive dimension that materialize public and private transitions, characterize the ground and the pavements, define the objects and elements that spatially colonize and frame public space. João Rafael Santos, "A Tridimensionalidade Material do Espaço Público," *Atlântida – Revista de Cultura* 66 (2021): 69–86.
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[22] Using Zagreb and its urban and architectural transformations under fundamental economic, social and political changes, the work of Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik resorts to relevant drawn-morphological decoding tools that articulate multiple scales and components of the urban fabric. Eve Blau, and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona, New York: ACTAR, 2007).
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[24] An interesting view on the role that small scale connections may play in bridging gaps, barriers and discontinuities in complex metropolitan territories is brought by the research developed in Barcelona Metropolitan Passages. Ramon Torra, Eduard Saurina, and Carles Llop, eds., *Passatges Metropolitans: Una mirada als projectes metropolitans des de la petita escala* (Barcelona: Àrea Metropolitana de Barcelona, 2015).
[25] For a perspective on the commercial dynamics of Lisbon's Downtown and its relationship with the wider urban and metropolitan frameworks, see: Teresa Barata Salgueiro, "Da Baixa aos Centros Comerciais: A Recomposição do Centro de Lisboa," *Monumentos* 21 (2004), 214–23; Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Luís Mendes, and Pedro Guimarães, "Tourism and Urban Changes: Lessons from Lisbon," in *Tourism and Gentrification in Contemporary Metropolises: International Perspectives*, eds. Maria Gravari-Barbas and Sandra Guinand (New York: Routledge, 2017), 255–75.
[26] For a multidisciplinary perspective on Lisbon's Downtown and its cultural value and urban management challenges, refer to *Monumentos* journal, no. 21, edited by DGEMN. For a specific view on the urban plan and its evolution, see Walter Rossa's contribution on the number: Walter Rossa, "Do Plano de 1755-1758 para a Baixa-Chiado," *Monumentos* 21 (2004): 22–43.
[27] For a mapping of recent public space transformation projects and their impact and criticalities in Lisbon's central districts, check João Rafael Santos, "Public Space, Tourism and Mobility: Projects, Impacts and Tensions in Lisbon's Urban Regeneration Dynamics," *The Journal of Public Space* 4, no. 2 (2019): 29–56.
[28] Urban policies aimed at the revitalization of Lisbon's Downtown in the late 1990's and early 2000's have been subject to intense political debate and among institutional stakeholders. Heritage conservation and market-led regeneration have often been at odds in a complex and controversial political debate in Lisbon's Municipality. Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, *Revitalização da Baixa-Chiado. Revisão do Relatório – Proposta de Setembro de 2006* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2008).
[29] For a global perspective see V. M. Pessanha Viegas, "El Chiado. Una Cuidadosa Recuperación," *Urbanismo: Revista Oficial del Colegio de Arquitectos de Madrid* 26 (1995): 36–47.
[30] The pedestrian and assisted path program has been under development by Lisbon's Municipality since 2009. Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. *Plano de Acessibilidade Suave e Assistida à Colina do Castelo* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2009).

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KEYWORDS
aqueducts; Aqueduto Águas Livres; Built environment; monumentalization; infrastructure

ABSTRACT
Streets and aqueducts relationship in Europe is a detectable pattern. With a shared linear condition, these encounters between infrastructures occur in different ways, from their absolute alignment to their unexpected intersection. Arches, stones, facades, people, details, shadows and other actors together explain useful stories for architectural design.
Through the case study of the Aqueduto das Águas Livres and its relationship with the streets of Lisbon, it is possible to get a wide range of different meeting casuistry. The movement of the aqueduct plays a characteristic and fundamental role in the physiognomy and configuration of the city's streets, as well as of the built environment. From great monumental moments to more modest locations, different displays allow us to approach the urban and architectural richness that occurs in the conjunctions between street and aqueduct. In that sense, thanks to its variety, Lisbon is a place that gives a catalogue, from specific and exceptional situations to urban scenarios comparable to other European cities. Aqueducts, as more than streets for water, materialize in an infrastructural body that conditions the configuration of the streets with which they meet. Because of the effects that they entail along the time and beyond the architectural aspects – from tangible to intangible dimensions – it is important to consider these encounters between infrastructures as a valuable field of design for the city.

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Streets Love Aqueduct: Águas Livres Aqueduct in Lisbon

ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN ÁGUAS LIVRES AQUEDUCT AND LISBON'S STREETS

Streets and aqueducts relationship in Europe is a detectable pattern. Proof of this are cases such as the Aqueduto Água da Prata in Évora, the Aqueduc Saint-Clément in Montpellier, the Aqueduct of Segovia or the aqueducts of Rome. With a shared linear condition, these encounters between infrastructures and the city occur in different ways, from their absolute alignment to their unexpected intersection. Arches, stones, facades, people, details, shadows and other actors together explain useful stories for architectural design.

In the doctoral thesis "Encounters with the infrastructure"[1] there is a classification and an atlas of European cases of encounters between elevated linear infrastructures and architectures of the European sedimentary city. Among all of them, it is worth highlighting here those referring to street infrastructures, urban facades or inhabited arches; cases in which aqueducts appear with a link to the street.

Through the case study of the Aqueduto das Águas Livres and its relationship with the streets of Lisbon, it is possible to get a wide range of different meeting casuistry. Elevated, buried, touching, stepping on, lengthening, peeking out briefly, breaking, narrowing, widening, planning, articulating, limiting, giving meaning, housing memory, enabling news points of view, containing unexpected programs or even becoming streets within streets, the movement of the aqueduct plays a characteristic and fundamental role in the physiognomy and configuration of the city's streets, as well as of the built environment. From great monumental moments such as the Alcântara Valley, precious designs such as Praça das Amoreiras or more modest situations such as Travessa do Chafariz das Terras, the presented collection allows us to approach the urban and architectural richness that occurs in the conjunctions between street and aqueduct. In that sense, thanks to its morphological variety, Lisbon is a place that gives a catalogue, from specific and exceptional situations to urban scenarios.

The methodology applied in the research is based on two fundamental references, the Actor-Network Theory[2] and the Grounded Theory[3]. Both sources supported the development of the thesis that was the origin of this

1

article. The collection of different types of data was filtered according to the initial condition of the established encounter. Instrumentally, priority was given to photography and to the account of the topological conditions.

The aim of this article is to show different realities connected by a common condition, the aqueduct that meets the street. An encounter of infrastructures with infrastructures produced not from the same moment or integrating project, but from the confluence of works at different moments that dialogue according to the opportunities that arise.

The results of this research try to help to show the possible relations that can be established between a linear infrastructural element and the street. The different cases studied show how these relationships can be the result of coincidences, or consecutive processes in which the elements are aligned in an unexpected or natural way.

Crossing through: Alcântara Valley

In the Alcântara Valley, the aqueduct moves and stretches horizontally in the air while its legs reach the ground. The streets of the neighborhoods, developed at its feet, are configured according to the topography. The encounter between the aqueduct and the configuration of the neighborhoods at both sides of the Valley, is produced from a void relationship with the street.

On the southern slope, the unitary project of the Bairro da Serafina, at higher elevations, is distinguished from the Bairro da Liberdade, at lower elevations. The solid, monolithic presence of the aqueduct, in a development of constant standards, contrasts with the variability of the surrounding environment. Rua dos Arcos becomes two, on either side of the aqueduct that occupies a position on its central axis. Each face of the aqueduct, on either side of its own thickness, is a different facade, concave or convex, dark north or light south. These are accompanied by a variety of facades of different heights, colors, materials, states, styles and lives[4]. **Fig. 1**

In this section of street, the asphalt pavement is scattered like a large continuous stain under the arches. Distinct blacks, patches of cobblestones, undercuts and weeds between cracks materialize the ground that is molded like a thin layer over the previous terrain. From its appearance it seems that it has always been there, like a geological layer of the mountain.

In some specific points there are sidewalks and some singular elements. At the intersection of Rua dos Arcos with Rua Miguel ngelo de Blasco and Rua Padre Domingos Maurício dos Santos, the space of the street widens, leaving space for the bus stop on an islet. This widening creates a singular open space, a hinge between different

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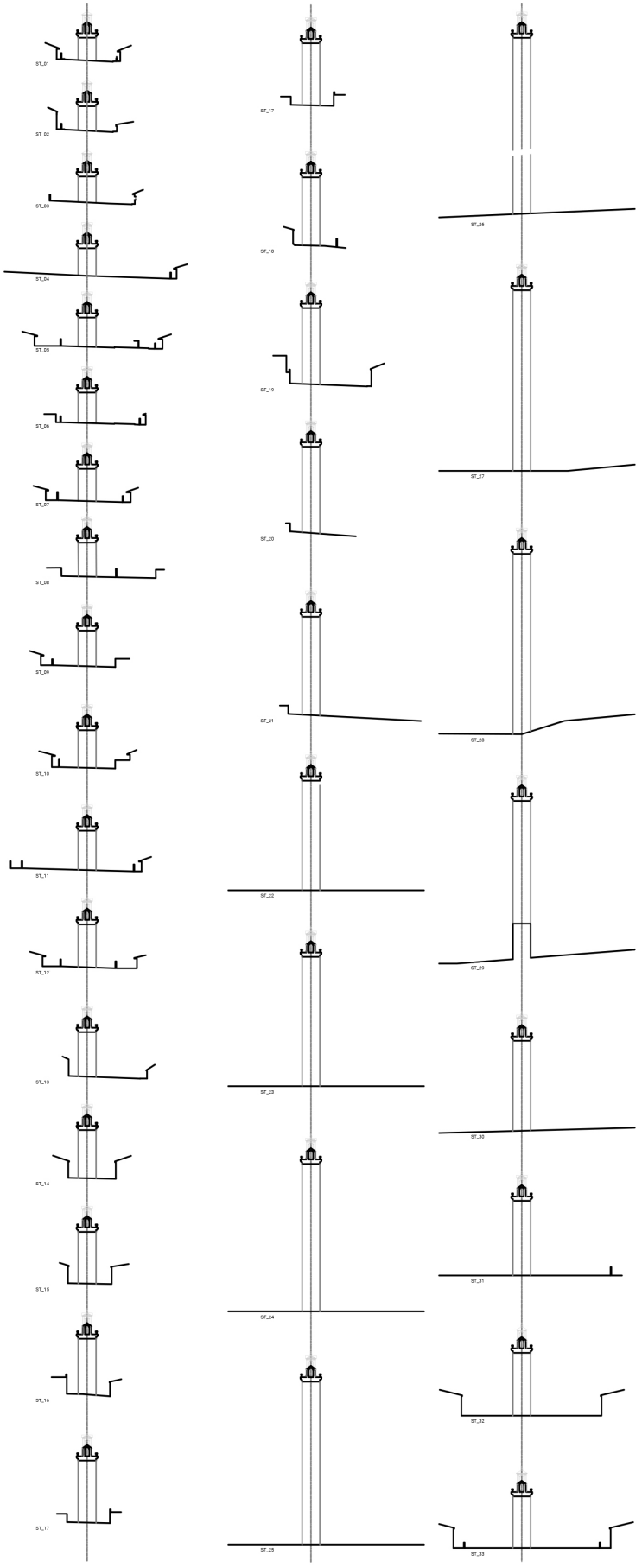
developments of the neighborhood on the topography. Under one of the arches, the asphalt turns into a cobblestone pavement, perfectly aligned under the viaduct. Further down, at the intersection with Rua Inácio Pardelhas Sanchez, a fountain appears at the foot of one of the pillars of the aqueduct. Its position, attached to the infrastructure, with steps and sidewalk absorbing the slope, stands out as a corner element that turns the space of movement between streets into a place to stop.

On the northern slope, the Bairro dos Mestres surrounds the aqueduct. Its development as a unitary project also addresses the relationship with the aqueduct, an essential element of the neighborhood[5], through the designed urbanization of its contact. **Fig. 2**

In this case, the aqueduct is surrounded by a constant parterre. The grass that surrounds it is only interrupted by three streets that cross under its arches and the sidewalks at its edges. This creates a public space that aims to place the aqueduct as an element to be observed, but without fervently advocating direct contact. Only under one of its arches there is a small area for children's games, fenced off like an island, a symptom of the distance taken from the aqueduct.

Unlike the Rua dos Arcos on the south side, here two streets with different names are developed in parallel, Ruas 1 and 2. These are not characterized by continuous building facades, facing the aqueduct as in the southern case, but the configuration of plots and isolated buildings of the dos Mestres neighborhood produces streets with a large number of cutout "skies." With a discontinuous rhythm, the fences are the first limit behind which the volume of the house is set back. In the highest section there are facades with accesses to the houses. In the lower section (from Rua 5 onwards) and with a steeper slope, the fences become dividing walls and the accesses are made through the transversal streets. Between these and the aqueduct, the grass extends, interrupted by a strip of stairs. This change from fences to party walls in this last section means that the aqueduct goes from being part of the parallel street to creating an intersection in the fabric of the neighborhood.

Along both slopes of the Alcântara Valley, the aqueduct is increasing in height and size as it descends downhill to maintain the upper gallery at a constant height and section. In the air, the water is carried by the aqueduct through its gallery. In addition, the aqueduct has the space to become a passageway that connects the Campolide hill with Monsanto[6] for pedestrians (today it can only be visited as a street viewpoint or tourist attraction). This double infrastructural condition in this section, both for water conduction and for people, allows us to understand this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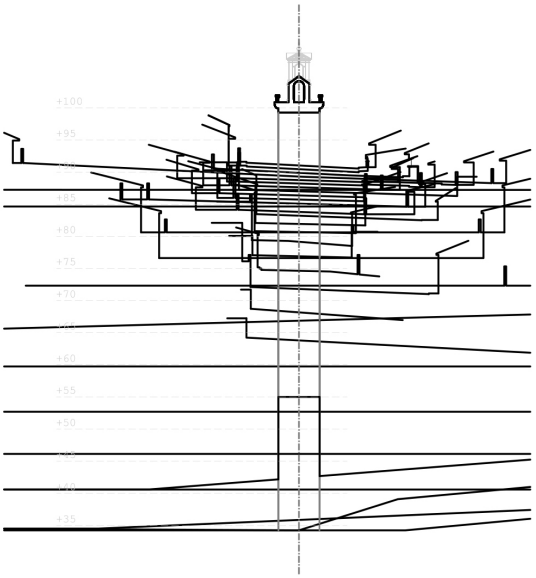
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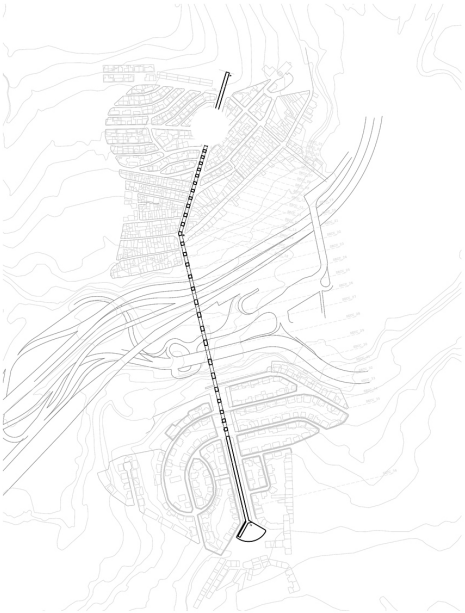

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section together with Rua dos Arcos and Ruas 1 and 2 as a multiple street, those of the air and those of the ground. **Fig. 3**

Intersecting: Arco do Carvalhão

From the enclosure of Meia Laranja, on its arrival at the high elevation of Campolide, the aqueduct continues on its way. From Calçada da Quintinha to Alto de Carvalhão, the aqueduct becomes the support of a passage that extends between buildings to a border of a cliff. This currently closed section, in addition to contacting the rear part of some terraced houses, has the potential to become a street-viewpoint towards Campo de Ourique and the Alcântara valley. The aqueduct supports this street and crowns the topographic feature. Towards Avenida Eng. Duarte Pacheco, the aqueduct produces the Arco do Carvalhao. Here, its presence links the intersection of two streets like a backdrop: seen from the south side it is common to both, on its north side it is specific to each street. The location of one of its lanterns at the intersection vertex, as well as the fountain at street level, underlines the role of the infrastructure in the recognition of the meeting of streets. **Fig. 4**

Building facade: Rua and Praça das Amoreiras

After crossing Campo de Ourique, the aqueduct appears near the Bloco das Águas Livres to jump in a triumphal arch over Rua das Amoreiras. Here the infrastructure adopts one of its most spectacular relationships with the street. Its body goes beyond its functional infrastructural form. The crossing over Rua das Amoreiras is made over a triumphal arch, making the characteristic aqueduct gallery practically disappear behind the pediment. It reappears immediately when making the turn to develop next to the street. In a street perspective, the direction of the aqueduct almost creates a vanishing point towards the arch. **Fig. 5**

In this section, the aqueduct maintains a high level over nine large arches that connect the triumphal arch with the Mãe d'Água building, generating a façade that divides Rua das Amoreiras from Praça das Amoreiras. This front is a street façade on one side and a square façade on the other. In addition, the thickness of the infrastructure generates a transition threshold between the spaces of the street and the square. This aqueduct in Jardim das Amoreiras[7] combines a multi-scale design, from the small-scale details, the spatial decisions regarding the urban space, or its design as infrastructure. Its configuring role for this urban space is fundamental, organizing the topography and the spatial construction of the square, as well as the development of the Bairro das Águas Livres[8]. The Mãe de Água building is a key piece, especially from Rato's point of view, from where the aqueduct and the building are understood together with

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1
Aqueduto das Águas Livres and Rua dos Arcos in Bairro da Serafina and Liberdade, Lisbon (ph. Pablo Villalonga Munar, 2022).

2
Aqueduto das Águas Livres and Rua 2 in Bairro dos Mestres, Lisbon (ph. Pablo Villalonga Munar, 2022).

3
Aqueduto das Águas Livres over Alcântara Valley. Transversal sections sequence and overlaps (drawing by Pablo Villalonga Munar, 2022.

4
Arco do Carvalhão, Lisbon (ph. Pablo Villalonga Munar, 2018).

5
Arco das Amoreiras, Lisbon (ph. Pablo Villalonga Munar, 2018).

the streets as an enclave. From this point, the aqueduct divides again into two branches that continue under the streets; the Galería de Loreto and the Galería da Esperança.

Peeking out: Beco do Casal and many others

We have seen cases where the aqueduct can be clearly seen, but most of the aqueduct is developed underground. In this other case, it is only intermittently visible to the outside through its lanterns and log houses; small buildings that appear as "periscopes," supplying light, air and access to the buried galleries. These appear in different ways, between party walls, isolated, attached to walls. Proof of this are the lanterns that appear just after the Reservatório de Campo de Ourique, in the Beco do Casal or "Casas do Registro" like the one in Travessa do São Sebastião da Pedreira. Their decontextualized appearance follows the order of the infrastructure that does not attend to the variabilities of what surrounds it.

Scratching: Arco de São Mamede

Following Galería da Esperança, the aqueduct appears again in Rua do Arco de São Mamede. There, it crosses in an arch over the street and the fountain of São Mamede (which is located with a small space on one side). In this case it is worth noting the deformation produced by the aqueduct on the buildings at numbers 25 and 10A. The facade adjacent to the aqueduct and tangential to the buildings, is separated to leave a courtyard and open with windows above the infrastructure. From the lower part of Arco de São Mamede, it seems that there is a corner, a turn or a crossing to the street, marked by the fountain at the foot of the facade. However, it is a dead-end space. The aqueduct continues to serve as a plinth, at the change of level with Travessa do Noronha, before getting lost in the interiors of some blocks ahead. **Fig. 6**

Disappearing and reappearing: São Bento and Av. Infante Santo

Further down, where Rua de São Bento meets Palácio das Cortes, there is the scar of the old arch over the street. Remnants of the crossing remain on both sides. At the same site, some arches are embedded in the building of the former Por Timor Library. The cross arch, of the triumphal type, was dismantled in the 1940's. Piece by piece it was moved to the Praça de Espanha and placed in the middle of a traffic roundabout. Its size is dwarfed, surrounded by a space totally opposed to that of its origin. The effect of contrast with the street disappears. Without the street the arch is totally decontextualized. **Fig. 7**

In São Bento, the ruins of the operation remain, marks such

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Arco de São Mamede, Lisbon (ph. Pablo Villalonga Munar, 2022).

7
Ruins in Rua São Bento and Arco São Bento in Praça Espanha, Lisbon (ph. Pablo Villalonga Munar, 2018).

8
Aqueduto das Águas Livres and Rua do Pau de Bandeira and Tv. do Chafariz das Terras, Lisbon (ph. Pablo Villalonga Munar, 2022).

9
Aqueduto das Águas Livres Lisbon's intersection: 01, Bairro da Serafina e Liberdade; 02, Bairro dos Mestres; 03, Arco do Carvalhão; 04, Rua São Sebastião da Pedreira; 05, Jardim das Amoreiras; 06 Arco de São Mamede; 07, Arco de São Bento; 08, Rua do Pau de Bandeira (drawing by Pablo Villalonga Munar, 2022).

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Aqueduto das Águas Livres sections: A, Alcântara Valley; B, Bairro da Liberdade; C, Bairro dos Mestres; D, Jardim das Amoreiras; E, Arco de Carvalhão; F, Arco de São Mamede; G, Rua do Pau de Bandeira (drawing by Pablo Villalonga Munar, 2022).

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as those can be found on the sides of Avenida Infante Santo. However, there, the operation was not of transposition, but of demolition for the construction of this avenue in the 1950's. From these traces of infrastructure, it is interesting to reconstruct the arch over the avenue in our mind.

The line of the infrastructure interrupted by the Avenida Infante Santo continues at higher levels on both sides. While on one side it is interrupted by Calçada das Necessidades, on the other it continues towards Rua do Pau de Bandeira and Tv. do Chafariz das Terras. In this case, the aqueduct develops linearly in the center of the street, with low height and little permeability. Only a door near the Terras fountain connects directly under the aqueduct. The rest of its route is a parapet, a wall, a screen. This causes that from one street it is not barely possible to see what happens on the ground floor of the other. Because of the slope of both streets, the aqueduct-wall is reducing its height to the apex of the junction between streets. There, a bench tops the end. **Fig. 8**

Celebrating: São Sebastião da Pedreira and Praça do Príncipe Real

Spots like Chafariz das Terras, are samples of how other elements are attached or linked to the aqueduct, being a support to equip the street. Thus, the infrastructure does not only appear in the street in the form of an elongated body or a conduit in a gallery, but also like points. In that sense (although it is not the main subject of this article) the fountains are another example of the presence of the aqueduct in the city. They celebrate the arrival of water and make it more than just a fundamental resource. The way in which they are located, the sculptures they house or the dynamics of use they establish, are just some of the ways in which they materialize aspects of the city and its culture. For example, the case of the São Sebastião da Pedreira fountain stands out for its recessed position from the street. This causes the appearance of a public space, redesigned in conjunction with the Filipe Folque viaduct project (interesting multiple crossing of infrastructures and projects) The designed set, square, fountain, buildings and viaduct, create a meander in the Rua de São Sebastião da Pedreira.

In other cases, such as the fountain at Praça do Principe Real, the fountain becomes not only the surface celebration of the aqueduct, but also a monumental space hidden beneath its surface, the Reservatório da Patriarcal, dedicated to cultural events. The relationship between underground and water appearing on the surface is an inherent condition for the materialization of the aqueduct as an infrastructure. This occurs constantly in the city in

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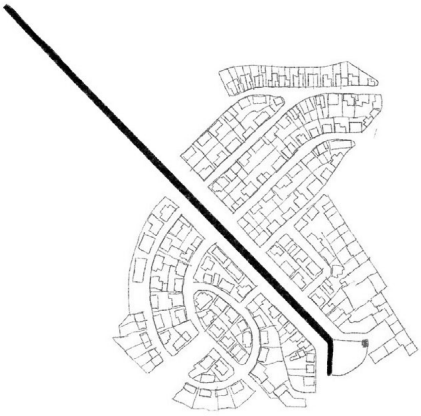

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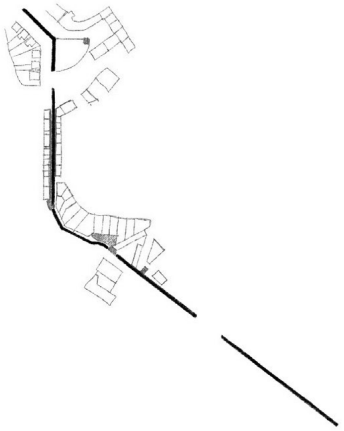

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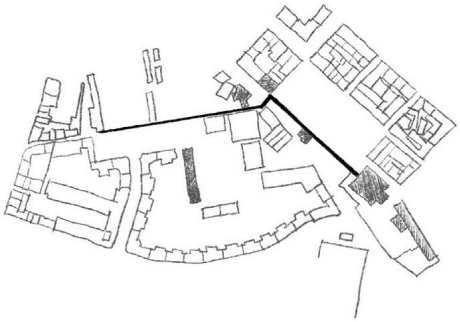

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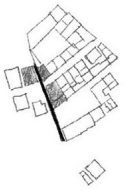

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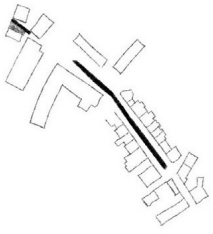

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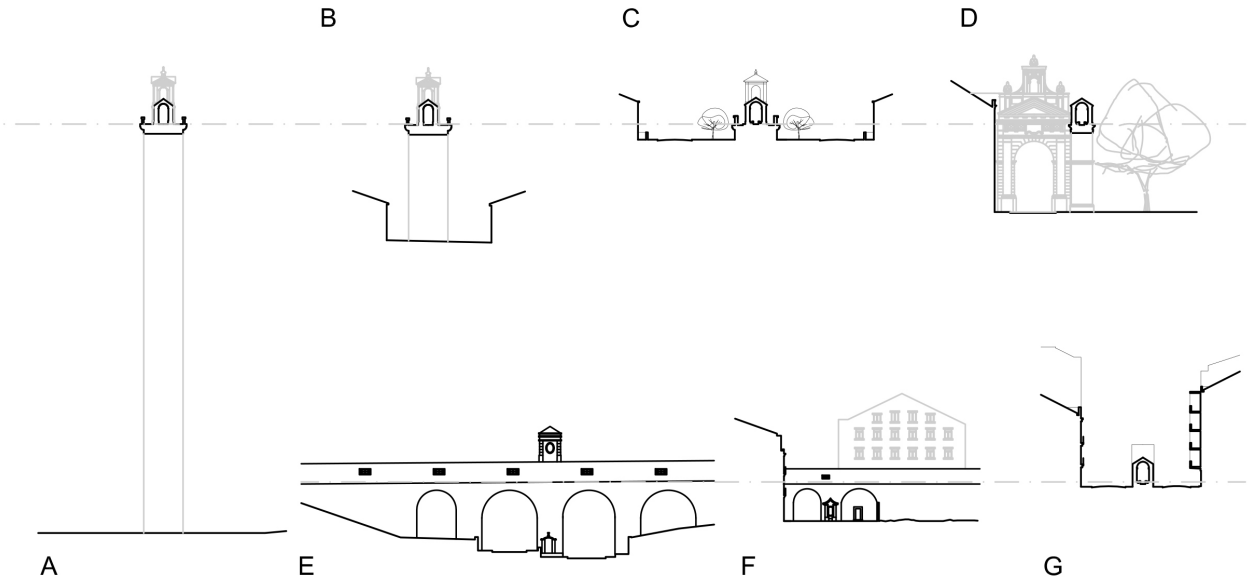

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multiple ways, from the private space of the home, its route through the streets, to its arrival at the most representative of public spaces.

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this Lisbon's journey, the aqueduct is hidden or shown, crossing different realities that give rise to a wide variety of casuistry. The look that has been made here from the point of view of the street could be transferred to other cases of aqueducts, but also of other linear infrastructures such as viaducts or old defensive walls.

The methodology used for this article is based on the direct experience of the visit and its registration. The author is aware of the added value that a more detailed and systematic comparison through drawing could give to this work. He is also aware of the lack of many other places of interest that could enrich the categories mentioned and open up many others. The approach presented here is the beginning of this possible classification, based on the topological condition, understanding the aqueduct as a body that generates an action of relationship with its environment. Understanding its position as a result of movements between the city and the infrastructure. Therefore, its presence is treated as photographs of gestures developed in the time and slowness of the order of the construction of the city. The specific relations of Lisbon presented here may show topological situations similar to other places in Europe. Their comparison and specific study, as well as the coincidence in time between streets and aqueducts development, is under development for another wider article or research work.

The encounters between the aqueducts and streets are builders of complex urban landscapes, explicit evidence of the overlapping infrastructural layers that make up the city. Streets of water and streets for people are capable of establishing relationships of mutual advantage, both at the level of connectivity given their infrastructural condition, as well as from their roles with respect to urban morphology.

A fundamental reference for this article has been the thesis of Sérgio Proença[9]. In it, the role of the aqueduct, an infrastructural element, as a generator of asymmetries, lateral limits or street fronts is raised. Both as a result of a residual process of the construction of the street space, and as a result of a preconceived composition: "[...] in the composition of the cross-section of the street in Lisbon, the aqueduct is a limit but also an element of spatial articulation and sometimes a structuring element of the composition."[10]

Although with nuances and combinations, this article detects three main types of relationship between aqueduct

and street, typical of the encounters of the infrastructure with the city: by contact, by tangency or by emptiness.

In Lisbon, as it has happened throughout history in other cities[11], the relationship with water supply infrastructures has left its mark on the urban and cultural landscape of the city. The street meets the aqueduct in different forms and hierarchies; from long galleries to punctual fountains, from situations of mutual construction and coexistence, to destruction and conflict. **Fig. 9**

In the Alcântara Valley, the aqueduct reinforces the layout of the streets through which it runs. However, while in the Bairro da Liberdade it was developed without a unitary project that recognized it, in the Bairro dos Mestres, the aqueduct is recognized as an essential and considered element of its design. In these cases, the sequence of arches is characteristic in providing visual permeability in its presence in the urban landscape. This situation contrasts with cases such as Rua do Pau de Bandeira and Travessa do Chafariz das Terras in Lisbon or Casal do Pelão in Belas, where the aqueduct is also located in the center of the layout, but whose presence acts as a screen or opaque wall.

In Rua das Amoreiras or in streets such as Travessa do Barbosa, the aqueduct is located on one side, accompanying the street and generating a characteristic facade of the street. In this boundary position, the role of the aqueduct in the definition of Praça das Amoreiras stands out in its combination with the buildings of Bairro das Águas Livres. In other cases, the aqueduct acts as a lateral boundary as in the case of Largo de São Carlos, also as a retaining wall, as in the cases of Rua Eng. Pedro Appleton in Caneças. In these cases, the aqueduct becomes a configurative facade of the street space or public space.

In Avenida Infante Santo, the conflict of interests between infrastructures caused the demolition of the aqueduct, whose ruins remained as scars on both sides. A similar situation to that of the Arco de São Bento, whose transposition to Praça de Espanha left the rest of its ruins on Rua de São Bento. In this case, although the arch over the street was not completely destroyed, it was orphaned of its relationship with the street in a new environment that decontextualizes its meaning.

In the Arco de São Mamede and Arco do Carvalhão, the aqueduct crosses transversally to the streets, respecting the passage under its arches. In these cases, the arches take on special relevance and meaning, being able to be part of the collection of "Arcos e arcadas de Lisboa,"[12] specific Lisbon's feature of the relationship between the city and the topography. This monumental presence of the aqueduct in the street, whose maximum exponents are the cases of the Alcântara Valley and Praça das Amoreiras, have their counterpoint with those subtle or intermittent presences, in the form of lanterns or galleries that protrude, result of the hidden passage of the aqueduct under the streets.

In all these cases, the power of the designed detail, of the way in which time sequencves the construction relationship between aqueduct and city, generates particular urban phenomena, fruit of the different encounters between infrastructural lines; street and aqueduct.

Aqueducts, as more than streets for water, materialize in an infrastructural body that conditions the configuration of the streets with which they meet. Because of the effects that they entail over time and beyond the architectural aspects – from tangible to intangible dimensions, whether social, historical, cultural or economic – it is important to consider these encounters between infrastructures as a valuable field of design for the city. **Fig. 10**

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[2] Blanca Callén, Miquel Domènech, Daniel López, Israel Rodríguez, Tomás Sánchez-Criado, Francisco Tirado, "Diásporas y Transiciones En La Teoría Del Actor-Red," *Athenea Digital: Revista de Pensamiento e Investigación Social* 11, No. 1 (2011): 3–13.
[3] Melanie Birks and Jane Mills, *Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide. 2nd Ed.* (London: SAGE Publications, 2015).
[4] It should be noted that at other times in history the lower arches of the aqueduct were occupied by buildings. On the sides of some of the pillars you can still see the marks of the roofs that were attached to the infrastructure. With this we can imagine the change that this would mean for the street.
[5] Sérgio Barreiros Proença, "A Diversidade da Rua na Cidade de Lisboa: Morfologia e Morfogénese" (PhD dissertation, Faculdade de Arquitectura, Universidade de Lisboa, 2014), 439.
[6] At other times in history, the aqueduct was known as Ponte dos Arcos, being one of the controlled entry points to Lisbon.
[7] Pablo Villalonga Munar and Anna Sala Giralt, "Presencias Infraestructurales. El 'Aqueduto Das Águas Livres' En Lisboa / Infrastructural Presence. « Aqueduto Das Águas Livres » in Lisbon," in *Visiones Urbanas*, ed. Miguel Angel Chaves Martin (Madrid: Arte y Ciudad, 2020), 989–97.
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[9] Proença, "A Diversidade da Rua na Cidade de Lisboa."
[10] "[...], na composição da secção transversal da rua em Lisboa, o aqueduto é limite mas também elemento de articulação espacial e por vezes elemento estruturante da composição." Proença, "A Diversidade da Rua na Cidade de Lisboa," 499.
[11] Katherine Wentworth Rinne, *The Waters of Rome: Aqueducts, Fountains, and the Birth of the Baroque City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
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Nawaf Saeed al Mushayat

ABSTRACT

There is a miniature city on the street, populated with life, activities, and memories that serve as a backdrop to the urban spectacle. Watching the street means watching the city go by, with its multiple images, sounds, and smells. It means the encounter with the collective dreams and memories as well as changing events.

The street evokes a set of experiences and potent symbols with its historical memory, urban rhythms, and the integration of architecture with the landscape. From this perspective, the street is more than a static object; it is a dynamic urban element adapted to the different constraints, opportunities, unexpected events, or even seasonal changes. It, in a way, resembles an ever-changing organism that adapts to the surrounding rhythms through time.

The Street as a Living Organism

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DOI 10.6092/issn.2036-1602/20596

Alessia Panfili

ABSTRACT

The Mouraria in Lisbon is the street par excellence. "Um bairro que é mesmo rua" (A neighbourhood that really is a street). The calçada Portuguesa (Portuguese pavement) covers the ground without extrinsic discontinuity. On the street people walk in synchrony, talk to their neighbours looking out of a window, park their bikes, stop to admire a view. The passage of time is constant. The azulejos slightly scratched by its inexorable passage prove it.

Two figures silhouetted in the distance along a bottleneck, abruptly approaching to the point of almost stepping out of the frame. Dynamism. A few metres further on, a static, contemplative moment. Stillness.

[summer 2016, double exposure technique directly in camera, not in post-production].

Ruaria

RUARIA, Lisboa, 2016.

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Natacha Pires

ABSTRACT

Opposites, a village and a city in Asia, but equally bright and full of their own character. The first picture is of the Cát Cát village in Vietnam. It's an unspoiled natural village made of mostly steep streets and traditional houses. When we reach the bottom of our path we are surprised by beautiful waterfalls and a path made of bridges instead of streets. If you are lucky enough to stay until the sun is set, you will be able to experience a completely different environment, much more mysterious and full of golden lights that will guide the rest of the way.

The second picture is the view from Taipei 101 building's highest floors. We can see how the city becomes alive and full of colour at night. These two street views bring different colours and experiences, but they both make you stop and appreciate how beautiful they are. The lights will guide you into new adventures.

The Lights will Guide You

The Lights will Guide You.

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traduzioni
translations

Il tempo delle strade

Sérgio Barreiros Proença

PAROLE CHIAVE
tempo; strade; morfologia urbana; etimologia; continuità e trasformazione

ABSTRACT
L'editoriale esamina la relazione tra le strade e il tempo attraverso cinque fragments *interrelati.*
Fragment*#1 si concentra sull'etimologia del termine* rua*, evidenziandone il duplice ruolo di luogo e itinerario.* Fragment*#2 descrive le strade come rughe del tempo, incarnando continuità e cambiamento.* Fragment*#3 esplora prospettive temporali cicliche e lineari.* Fragment*#4 analizza le strade attraverso la lente della morfologia urbana.* Fragment*#5 riflette sulle scelte editoriali di questo numero, sottolineando le diverse percezioni del tempo e dello spazio.*

Il Beirut Street Museum

Sama Beydoun

PAROLE CHIAVE
Beirut; museo alternativo; vernacolo; psicogeografia

ABSTRACT
Tutto è iniziato con la sedia di plastica, che si trova spesso negli ambienti urbani di Beirut senza mai essere messa in discussione. All'interno della casa, è un oggetto su cui ci si siede. In strada, vieta il parcheggio. Come una lingua non parlata e non insegnata, tutti sanno che, se c'è una sedia, non si può parcheggiare. Pensando a questo specifico fenomeno urbano, si trattava di cercare i casi in cui la città crea soluzioni per sé stessa. Questo insieme di informalità ha formato un linguaggio visivo popolare su cui vale la pena riflettere, sfidando i modi convenzionali in cui pensiamo alla nostra città. La sedia di plastica, la ruota, il blocco di cemento, il cesto di frutta: sono alcuni ingredienti di una ricetta creativa fatta di materiali disponibili, a basso costo e di recupero, conditi da un senso di utilità. Prendendo in considerazione questi eventi sociali, cerchiamo di riconsiderare il nostro paesaggio culturale e, osservandoli, ci rendiamo conto che essi sono il riflesso dei nostri tempi, delle nostre lotte e dei nostri ostacoli quotidiani. Come artefatti urbani, il loro insieme è maggiore della somma delle loro parti. Il Beirut Street Museum è un museo concettuale che resiste alle forme d'arte convenzionali e smantella l'esclusività della museologia. Esso opera sul campo, dove ogni passeggiata in città diventa una passeggiata nel museo. Radicato nei concetti di dérive, situazionismo e museologia decostruttiva, il BSM parla il linguaggio della strada. Diventa un archivio crescente di testimonianze collettive: i segni delle persone sullo spazio che le circonda.

"Rigenerazione" e Black Atlantic Music nel distretto londinese di Lewisham

Christine Hannigan

PAROLE CHIAVE
rigenerazione; gentrificazione; Black Atlantic Music; analisi discorsiva musicologica

ABSTRACT
Dal 2001, il distretto londinese di Lewisham è stato teatro di numerosi e aggressivi progetti di "rigenerazione," che il Lewisham Council giustifica con narrazioni che problematizzano l'area e le persone che vi abitano. Tre video musicali, tuttavia, offrono prospettive alternative su come l'inquinamento atmosferico, la vigilanza e la "rigenerazione" incidano sull'attuale vita pubblica dei residenti.
La ricerca condotta nell'estate del 2021 ha cercato di capire come e perché gli operatori nel campo della Black Atlantic Music utilizzano determinati spazi e come questi usi sono influenzati dalla rigenerazione attuata dal Council. Sono stati adottati i metodi dell'analisi discorsiva musicologica (MDA) di Charles (2018), che non sono ancora stati applicati nel campo della pianificazione urbana. Le interviste approfondite e l'analisi della musica degli intervistati sono state contestualizzate dall'analisi del discorso di un catalogo ventennale di testi di pianificazione e rigenerazione del Lewisham Council e della Greater London Authority. I risultati hanno indicato che, contrariamente alle narrazioni del Council che giustificano la "rigenerazione," gli attuali residenti di Lewisham hanno una comunità coesa che nasce dall'uso comune degli spazi e dalle esperienze condivise.

Le immagini di strada nel lavoro del Team 10: rilevare il quotidiano

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immaginario collettivo; quotidianità; quartiere; strumenti di pensiero; in-between

ABSTRACT
Il saggio presenta una prima indagine sui diversi ruoli giocati dalle immagini di esseri umani che abitano la strada nell'opera iconografica di Alison e Peter Smithson, Aldo van Eyck e Herman Hertzberger.
In un primo momento, esso analizza questi documenti sulla base di uno spostamento dell'attenzione dagli oggetti costruiti alle relazioni di questi ultimi con i loro utenti. La strada viene così riconosciuta non solo come uno spazio relegato alla circolazione, ma come un vero e proprio luogo di vita plasmato dai processi di associazione e reidentificazione delle comunità.
Successivamente, questo immaginario di strada viene analizzato nei suoi molteplici ruoli. Le immagini sono quindi considerate strumenti innovativi per rilevare la vita quotidiana delle comunità di quartiere, artefatti capaci di trasmettere ritratti senza tempo di modi spontanei di abitare lo spazio urbano, e potenti dispositivi retorici in un contesto più ampio, in particolare nella ricostruzione postbellica.
All'interno del discorso e della pratica architettonica contemporanea, la strada svolge ancora un ruolo centrale nel rispondere ai bisogni psicologici ed emotivi dell'uomo in termini di associazione e identità e come palcoscenico di lotte politiche e culturali. Pertanto, il saggio si propone di problematizzare i diversi significati che le sue molteplici rappresentazioni hanno assunto nel dopoguerra, a loro volta, per rafforzare la memoria collettiva, trasmettere una particolare immagine rassicurante della comunità, documentare gli usi effettivi dello spazio pubblico o giustificare gli interventi di progettazione urbana.

Rileggere e rivalutare le strade residenziali: esplorare i quartieri della periferia di Beirut

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crisi; Grande Beirut; marginale; strada residenziale; pratiche sociali

ABSTRACT
Le strade sono spazi pubblici duraturi, che incarnano la cultura e l'identità di una città. Mentre le strade più vive sono spesso situate nelle aree urbane centrali, questa loro vivace qualità potrebbe svanire nei quartieri residenziali emarginati. Inoltre, le crisi possono avere un impatto sulle attività economiche e sulla vita quotidiana dei residenti. Il concetto di vivibilità serve a studiare le strade in una prospettiva relazionale, analizzando il rapporto tra loro morfologia, funzioni e diverse attività sociali. Il presente saggio si propone di indagare le strade residenziali dei quartieri marginali e il loro ruolo nel fornire spazi pubblici favorevoli alle pratiche sociali, soprattutto in situazioni di crisi, prendendo il caso del Libano. La ricerca si basa su letteratura urbanistica, visite sul posto, osservazioni e interviste informali con i residenti, per mappare l'interfaccia stradale e le corrispondenti attività. L'area di studio è stata selezionata in un quartiere a nord della capitale Beirut, nell'area amministrativa di Sarba, caratterizzata da una popolazione di origine mista e dall'accessibilità ad altre città attraverso l'autostrada. I risultati di questa ricerca suggeriscono che esiste una relazione tra l'interfaccia stradale che si estende dal piano terra fino al tetto dell'edificio residenziale e l'opportunità di mettere in scena attività sociali al di là di questa interfaccia, confondendo i confini tra pubblico e privato. Sono necessari ulteriori studi su altre strade per convalidare la metodologia applicata.

I paesaggi stradali come spazi collettivi negli insediamenti informali di Dar es Salaam

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insediamenti informali; sviluppo sostenibile; urbanizzazione; caratteristiche territoriali; Tanzania

ABSTRACT
A causa della massiccia carenza di alternative abitative, la creazione e l'espansione di insediamenti informali nel Sud del mondo sono diventate una risposta immediata per gli individui in cerca di un posto dove vivere. Ricercatori e organizzazioni sottolineano l'importanza degli spazi pubblici negli insediamenti informali. Il presente saggio utilizza il metodo dello studio di caso per comprendere e valutare le caratteristiche tipologiche di specifici paesaggi stradali, identificandone le caratteristiche spaziali, gli attributi e le configurazioni socio-spaziali. Il processo di rivendicazione e appropriazione permanente degli spazi aperti nelle strade viene esaminato attraverso l'insediamento informale del quartiere di Mlalakuwa a Dar es Salaam. I metodi utilizzati in questa ricerca sono stati l'osservazione e la raccolta di dati qualitativi. I risultati mostrano che la tipologia dello spazio è il prodotto delle attività umane locali e delle reti di connessione che sono state create per supportare gli usi e le routine quotidiani, insieme alla vivacità con cui il paesaggio stradale funziona come spazio collettivo. Il contributo di questo saggio è quello di creare conoscenza sulle diverse forme tipologiche degli spazi collettivi nella comunità di Mlalakuwa e su come queste siano legate alle loro esigenze locali. Inoltre, esso aumenterà la chiara consapevolezza della comunità e dei politici. La comprensione di queste forme sarà un passo avanti nel trattamento dei paesaggi stradali allo scopo di migliorare la vita futura delle persone.

Mangiare (ne) la città. Un processo adattativo di trasformazione che applica lo strumento del cibo come metafora

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cibo come strumento; trasformazioni adattive; usi innovativi; attività sociali; creazione di luoghi

ABSTRACT
Un progetto urbano di successo non può essere realizzato senza tenere conto del carattere sedimentato dei luoghi e delle azioni che vi si svolgono quotidianamente. Abbiamo cercato di leggere i meccanismi che innescano i cambiamenti, per pianificare l'uso dello spazio attraverso la progettazione spaziale delle attività sociali legate al cibo. Nelle città moderne, i momenti di aggregazione possono essere utilizzati come strumento di progettazione per creare una "ricetta" per rianalizzare un luogo.
La ricerca condotta applica la metafora del cibo e dei suoi rituali come strumento per ridefinire gli spazi stradali e le relazioni evolutive tra gli usi e l'ambiente costruito nella città. Diversi dispositivi sono progettati per portare i partecipanti a svolgere le attività della loro vita quotidiana in spazi diversi: la casa si apre sempre più alla città e viceversa. È un processo che parte "dal basso," con tecnologie semplici e replicabili. Non si tratta solo di costruire nuovi spazi, ma di evidenziare e spazializzare i processi legati al cibo. Il progetto, quindi, non è solo un motore di cambiamento, ma anche una chiave per comprendere le complesse relazioni tra i dispositivi urbani già esistenti e i processi che hanno sempre avuto una grande influenza sulla città. I dispositivi di progettazione vanno a lavorare sul programma delle città, introducendo nuovi spazi per mangiare insieme, in strada, vanno a rompere quei confini rigidi che distinguono e separano gli usi in base alla proprietà, introducendo la forma ibrida della condivisione.

Ritmi di strada a Dharavi: l'adattamento alle inondazioni cicliche negli *slum* costieri

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slum *urbani costieri; misure di adattamento alle inondazioni; strade degli* slum*; morfologia urbana; Dharavi*

ABSTRACT
Nei paesi in via di sviluppo, gli slum *costieri sono riconosciuti come aree altamente suscettibili alle conseguenze degli estremi climatici. Con una capacità limitata di assorbire e prevenire l'innalzamento delle acque, queste baraccopoli costiere sono soggette a inondazioni ricorrenti. Tale sfida ha portato gli abitanti a sviluppare misure di adattamento locali nel corso degli anni.*
Lo spazio pubblico incorporato nella morfologia dello slum *consente un'interazione spaziale tra le inondazioni e le misure di adattamento. Un tempo percepito come una minaccia, l'eccesso di acqua si sta trasformando in un'opportunità. In questi contesti, le strade forniscono uno spazio fisico essenziale nel tessuto dello* slum*, utile anche per affrontare gli effetti delle inondazioni. La forma della strada consente cicliche occupazioni temporanee che si relazionano con le attività degli abitanti, i ritmi giornalieri o stagionali, in cui il livello dell'acqua gioca un ruolo di primo piano. In questo modo, il carattere della strada è definito sia dalla sezione fissa sia dalle cicliche misure di adattamento e dagli elementi che compongono lo spazio vivibile.*
Dharavi, a Mumbai, è un insediamento informale molto eterogeneo che comprende strade che supportano il sostentamento di diverse comunità, come i pescatori a Koliwada, i vasai a Kumbharwada e i lavoratori delle lavanderie a Dhobi Ghat, tra gli altri. In questo saggio, la diversità della forma e dei cicli stradali viene decodificata e tradotta da disegni interpretativi basati su immagini cartografiche e raccolte.
Questo studio cerca di mostrare il ruolo cruciale delle strade degli slum*, come elementi morfologici urbani, nell'affrontare le inondazioni cicliche. Esso contribuisce alla ricerca più ampia sulla tipizzazione delle misure di adattamento alle alluvioni e alla sistematizzazione di un lessico di tali misure per gli* slum *costieri.*

Collegare le zone intermedie: una strategia per l'integrazione degli interstizi urbani a Lisbona

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spazio pubblico; interstizi urbani; crescita e sviluppo urbano; morfologia e topografia urbana; vuoti urbani

ABSTRACT
L'assetto urbano di Lisbona è strettamente legato ai suoi antichi percorsi, modellati dalla geografia circostante. Molti di questi percorsi esistono ancora oggi come strade contemporanee e fungono da assi fondamentali della città. Lungo questi percorsi si trovano spazi pubblici tradizionali come praças *(piazze),* largos *(larghi),* miradouros *(belvedere),* jardins *(giardini) o* parques *(parchi), mentre nel mezzo si trovano aree trascurate note come interstizi urbani. Nonostante l'abbandono, questi spazi hanno un potenziale significativo per importanti funzioni ecologiche e sociali. Il presente saggio si propone di esplorare le possibilità di collegare gli interstizi urbani con gli spazi pubblici di Lisbona, guidati dai principi della rigenerazione urbana e della sinergia tra sistemi formali e informali. Attraverso l'analisi della valle di São Bento, si intende elaborare una strategia di integrazione urbana che serva soprattutto come piattaforma di discussione sugli approcci di intervento negli spazi pubblici.*

Il pubblico e il privato nel fare strada: giunti, collegamenti e reti nel centro di Lisbona

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João Rafael Santos

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rete di spazi pubblici; rapporto pubblico-privato; stratificazione; porosità; Lisbona

ABSTRACT
Le strade sono elementi urbani fondamentali, che definiscono linee di forza continue e incorniciano l'organizzazione sequenziale degli spazi privati, cioè dei lotti e degli edifici. Tuttavia, le possibilità di utilizzare elementi di spazio privato finora sussidiari come giunti urbani per creare nuove articolazioni di spazio pubblico possono essere interessanti nei processi contemporanei di trasformazione e adattamento urbano. L'articolo esplora le possibilità di assemblare e ricombinare diversi elementi urbani pubblici e privati per ideare e strutturare un nuovo strato ordinatore della città. Il centro di Lisbona e le colline circostanti sono utilizzate come caso per illustrare l'argomento, utilizzando i recenti progetti di riqualificazione urbana e degli spazi pubblici per collegare luoghi e punti rilevanti, creare nuovi importanti percorsi pedonali e quindi complessificare la pianta di Lisbona in una cornice veramente tridimensionale. Ricorrendo a una serie diversificata di interventi urbani, è stato rafforzato un asse fondamentale tra le due colline del centro di Lisbona, rendendolo un paesaggio stradale tridimensionale che ora permea sia le strade esistenti sia i nuovi collegamenti verticali che appartengono al dominio privato. In questo paesaggio stradale ricombinato, gli edifici diventano infrastrutture e la natura porosa del tessuto costruito diventa una potenziale fonte di pubblicità urbana.

Le strade amano l'acquedotto: l'acquedotto delle Águas Livres a Lisbona

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acquedotti; Aqueduto Águas Livres; ambiente costruito; monumentalizzazione; infrastruttura

ABSTRACT
Il rapporto tra strade e acquedotti in Europa è un modello rilevabile. Con una condizione lineare condivisa, questi incontri tra infrastrutture avvengono in modi diversi, dall'allineamento assoluto all'intersezione inaspettata. Archi, pietre, facciate, persone, dettagli, ombre e altri attori insieme spiegano storie utili per la progettazione architettonica.
Attraverso il caso studio dell'Aqueduto das Águas Livres e del suo rapporto con le strade di Lisbona, è possibile ottenere un'ampia casistica di incontri diversi. Il movimento dell'acquedotto gioca un ruolo caratteristico e fondamentale nella fisionomia e nella configurazione delle strade della città, oltre che dell'ambiente costruito. Da grandi momenti monumentali a luoghi più modesti, le diverse manifestazioni ci permettono di avvicinarci alla ricchezza urbana e architettonica che si verifica nelle congiunzioni tra strada e acquedotto. In questo senso, grazie alla sua varietà, Lisbona è un luogo che offre un catalogo, da situazioni specifiche ed eccezionali a scenari urbani paragonabili ad altre città europee.
Gli acquedotti, più che strade per l'acqua, si materializzano in un corpo infrastrutturale che condiziona la configurazione delle strade con cui si incontrano. Per gli effetti che comportano nel tempo e al di là degli aspetti architettonici – dalla dimensione tangibile a quella intangibile – è importante considerare questi incontri tra infrastrutture come un prezioso campo di progettazione per la città.

La strada come organismo vivente

Nawaf Saeed al Mushayat

ABSTRACT

Per strada c'è una città in miniatura, popolata di vita, attività e ricordi che fanno da sfondo allo spettacolo urbano. Guardare la strada significa osservare la città che passa, con le sue molteplici immagini, suoni e odori. Significa l'incontro con i sogni e le memorie collettive e con gli eventi in continua evoluzione.

La strada evoca un insieme di esperienze e simboli potenti con la sua memoria storica, i suoi ritmi urbani e l'integrazione dell'architettura con il paesaggio. Da questo punto di vista, la strada non è solo un oggetto statico, ma un elemento urbano dinamico che si adatta ai diversi vincoli, alle opportunità, agli eventi inattesi e persino ai cambiamenti stagionali. In un certo senso, assomiglia a un organismo in continua evoluzione che si adatta ai ritmi circostanti nel tempo.

Ruaria

Alessia Panfili

ABSTRACT

La Mouraria di Lisbona è la strada per eccellenza. "Um bairro que é mesmo rua" (Un quartiere che è davvero una strada). La calçada Portuguesa (pavimentazione portoghese) copre il suolo senza discontinuità estrinseche. Per strada le persone camminano in sincronia, parlano con i vicini affacciati alla finestra, parcheggiano le biciclette, si fermano ad ammirare un panorama. Lo scorrere del tempo è costante. Lo dimostrano gli azulejos leggermente scalfiti dal suo inesorabile passaggio.

Due figure che si stagliano in lontananza lungo una strettoia, avvicinandosi bruscamente fino quasi a uscire dall'inquadratura. Dinamismo. Qualche metro più in là, un momento statico e contemplativo. Immobilità.

[estate 2016, tecnica di doppia esposizione direttamente in camera, non in post-produzione].

Le luci vi guideranno

Natacha Pires

ABSTRACT

Opposti, un villaggio e una città in Asia, ma ugualmente luminosi e pieni di carattere. La prima immagine è del villaggio di Cát Cát, in Vietnam. È un villaggio naturale incontaminato, fatto per lo più di strade ripide e case tradizionali. Quando arriviamo in fondo al nostro sentiero, siamo sorpresi da bellissime cascate e da un percorso fatto di ponti invece che di strade. Se avete la fortuna di rimanere fino al tramonto, potrete sperimentare un ambiente completamente diverso, molto più misterioso e pieno di luci dorate che guideranno il resto del percorso. La seconda immagine è la vista dai piani più alti del Taipei 101. Possiamo vedere come la città diventi viva e piena di colori di notte. Questi due scorci di strada portano colori ed esperienze diverse, ma entrambi vi fanno fermare e apprezzare la loro bellezza. Le luci vi guideranno verso nuove avventure.

Sulle strade
*About Streets*e il tempo
and Time

***in_bo* vol. 15 n. 7s, (2024)**

A cura di Sérgio Barreiros Proença (Lisbon School of Architecture, Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal), Francesca Dal Cin (Lisbon School of Architecture, Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal), Alessia Allegri (Lisbon School of Architecture, Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal), Luís Miguel Ginja (Lisbon School of Architecture, Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal)

In "About Streets and Time" si delinea un ricco mosaico di riflessioni critiche e interdisciplinari con, come obiettivo, la decodificazione del significato contemporaneo dello spazio pubblico e delle sue declinazioni fisiche, politiche e sociali. La strada, in tutte le sue diverse forme, nomi e significati, racchiude le caratteristiche distintive della comunità che la abita, offrendo spunti di riflessione sulle narrazioni storiche, sociali e culturali che ne plasmano l'identità.
Questo numero di *in_bo* presenta le ricerche più recenti sul concetto di Tempo delle Strade, trattando molteplici interpretazioni, dalla semantica alla morfologia urbana, dalla storia alla memoria collettiva, evidenziando come la comprensione dei cicli e dei ritmi che creano le rughe della città sia fondamentale per immaginare e progettare il futuro dello spazio pubblico.

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In "About Streets and Time," a rich tapestry of critical and interdisciplinary reflections is delineated with the aim of decoding the contemporary significance of public space and its physical, political and social declinations. The street, in all its different forms, names and meanings, encloses the distinctive characteristics of the community it inhabits, offering insights into the historical, social and cultural narratives that shape its identity. This issue of in_bo *presents the most recent researches on the concept of the Time of Streets, addressing multiple interpretations, from semantics to urban morphology, from history to collective memory, highlighting that understanding the cycles and rhythms that create the wrinkles of the city is fundamental to imagining and designing the future of streets.*