CITY FOR PEOPLE

A critical examination into the effects the built environment has on public space, in relation to the individuals urban experience.

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CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION

The built environment, existing as a combination of buildings in the form of a city, can be considered as altering an individual's urban experience. City structure has been subject to controversy, much of this criticism stems from modern city structure being designed around the invention of the automobile. Further criticism has been made regarding the subversion of the individual pedestrian, within the constraints of the built environment. (Jacobs, 1961). However, new emerging trends in architecture and urban planning offer a solution to this modern problem, conceptualising that the involvement of society in the planning process can improve city structure and create areas within the city that facilitate this inclusion (Friedman, 2017; Kaiser, 2012; Spacemakers, 2013).

This text will be structured around three Chapters, Chapter 1 outlines city structure and the design of the modern built environment around the automobile. Chapter 2 will explore the form society takes within space and the implications the environment has on the pedestrian. Finally, Chapter 3 will explore how the built environment acts as objects, that alter and mediate the relations that happen within. Furthermore, exploring the temporary occupation of the in-between space of buildings, that can be purposed to mould behaviour and benefit the inhabitant.

To examine the impact the built environment has on the individual's urban experience, concepts surrounding city structure will be considered. Analysis will be presented that indicates how the built environment creates its own spatial order, through the way it shapes individual's interaction with space. Outlining the reasoning behind the alteration of city structure due to the automobile and the implications this has for society. Furthermore, this text will examine the potential to change city structure by incorporating the individual into the planning process.

The built environment and society will be analysed in relation to one another, considering them as being interlinked and experiencing changes together. Examining how buildings take on their own societal form and influence changes that happen within society. This will be explored in more detail through analysing the way society interacts with the built environment, through the pedestrian's urban experiences within city structure. Referring to literature which has been determined as freeing the individual of architectural restraints and allowing for self-expression through freely drifting within the urban environment.

This text will examine literature, which explore how the built environment can inform human behaviour. Presenting research examining the individual's reliance on one another and the built structure for a sense of purpose. However, in many cases literature has determined that individuals often reject architectural form and prefer the presence of human interactions. Urban planning strategies will be explored that strive to improve city structure, through activating the in-between spaces of buildings, facilitating interaction between individuals. Focusing on the inclusion of the individual in the planning process, thus, bringing ownership of the city back to the inhabitants. Ultimately, this text will examine the viewpoint that if the influence of the urban environment can alter human behaviour then perhaps the built structure can be designed for the purpose of the inhabitant and society..

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CITY STRUCTURE

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1.1 - Objects Ordering Space

City structure and how it impacts the way people interact in cities, will be considered by analysing the impact buildings have on the built environment, that individuals know as cities. The built environment alters space and creates its own spatial order, through creating its own spatial dimension and reshaping the way individuals interact with space. The core nature of buildings can be described as an object, which is situated in space and structures an environment. Theorist Hiller and Hanson state that; “buildings are not just objects, but transformations of space through objects” (Hillier and Hanson 1989, p.1). This perspective suggests the purpose of buildings is to order space, which offers an alternative view from much of the previous seminal literature which focuses on the material structure of architecture (Hiller and Hanson, 1989). Suggesting that buildings are not about the structure itself or its architectural significance, but more about the way individuals use and order the space. Markus (1993) reaffirms this by presenting the point that buildings, as objects, act as containers for people in space, through which they act out their purpose. Therefore, it can be argued that the built environment has the capabilities to form and order volumes of space. This is apparent in how architecture organises and structures space for individuals, illustrated through the combination of the container, which represents architecture, its interior and the individuals physical act of inhabiting architecture. Together it can be analysed to facilitate an individual’s existence within the container, as it creates its own unique language (Lawson, 2007). However, this illustrates that the built structure is purposed by the inhabitant and without them it could be deemed redundant, therefore this must be further explored.

The works of Markus (1993), Hiller and Hanson (1989) considered the theory that buildings as objects construct space. To wider understand the mechanism of this theory, subsequent research has looked at the combination of multiple architectural forms as a city (Hiller and Hanson, 1989). Indicating that the individual piece of architecture acts in coherence with the surrounding architectural structures, to form a city, which

combines to act as a specific space altering construct. Buildings themselves can be seen as objects, which construct space, however, the combination of multiple pieces of architecture as a city can be considered in the same way; “like a piece of architecture, the city is a construction in space” (Lynch, 1960, p.1). Lynch visualises space as a large open volume, whereby objects are inserted into, creating their own spatial form. Here it is considered that the ordering of objects in a city can affect the way cities themselves are ordered, which in turn affects the way individuals interact with city structure.

Urban planner, Jane Jacobs, focuses on how city planning, and design is a vast laboratory of experiments failing and succeeding (Jacobs, 2016). This examines how cities as objects have the possibility to fail and how an individual piece of architecture can have an effect on the user. Jacobs furthers this point by emphasising the effects of the automobile and the implications it has for social structure. This viewpoint is supported by Gehl (2013), whom believed that the automobile and modernism proposed damaging effects on city makeup. Considering it as not only an additional part of the downfall and negligence of spatial construction but the main cause (Jacobs, 2016). Lynch (1960) further states that it is our duty to shape cities to purpose society and future societies. Therefore, composing the argument that constructed space should facilitate the inhabitants of the space, and create a narrative without the guidance of planners.

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1.2 - City as an Egg

Architecture has long considered the affects objects have on the order of space, thus acknowledgements of how cities are structured around these objects can be analysed. Reyner Banham supports this line of argument when criticising modern planning methods stating that; “conventional planning wisdom certainly would destroy the city as we know it” (Banham, 2001, p. 121). In his essay ‘City as Scrambled Egg’, Banham confronts urban planning methods of zoning cities, explaining how the propositions for post-modernist cities negatively altered city structure (Banham, 1959). Speck (2013) refers to city structure failing its inhabitants through urban sprawl, signifying that suburbs were being built further and further away from cities centres, thus forcing the inhabitant to commute for longer. Resulting in the formation of the environment becoming increasingly invested in issues surrounding the automobile. Banham critiques urban sprawl, suggesting it has radicalized contemporary urbanism and decentralized life. He compared the new city to ‘scrambled egg’ describing the centre of the city as being everywhere. This can be seen in Le Corbusier’s visionary metropolis, which segregated societal functions, dictating the way new modern cities should be structured. One of his design traits being the separation of societal functions, where dwellings, workplaces and shopping centres would all be separate, a technique adopted by urban planners of that century (Tungare, 2001). In doing so, it created an environment which segregated life and social matters, focusing more on the efficiency of the city, than the inhabitant. Banham’s ‘City as Scrambled Egg’ describes a proposal for city structure, existing as a network constructed by the individual pedestrian (Sadler, 1999). In doing so, it will liberate the individual from architectural restraints, by throwing out all known logic of planning, acting as a stand against the sterile spaces that exist within current planning methods.

Figure 1 – *The City as an Egg*, Price, C. (2001).

Similarly, Cedric Price's (2001) sketch depicts city structure fluctuating through time periods, comparing them to different forms of eggs. Figure 1 (Price, 2001), shows the early city structure as a boiled egg, which is surrounded in a hard shell and was insularly protected by the surrounding landscape. This sketch depicts the boundaries of cities, being dissolved over time and the centre being dissipated throughout the city (Laux, 2008). In both cases, Banham and Price portray the effects of post-modernist cities, showing that urban sprawl led to the closeness of cities being dispersed. It can be concluded, that the modern city structure has a radical effect on the structure of life, through the scattering of centres and segregation of functions, which ultimately effects the way individuals use the city.

1.3 - Modern City

The new modernist city can be further investigated to understand city structure and the alteration of societal structure, apparent when looking at the history which shaped the built society. The second world war saw a revolutionary change in the creation and structuring of cities, beginning a new modern way of modelling and the rise in the modernist movement (Hiller and Hanson, 1989). With the rapid advancement of technology, the built environment and structure of cities began to change. Modernism saw a change in city structure with more involvement from city planners and architects. Previous to modernism, cities were built around human scale, with the basic makeup consisting of a street and a square, in relation to foot and eye. The street was for the foot to travel from one point to another and the square was for the eye, in order to view relations happening amongst people. However, with the invention of the automobile and development in urban planning, cities began to be designed from ariel view, as a result there was less consideration of human scale (Lawson, 2007). The way individuals experience buildings had changed, as buildings and their surroundings had become less populated, less saturated and more insulated. Gehl shared this perspective, equating the rise in car traffic to the start of the decades long oversight of the human dimension. Criticising how life was altered by this new planning of cities resulting in cities becoming; “duller and more monotonous” (Gehl, 2011, p.21). Illustrating how this approach to city planning resulted in public space being low priority and planner’s attention drawn away from the function of the city as a congregation place for urban dwelling (Gehl, 2013). Therefore, it can be said that today’s planned cities are no longer a social forum, as it has been condensed and outrun by the automobile.

The automobile has since become a metaphor for the machine that modernist cities have become, being designed for mechanical function, with little consideration of the individual. Le Corbusier, one of the leaders of the modernist movement, created homes as; “machines for living” (Le Corbusier, 2008, p.107), illustrating his argument

that architecture should be designed to fit to engineers' standards. Leading to the standardization in architecture, which has translated through to city scale and paved the way for planners to create cities around architecture, not the individual (Evenson, 1969). Removing the individual from plans leaves no room for societal growth within the strict confines of the machine. Le Corbusier (2008) viewed the machine as being a significant event in human history that it should be considered as a conditioner for societies characteristics. Pre-modernist cities were constructed for simple human actions, this can easily criticise the construction of modernist cities, which as stated, are now built in favour of the automobile (Jacobs, 2016). Jacobs' (2016) work compliments this perspective by criticising the way modern city planners have fabricated cities. Highlighting the apparent obsession of seeing the city as solely a machine functioning around the automobile, which has been shown to have damaging effects for city structure Jacobs (2016). This fixation on the automobile lead to less consideration of how humans inhabit city space and focused more on the growth of the machine. Jacobs (2016) further argued that city planning has more pressing considerations, seeing the social matters at hand surrounding city structure as more significant than the effort to identify issues surrounding the automobile. Emphasising that most modern city structure worked against the best interests of the inhabitants, suggesting that more attention should be given to adapting the environment with consideration of the individual within society.

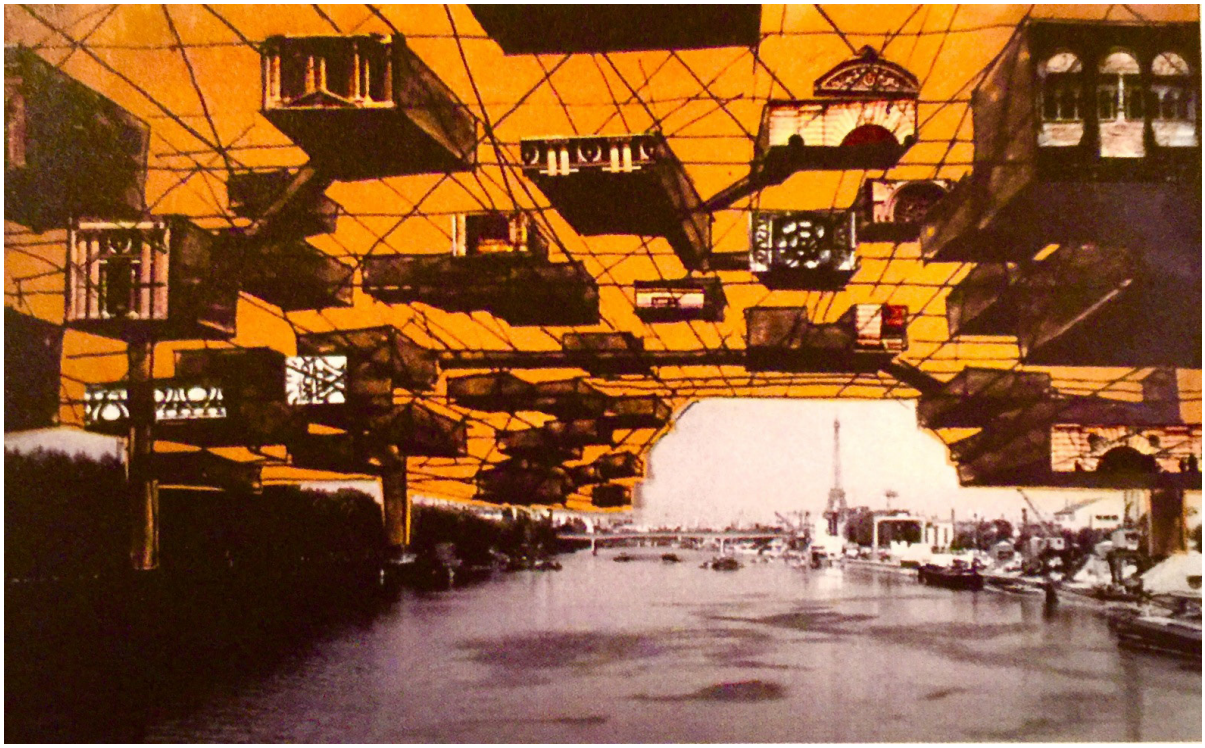


Figure 2 - *Paris Spatiale*, Friedman, Y. (1959)..

In comparison, architect and theorist Yona Friedman's (1959) utopian city scheme 'Villa Spatial' encompassed urban planning issues, structure and involvement of the user. Friedman saw this oppression of the individual in city planning and proposed a new way to model cities around the inhabitant, without demolishing the existing architecture. Supported in literature by Jacobs (2016), whom proposed the necessity of the combination of old and new buildings to support the diversity of an area. Figure 2 (Friedman, 1959), shows the temporary structure over the river Seine, Paris, which is depicted as being elevated on stilts, spanning over cities and towns creating a continuous landscape. Friedman identified the inhabitant as an important subject to which architects should be making their plans, bringing liberation to the individuals inhabiting cities and their ideas. Importance is drawn to the individual as a key part of the process, rejecting existing city ideologies of the time period. Moreover, it considered the inhabitant as being part of the planning process and for the architect to assist only in the technicality, ultimately centred around the concept that the individual would design their own dwellings. Friedman imagined that the architect would supply a kit of parts and the inhabitant would decide themselves how

they would be assembled, describing that; “the city shouldn’t resist the inhabitants, it should obey the inhabitants” (Friedman, 2017, 00:06:00). The structure was seen as temporary dwellings, using the analogy that people could move homes like moving beach towels (Friedman, 2017). Suggesting that a city could be changed season by season and different plans could be implemented for summer and winter. However, this structure could be criticised to have a similar destructive effect on the built environment as the automobile. Nevertheless, the nature of the structure being temporary allows for change to occur, thus, avoiding permeant potential damage to the city environment. Offering a space where changing societies could evolve with their surroundings, acting as a contemporary solution to an urbanist problem.

Jacobs (2009) agrees with this point of view drawing emphasis to how planners should focus on the inhabitant’s desires for neighbourhoods. Suggesting that there is no specific plan that can be applied to cities, as people construct cities and it is around people that plans must be made. Perhaps, re-imagining design thinking, to be more centred around space and the societies that inhabit them, could offer a suitable model for societal structure. Jacobs famously states that; “cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody” (Jacobs, 2016, p.238). Identifying the inhabitant and community as an essential role in the formation of cities and suggesting that only then will they function for the need of everyone. Supporting urban planning theories, specifically the theory of placemaking, which was built around ideas of Jacobs, encouraging inhabitants to collectively re-imagine public spaces as the centre of their community (Project for Public Spaces, 2007). Thus, strengthening connections between people and their surroundings, reinforcing the importance of individuals in the planning process.

Figure 3 – *Mini Library*, Inhabit. (2014).

Similarly, ‘PARK(ing) Day’ is an annual event, whereby a parking space is occupied with an intervention, transforming it into a vibrant public space. Acting as a visual protest in reaction to the space that the automobile dominates in cities, thus challenging conventional understanding of public space. This temporary change can alter the characteristics of the city, through temporarily expanding the public realm and reclaiming the streets (Rebar, 2011). Figure 3 (Inhabit, 2014), shows the intervention of a ‘mini library’ implemented into the space of a car park, offering a place for city dwelling and a space to experience the city from a static standpoint. Bringing ownership of the city back to its inhabitants and giving the opportunity to design their surroundings, expanding public use of place within the built environment. Thus, rejecting the planning of cities around the automobile and re-purposing the space for the inhabitant. Offering a solution for repopulating the in-between space of a city, through the formation of temporary structures created by and for the inhabitants.

INDIVIDUALS URBAN EXPERIENCE 02

2.1 - Societal Structure

Modernism has not only had a damaging effect on city structure, it has also translated through to societal structure. The new urban environment has been largely criticised due to societal structure being directly altered by buildings (Hiller and Hanson, 1989). It can be said that the contemporary urban environment has unanticipated changes to the social organisation of space. As previously mentioned, with the invention of cars, cities have been completely restructured with the consideration of travel, showing that societal structure has been altered due to this new urban environment. Cities have become motionless as they are not designed for the need of society, resulting in a change in the way people inhabit city space, with less attention drawn to their surroundings.

In order to examine this further, the impact buildings have on societal form must firstly be addressed. Markus (1993) proposed that individuals inhabiting space create a layer of dimension to cities. He further stated that buildings are not solely architecturally artistic or physical objects but viewed them as being social in nature (Markus, 1993). Similarly, Hiller and Hanson (1989) highlight how the built environment creates shared communities and groups space, spontaneously creating social groupings, natured around society. Additionally, Gehl's analysis of buildings as social objects can be summarised as; "architecture is the interplay between form and life" (Gehl, 2015, 00:03:49). Therefore, it can be argued that architecture is the bridge between object and humans, suggesting that architecture itself has its own social connotations. Arising the question of what purpose architecture serves for humans and what is deemed as essential. Without architecture perhaps individuals would not interact with form, however it enables people to not only coexist but depend on the built structure. Gehl goes on to ask the question; "what is good habitat for homo-sapiens" (Gehl, 2015, 00:04:26). Perhaps, with the coexistence of humans and structure, individuals should consider the fundamental structure in which modern life is framed around and question the effect this has on an individual. Literature describes how the environment offers stability and

heightened engagement with human experience, acting as a support mechanism for social interaction (Barker, 1968; Lynch, 1960). Markus illustrates how; “buildings are more than passive containers for relations” (Markus, 1993, p.11), arguing that buildings are not just objects themselves, but they hold meaning to the social interactions that is happening within them. Ultimately, questioning the purpose of built form as a vehicle for societal meaning, further emphasising that architecture holds significant meaning as a social object and fabricates space within the vessel. Therefore, it can be determined that architecture itself is separate from buildings, it holds significant meaning as social objects and constructs space in relation to social encounters.

It can be conceived that spatial form creates societal form, as supported within much of the literature of this time (Bourdieu, 1990; Hiller and Hanson, 1989). Intrinsically, societies take on similar spatial forms, regardless of how different they may be, meaning there is a coherent link between their spatial forms. This is evident in how societies are structured, for example through housing estates and town centres (Hiller and Hanson, 1989). It is through this spatial form that the existence in cultural differences between societies is recognised. Thus, society is able to identify social variety within the structuring of the built environment, therefore ethnicity in space can be recognised (Hiller and Hanson, 1989). Showing how society reacts to social situation and a trend of societal themes emerge. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that individuals recognise cultures in space, through their sensitivity to the built environment and its construction around society. Determining the importance of organising objects and designing city structure to purpose the interventions and the societies that reside within the city.

Thus, it can be conceived that society is fragile in nature and subtle changes can cause fluctuations within the form of society. The built environment of cities and the societies that inhabit them are interlinked, experiencing changes together. Lawrence and Low (1990) identify how society experiences spatial forms, expressing how the built environment’s spatial order is not only based on social forms, but it is a model for replicating those forms. Therefore, it can be conceived that form influences form,

illustrating how societies are influenced and guided by the inhabitants of these spaces. Moreover, it stands as a framework for progressing societies, through its influence on subsequent forms (Hiller and Hanson, 1989). Reaffirming that the built environment and social change reside in a continuous feedback loop, whereby one cannot exist without the other. Urban Pathology continues this dispute, by suggesting that there is a correlation between architecture and the social changes that happen within them (Pitcher, 1997). Thus, stating that architectural form may have an adverse effect on society. Pitcher argues that the traditional makeup of societal structure has been overrun by contemporary ideologies revolving around urban constructions. Therefore it can be considered how urban foundations can be modified to model a more effective society, one that benefits the need of the individual (Hiller and Hanson, 1989). This is supported in further literature considering that the built environment does not indicate identity of a city, however, the material structure is the life in-between these forms (Cook et al., 1999). Therefore, the determination can be made that society adopts its own spatial form.

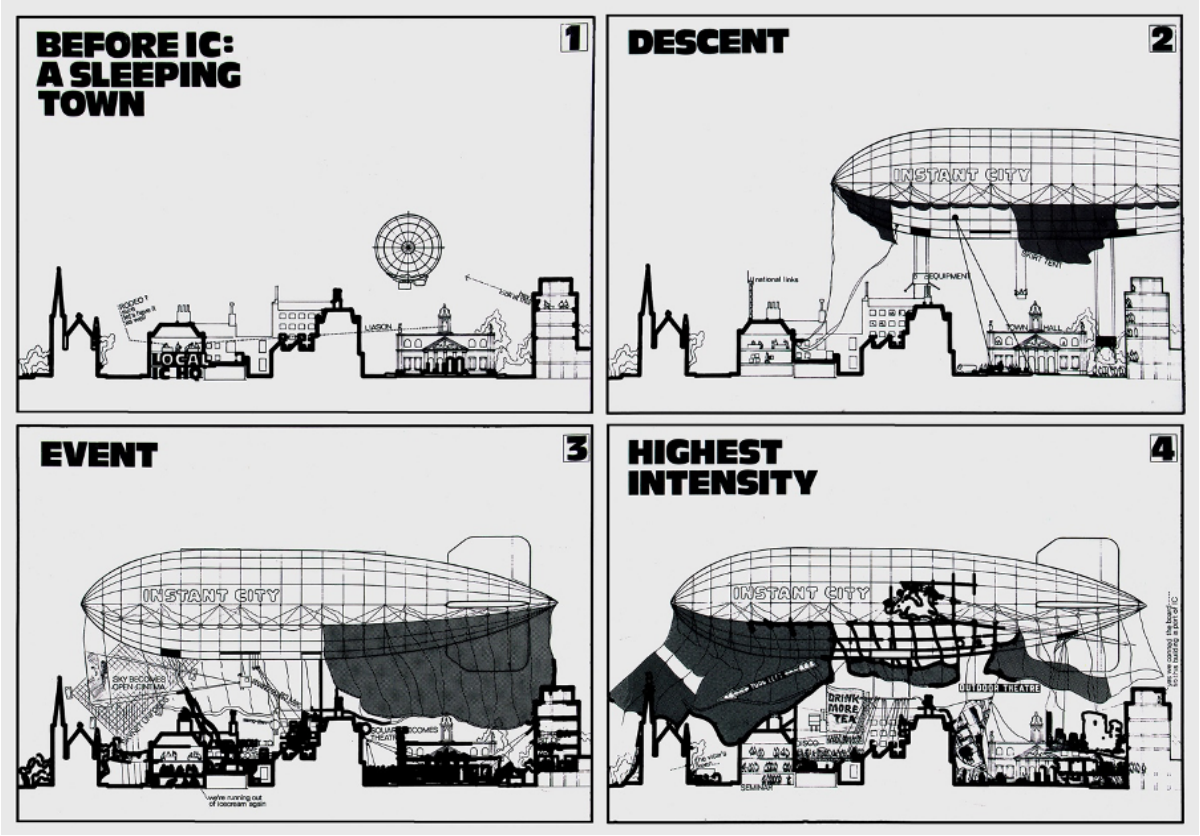
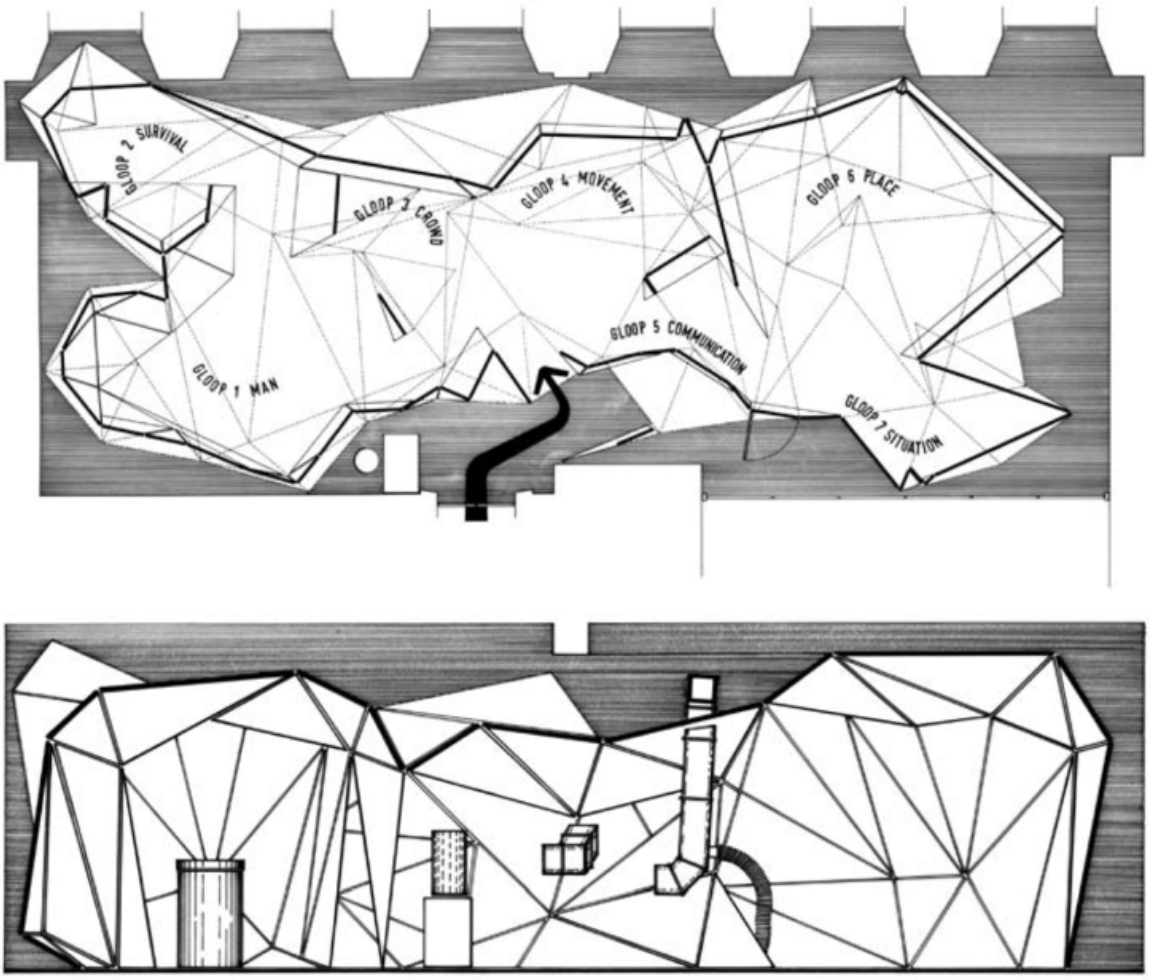


Figure 4 – *Instant City*, Archigram. (1969).

This can be shown in a project by Archigram, a collective of architects, whom proposed a visionary metropolis ‘Instant City’ (1969). The project was a travelling packaged city, which would overnight ascend on inflatables and infiltrate a town shown in Figure 4 (Archigram, 1969). It was considered a utopian vision of architecture, transforming the built environment into a ‘situation’. Capturing the essence of a city, which is not the architecture, but what Archigram identified the appealing nature of cities as being the ‘situations’, that happen within the architecture. Peter Cook, a member of the Archigram group explained that “Instant City was, in very raw terms, like a cultural circus” (Cook, 2020, 00:00:10) which proposed extracting the attractive characteristics of a metropolitan city and creating a spectacle out of them. Suggesting the need and desire for cities is not the architectural forms but the essence of cities as populations of people interacting in the form of societies. Therefore, the importance of buildings in the structure of society is outrun by the distinctive spatial form that societies create in cities.

2.2 - Living City

To closer examine the effects society encounters within the built environment, the individual pedestrians' urban interactions can be looked at. Lawson (2007) considers how individuals absorb information, he determined that it is firstly identified through size, then individuals process the way it moves through space, using movement and the eye. Subsequent literature by Gehl (2013) has elaborated on Lawsons theory describing that movement through space constructs the spatial quality of a city. Gehl further describes; "the basic building blocks of urban architecture are movement space: the street, and the experience space: the square" (Gehl, 2013, p.38). These viewpoints all relate to the way individuals travel through space, stating that, the street is for linear foot movement and the square is a visual for the eye (Gehl, 2013). Similarly, Archigram described the architectural experience of travelling through the city as 'movement cycles' identifying the motion, path and endpoint of an individual or group of individuals in an urban environment (Sadler, 2005). Through analysing the way individuals move through the space of the constructed environment, it can be conceived that planning methods can be purposed to improve these settings for the individual.



LIVING CITY exhibition
SECTION.

Figure 5 - *Living City Exhibition*, Sadler, S. (2005).

Further consideration of the individuals urban experience can be shown through Archigram's exhibition 'Living City'. Which was a synopsis of the city, with focus on the individual's urban experience and expressing the energy of the city. This depiction can be considered as a mini environment, encapsulating the characteristics of a city, existing in the form of an exhibition. Sadler described the project as taking; "the visitor on a sort of existential trip through the city" (Sadler, 2005, p.65). The exhibition was set up through a series of what the group called 'gloops' shown in Figure 5 (Sadler, 2005), presented as a bird's eye view and a section of the exhibition. Illustrating segments, which individually, attached to a specific meaning of the city, which were connected

through occurrences and determining the city as an interconnected movement (Sadler, 2005). Archigram referred to the exhibition as a; “city stimulator” (Cook et al, 1999, p.20), replicating what they deemed as the important conditions of an urban environment. Considering the need to identify and bring attention to the vitality of the city as a matter of urgency, as they foresaw the perish meant of the city in the hands of architects and planners. In doing so, they established a survival kit to live within the city, bringing attention to the shared experience of urban life between individuals and the city as a vessel for housing man. Exploring the conceptual terms relating to movement through the city and communications that happen between architecture and man. Inevitably, bringing attention to the significance of ‘situation’, as determining the attitude of a city. The exhibition was further described to be; “not about traditional architectural form, but its opposite: the formlessness of space, behaviour, life” (Sadler, 2005, p.55). Bringing meaning and attention to the living city which occurs in-between these architectural forms, it was a statement of belief that the built environment was the less important half of the architectural experience. The exhibition exemplified the nature of cities, bringing light to the less considered elements of the city and standing against the modernist ideologies which were prevalent during the time of the exhibition.

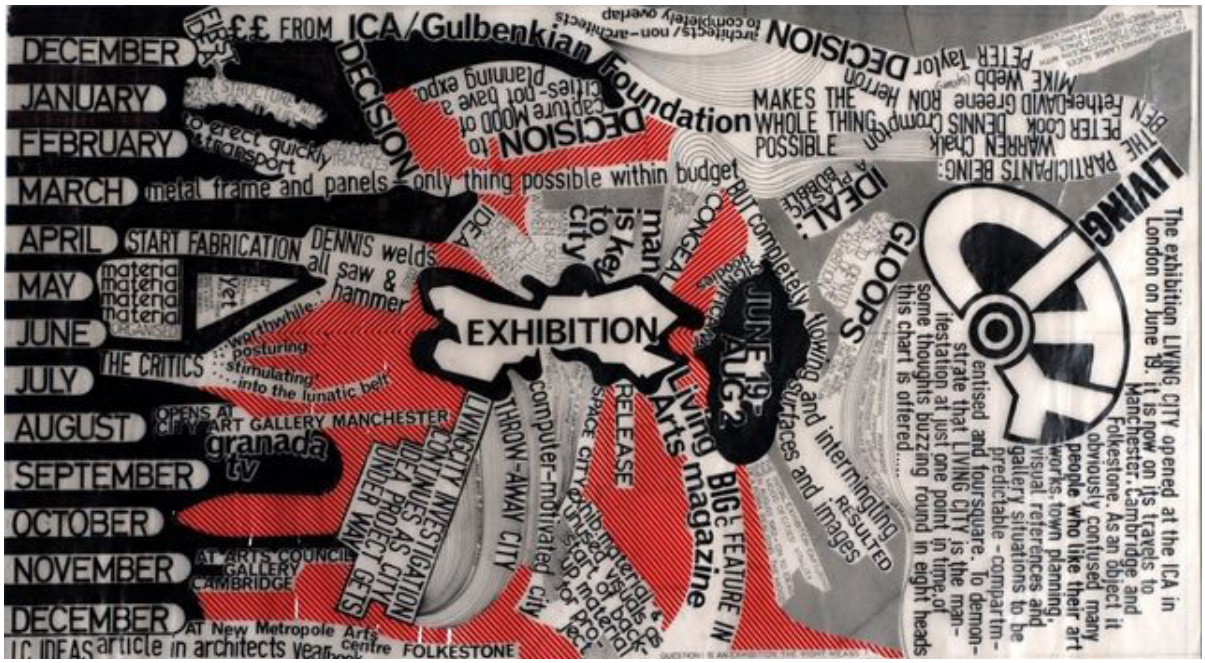


Figure 6 – Living City Diary, Cook, P. (1963).

In accompaniment, the ‘Living City Diary’ was the exhibition flyer for ‘Living City’ shown, in Figure 6 (Cook, 1963) which was considered at the time to be a highly self-conscious representation of the exhibit. Considered as being an exhibition in itself, taking form as a frozen version of the physical exhibition and stating its methodology (Cook, 2017). As can be viewed in Figure 6, the centre of the flyer depicts; “man is key to city”, this highlights the importance of the individual within an urban environment. Thus, identifying man as a crucial element to revealing the urban fabric of cities, standing as a significant consideration to the importance of the pedestrian in the urban realm. However, in contrast to this, the group the Situationist International identified the concept of ‘situation’ as being key to their principles. The overall belief of this group was that there was a rapidly increasing oppression of social relations through buildings (Plant, 2002). The theory of Psychogeography echoes this belief, described by the founder of the Situationist International, Guy Debord, as being; “the study of the specific effects of the geographical environment on the emotions and behaviour of individuals” (Debord, 2008). Psychogeography can be simplified as being the intersection between psychology and geography, offering further insight into understanding the lasting effects the surrounding environment has on the individual. Coverley (2018) elaborates on this by drawing importance to the pedestrian as a victim of this urban landscape; “this act of walking is an urban affair and, in cities that are increasingly hostile to the pedestrian, it inevitably becomes an act of subversion” (Coverley, 2018, p.12). Signifying that the pedestrian is governed under restrictions of the built environment and constructed space, ultimately stating the environment is no longer there to facilitate the pedestrian, due to these changes in the makeup of city space.

Drawing on this perspective, the theory of psychogeographical drift or ‘dérive’ depicts a mechanism which is freeing in nature to the pedestrian, contrary to the overarching themes of the original theory of Psychogeography. Furthermore, ‘dérive’ describes an impulsive act of disregarding known actions, within the space around them. Whereby, individuals allow themselves to drift around the landscape and the urban experiences that are happening within them (Knabb, 1981). The collective movement

of the city, grouping individuals and their actions, is important in determining patterns of action by an individual. The concept of a stroller wandering around the city and being attracted to certain areas within it, can be used to facilitate the purpose of areas in the city. Thus, the theory of 'dérive' can be applied to city planning with consideration given to the pedestrian and importance to their needs in city structure.

Further exploring depictions of the affects the urban environment has on the individual pedestrian, Charles Baudelaire's theory of the flaneur, referenced in psychogeography can be examined. The figure was depicted as strolling around the city to understand the interplay of culture and geography, experiencing the modern city makeup and the detrimental effects it has for the pedestrian (Sadler, 2005). Archigram's 'Living City' reminisced on this theory of the urban wanderer and explored the experience through the exhibition of moving between 'gloops', which represented different areas of the city's urban experience. The theory of 'dérive' can be compared to the flaneur, described by the Letterist International as; "the art of wandering through urban space" (Wark, 2015). Coverley (2018) further described the flaneur, whom is depicted as a lone wanderer representing the modern city and experiencing the subversion of man due to these new constructs. This figure is portrayed as observing the built environment and representing the pedestrian's relationship to the city. Furthermore, the flaneur can be studied as being an embodiment of what the future urban wanderers must face in a modern city, that is becoming averse to the pedestrian and their rituals. The drifter became part of the situationist theories, carrying meaning as the flaneur which experiences the opposing brutal side of modernization. The situationists expressed their plan for future cities promising that they would produce architecture that would one day revolutionize everyday life, and in doing so liberating the pedestrian into an experimental dimension of revolution (Sadler, 1999). Through their examination of the effects the individual endures, with consideration to the urban landscape, perhaps their plans would act as a form to replicate throughout city building.

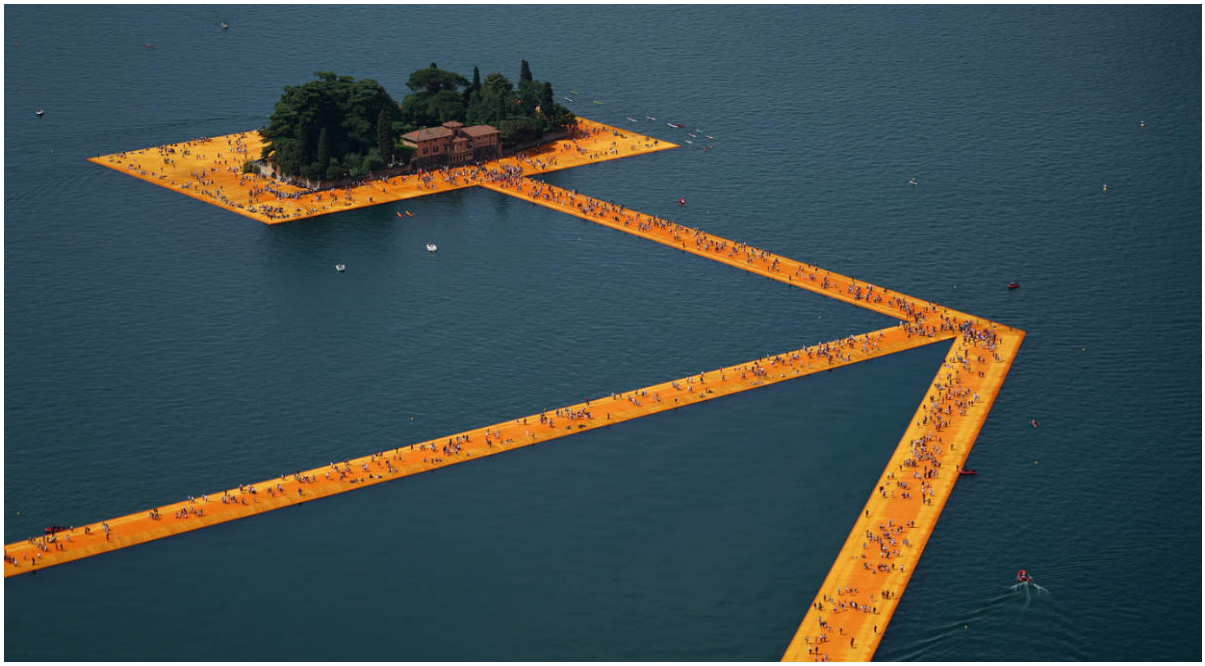


Figure 7 – *The Floating Piers*, Javacheff, C. (2016).

This liberation is presented in modern-day artworks which focus on the pedestrian and their relationship with the surroundings. Pedestrians, acting as the role of 'dérive', can be shown in Figure 7 (Javacheff, 2016) which depicts Javacheff's 'Floating Piers', a structure on the surface of Italy's Lake Iseo. The temporary artwork created an environment where visitors were able to drift across the unobstructed landscape, thus, bringing freedom to the pedestrian. Through extending the street onto the water and over to the island, it facilitated this specific mode of travelling, bringing attention to the subversion of the pedestrian wandering around the city. Permitting individuals to submerge themselves with the real experience of abstracted space. Jacobs agrees with the liberation, when stating that; "every planning decision that is made should take into account what it does to pedestrianisation" (Jacobs, 2009, 00:06:56). This theory is represented in the research of Charles Montgomery (2013), which aimed to explore what makes happy cities. The research found that individuals are much happier when people are socially connected and are presented with buildings that are adapted to human scale (Montgomery, 2013). Echoed in literature of the time; "good city quality at eye level should be considered a basic human right wherever people go in cities" (Gehl, 2013, p.118), which supports the overarching viewpoint that cities must be built

for the individual. The concept of human landscape again reaffirms this viewpoint, focusing on the way people using the city will experience the space at their own level. Gehl further describes how it is crucial that urban landscapes are designed for city life on a human scale. Thus, it can be stated that life must be prioritised, as thresholds make an important contribution to spatial experience and awareness of the individual. Gehl describes how cities should be constructed; “life, space, buildings – in that order” (Gehl, 2013, p.198). Reiterating the key point that life must be considered in the first hand when constructing objects to create a city, and that the space humans inhabit is more essential than the visual aesthetic of buildings. Architect Ralph Erskine stated in an interview that in order; “to be a good architect you have to love people” (Gehl, 2011, p.229). While architecture is no doubt a part of human existence, in many cases the individual is not considered in planning of cities or buildings. Through examining this research, the clarity of the subversion of man in the built environment is illustrated. However, with viewpoints contradicting this there is the potential for the built environment to offer a plan that allows for the pedestrian, inevitably putting the individual first.

IN-BETWEEN BUILDINGS

03

3.1 - Objects Mediating Behaviour

The importance of buildings in the formation of society has been considered, thus, it can be determined that life between buildings, in relation to society, can be deemed more essential. This section explores how architecture can be viewed as altering an individual's behaviour and relationship with one another. However, regardless of how controlling built form can be to inhabitants' interactions, in most cases, the life in-between buildings can be deemed as more interesting and essential. This can be used to enhance public space, if architecture controls behaviour, it can be purposed to improve the environment for the individual. Echoed by Lawrence and Low (1990) whom present the point that individuals' behaviour is structured and altered by the built environment. Suggesting that individuals modify their behaviour to fit and suit the social situation they are in, which is set by and mediated by architecture. Therefore, buildings have the ability to order behaviour through the ordering of space (Lawrence and Low, 1990), having the capability to structure formal and informal spaces, inevitably changing how individuals interact with built form and society. Markus (1993) illustrates that the most common way people form influence over each other and create connections is through physically inhabiting the space of buildings or cities. The built environment creates spaces that people act and react to, the specific space that is constructed by an object can create relations between groups and individuals or can hinder the process (Markus, 1993). Moreover, the social hierarchy of society is constructed around people in space (Markus, 1993). Stating that individuals have a reliance on architectural forms to create suitable environments for different kinds of behaviour, and to indicate to the individual what behaviours should be acted out. Therefore, the behaviour of an individual is reliant on the surrounding structure, as it informs the individual on how to act within these restrictions. In the same vein, Lawson (2007) illustrates how architecture and urban spaces are containers, which facilitate and strengthen human spatial behaviour. Thus, society can be considered to be strengthened by the contribution of the correct environment and facilitate the social situations that happen within.

Architecture may adapt human behaviour, but it also manipulates people's relationship with one another. Buildings remain a place where people can act out social routines and connect with each other through the purpose of the building. Lawson (2007) furthers this point by noting that architecture acts as a container, displaying individuals in society. This act of displaying can explain how individuals interact with each other within built form. Raising questions regarding whether individuals would obtain the same levels of interaction if it wasn't for this construction around society. Proposing that built form mediates individual's relationship with each other, concentrating on the importance of individual reliance on architecture to oversee relations (Lawson, 2007). A broadly similar point has also been made by Gehl (2013) when referring to a well-known Scandinavian phrase; "people come where people are" (Gehl, 2013, p.65) which illustrates how people are attracted and stimulated by human activity. This account demonstrates the way people organise themselves, excluding the built form in which people rely on to stimulate experience and occasions. Arising the view of a more basic primal way of living, simply showing that humans rely on each other for a sense of purpose. Gehl (2013) furthered this approach on how an individual's cares are not about space explaining what matters to man is the importance of relations and events that happen within these constructs.

Gehl continues this by further stating that; "life in buildings and between buildings seems in nearly all situations to rank as more essential and more relevant than the spaces and buildings themselves" (Gehl, 2011, p.29). This is apparent in Gehl's (2011) study conducted on a populated street in Copenhagen, Strøget, demonstrating how society prefers movement of people over the static built environment. Together Gehl and a collective of students investigated the number of stops a pedestrian took along the street examining their line of vision. The research finalised that a significant number of stops were made to observe social situations and social environments (Gehl, 2011). However, the role of the built environment is considerable in the structure of society, this research presents how individuals often reject architecture and prefer public interactions and space. Indicating that individuals favour to be around people,

through the act of observing and hearing movement of others is proven to be more stimulating than the still objects of architecture (Gehl, 2011). Therefore, determining the viewpoint that nothing is more significant than individual's interaction with each other.

3.2 - Life Between Buildings

This ideology can be applied to the way cities are structured, considering public space as an essential support system and facilitator for human interaction. Through evaluating the viewpoint that the new urban environment is not constructed around the individual, urban planning trends can be examined as striving to activate the in-between spaces of buildings. Lynch elaborates this viewpoint by stating that; “a city is a multi-purpose, shifting organisation, a tent for many functions, raised by many hands” (Lynch, 1960, p.91). Therefore, it can be considered that the city is a construction that relies on the involvement and support of society. Moreover, if city structure can support the congregation of society, it has the capability to create a more involved city with the potential to include the individual in the planning process. This can be achieved by exploring trends in urban strategies, which disregard master plans to redesign the city as a whole, instead aim to activate smaller areas of public space thus, facilitating interaction between individuals. Architect companies ‘Studio ID Eddy’ and ‘Spacemakers’ consider how cities can form in-between spaces of the built environment into public spaces, that include the individual in the formation of these spaces, through tactical urbanism. Exploring how objects can temporary occupy these spaces, altering human behaviour and bringing people together, as previously discussed, emphasising how the environment can be moulded to purpose the inhabitant.

Figure 8 – *Urban Living Room*, Kaiser, E. (2012).

Considering that the built environment can act as an indicator for human behaviour, Figure 8 (Kaiser, 2012), shows Studio ID Eddy's 'Urban Living Room', acting as a community social meeting place where small scale interventions can occur, allowing for occasion to present itself through interaction with others. In creating a living room environment within the constructs of a public space, facilitates the individual allowing them to identify and apply existing knowledge of how to conduct themselves within this setting. By doing so, Studio ID Eddy created a space where people felt comfortable and welcomed, allowing individuals to question the boundaries of public interaction. Therefore, enabling society to freely exist within the public space and encourage social interaction. Although Kaiser (2012) fears that the increasing economic interest in urbanization can create pressure for public space. By producing the familiar image and setting of a living room within public space, brings ownership of the city back to the individual and creates a sense of belonging, standing against urbanisation (Kaiser, 2012). Ownership of the city can be explored further through Montgomery's research (2013) presenting Lefebvre's (1996) determination that the right to alter city structure should be earned by simply being an inhabitant and decisions surrounding

city structure shouldn't be left solely to the state. Montgomery supports this by further questioning; "who has the right to shape the city?" (Montgomery, 2013, p.303), through evaluating themes it can be determined that inhabitants of society deserve the chance to form their surroundings. Thus, through Kaiser's (2012) creation of a temporary social intervention that generated a sincere place where people could meet. Inevitably identifying the in-between spaces of buildings as belonging to the people, acting as an unobtrusive way to promote change in city structure.

Figure 9 - *Cricklewood Town Square*, Spacemakers. (2013).

Similarly, the agency Spacemakers produced 'Cricklewood Town Square' shown in Figure 9 (Spacemakers, 2013), in order to bring the city back to the inhabitants. The transportable town square travels into cities and activates forgotten patches of land, repossessing public space as an important aspect in a community. Cricklewood is an area in London where public space is effectively non-existent, without the presence of even a public bench (Spacemakers, 2013). Spacemaker's aim was to erect characteristics of a town hall on pavements, car parks and anywhere that could fit the

gathering of people. Along with the transportable town hall structure they occupied the space with benches which facilitated the community in interaction, supporting individuals desire to gather by using the simplicity of a bench. By doing so, they created a space where the community could gather together and become involved in the planning of the area. Through translating the ideologies of a town hall onto the street this created public space, giving the area a community texture. Thus, creating a space for society to exist and dwell in the built environment through referring to previous ideas surrounding placemaking. In doing so Spacemakers demonstrated the benefit of public space and how essential it is in forming communities. With previous consideration in surrounding literature that the environment creates human behaviours, the town hall structure can be looked at as travelling around the area, organising social interaction which individuals mould their behaviour to. This intervention is a compelling example of objects ordering and mediating relations in the city, facilitated by public space. Liberating the individual to act out human existence and interaction within the urban environment. Gehl poetically concludes this point when quoting a well-known 1000-year-old Icelandic poem; “man is man’s greatest joy” (Gehl, 2013, p.23). This is essential in illustrating the viewpoint that there is nothing more significant or joyous than the interaction individuals have with one another and the built environment should allow for this in all cases.

CONCLUSION

The modern environment has been subject to controversy, much of which criticises the effect the automobile has on city structure, in relation to the subversion of the individual within these constructs. After the critical examination throughout this text, it is apparent that the occupation of the in-between spaces of buildings can act as a solution to the disregard of society within the built environment. Moreover, this writing has identified the importance of the form that society and individuals take within the city structure. Through examining the pedestrian's urban experiences, theories of the 'dérive' and the flaneur can be implemented into planning to give importance to the individuals needs in city structure. This is apparent through Javacheff's (2016) creation of an environment to purpose the individual and in turn, liberates them from architectural constraints. This text examines ways to adapt city structure to include the individuals in plans, through the occupation of the in-between space of buildings, thus, creating new environments that are not detrimental to existing city structure. Friedman (1959) saw this oppression of the individual in city planning and proposed a new way to model cities, with the inclusion of the inhabitant by using a temporary structure, allowing for inhabitants to design their own dwellings. Through research, it is apparent that architecture mediates the relations that happen within, this text presents ways this can be purposed to provide better public space for society. Studio ID Eddy (2012) and Spacemakers (2013) explore the temporary occupation of the in-between space to bring ownership and inclusion of city structure to the inhabitants. Much of the seminal literature, explored the individuals urban experience determining the subversion of man within the modern environment. However, combining the viewpoint that individuals prefer human interactions over the built structure and the ideology that cities should be designed by all inhabitants, it can be determined that city structure can be altered for the inclusion of the individual, within the built environment. Thus, concluding that the built environment has the potential to enhance the individuals urban experience, through producing public space within the in-between spaces of buildings.

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