To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis, written by Douglas Russ Newby, entitled "(Re)Discovering Civitas: the L.A.gora." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Architecture.

Edgar Stach, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Barbara Klinkhammer

Avigail Sachs

Mark Schimmenti

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges
Vice Provost and
Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

(RE)DISCOVERING CIVITAS:
THE L.A.GORA

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Architecture
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Douglas Russ Newby
August 2010

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Richard Newby and Barbara Newby, who taught me to never accept the world at face value and forever question my surroundings. Thank you for your encouragement in all of my endeavors.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all those who helped me in the completion of my Master of Architecture degree. I would like to thank Professor Edgar Stach, for never allowing me to settle for anything short of excellence, Professor Avigail Sachs, whose guidance helped me combine theory and design, and Professor T.K. Davis, whose suggestions and encouragements helped me to break through my own limitations.

I would also like to thank my family, who put up with my long hours and absences during my completion of this degree and loved me anyway. Their support made this work possible.

Abstract

The purpose of this study was the development of an architectural methodology capable of re-establishing polycentric *civitas* in the City of Los Angeles. To establish a new civic design framework for the city of Los Angeles, research and analysis was conducted in many fields using several different methods. A review of literature pertaining to the historic establishment of *civitas* serves an analysis of the different forms of public space in Western civilization. An analysis of urbanism in Los Angeles was conducted using existing literature related to the topic, while an analysis of the neighborhood chosen as the site for the "execution" of the methodology was performed through first-hand research and field study. This information was then synthesized, producing a building program customized to the Miracle Mile in Los Angeles. The final stage of the study was the design of this new civic core. In the context of the Miracle Mile—defined by the presence of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art—the proposed civic core took the form of an artist commune.

The study concludes that the re-establishment of polycentrism in Los Angeles, as a means for (re)discovering *civitas*, requires the development of several new alternative civic cores, dispersed throughout the urban fabric of the Los Angeles Basin. In order to effectively operate as sites of critical civic engagement, however, each core must be developed independently of the other, responding to specific micro-cultures. This study advocates choosing sites based on the presence of existing civic potentials. In this way, the alienating effects of *tabula rasa* city planning are avoided. The architectural project presented at the end of this study, should therefore be understood, not as an architectural prototype to be universally replicated across the city, but as a prototype for an architectural research method. In order to (re)discover *civitas* in Los Angeles, architects and urban planners must recognize the limitations of universal models and accept that the architectural spaces that define the civic realm must reflect the needs of the specific societies who will ultimately activate them.

Preface

> Here on this bend, the house was burning. Families lived there. This child was looking back to his residence, the mother was weeping and the father was shaking his head, asking, "How could this be? How could this be?"…The wounds are in the process of healing. They have not healed.
>
> -Reverend Cecil Murray, April 2002

On April 29, 1992, Southcentral Los Angeles erupted in six days of riots, resulting in over $1 billion in property damage and 53 deaths. The initiation of the rioting is generally blamed on the acquittal of four Caucasian Los Angeles police officers accused of beating an African-American man named Rodney King. However, this representation of events fails to examine the underlying social and urban factors that were slowly turning Los Angeles into a powder keg. In the twenty years preceding the 1992 riots, political and economic forces combined in the establishment of Los Angeles' "Downtown Renaissance"—establishing Downtown Los Angeles as the region's singular civic core—resulting in the slow erosion of the city's historic polycentric urban fabric. The dis-investment in areas outside of the new Downtown core resulted in a period of urban decay in many parts of this city, ultimately fracturing the civic contract that had held Los Angeles together as a collection of several flourishing communities. The outcome of the Rodney King trial was merely the spark that ignited an existing urban problem.

The underlying social fractures that resulted in the 1992 riots were not dissolved in the containment of the violence. Los Angeles remains a city erecting a hegemonic downtown core on a historic polycentric foundation. If the 1992 riots prove anything, it is that the current urban planning agenda in Los Angeles is socially unsustainable, and if left unaddressed, will eventually tear the city apart in violent revolution. Polycentrism must be re-established if a new civic contract is to be developed and once again unite the disparate districts of the city.

The L.A.gora is, more than a theoretical building project, the establishment and preliminary trial of a methodological framework aimed at the re-establishment of polycentrism in Los Angeles, and ultimately a (re)discovery of *civitas*: the righteous of assembly of and discourse between citizens in charge of their city.

In establishing a methodology, the following thesis is divided into six sections. The initial five sections focus on analyzing and revealing patterns and potentials pertaining to the development of *civitas* on both universal and Los Angeles specific scales. Section 1 analyzes the historic evolution of public space. Given the United States' inclusion in the canon of Western civilization, the analysis focuses predominantly on European precedents. Section 2 provides a historic analysis of polycentrism in the city of Los Angeles and the subsequent shift, during the establishment of Pacific Rim Capitalism in the 1970s, to a core-periphery urban model. Section 3 develops a methodology for choosing a specific site within the context of the entire Los Angeles Basin for the "testing" of the broader methodology. A specific site—the Miracle Mile—is chosen and then analyzed to provide site-specific theoretical and architectural foundations for the subsequently proposed building project (the L.A.gora). Section 4 examines three architectural typologies that have the common goal of community development. Eight contemporary architectural projects, built by different architects in several locations, are analyzed to develop architectural and spatial precedent for the establishment of the L.A.gora. Section 5 uses the findings of the preceding chapters

to define a functional program—tailored to the *genius loci* ("spirit of the place") of the Miracle Mile—for the L.A.gora.

The final section of this thesis outlines a theoretical design for a new civic core in the Miracle Mile. The design is not meant to serve as an architectural prototype for the development of the additional civic cores required to fully re-establish a polycentric system. Rather, the design presented in the concluding section of this thesis represents an individual execution of the broader methodological framework defined by the preceding sections of this study. If a different site were chosen for development, the methodology would remain constant. This thesis concludes, however, that the resulting architectural project should necessarily deviate from the design presented for the Miracle Mile. The socio-spatial specificity of the Miracle Mile defines the district as the site of a particular micro-culture. The L.A.gora ultimately advocates the dismissal of universal prototypes for architectural design. In order to (re)discover *civitas* in Los Angeles, each individual core of the broader polycentric system must become an architectural reflection of their associated inhabitants.

Contents

Dedication	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
Abstract	iv
Preface	v
Figures	vii
I. (Re)Discovering Civitas: An Inquiry into the Death and Life of the City's Soul	**1**
II. Polycentric Civitas: Understanding Urbanism in Los Angeles	**27**
III. The Miracle Mile: Locating and Revealing Civic Potential	**40**
IV. Adapted Methodology: Defining the New Public Space	**52**
V. The Everyday Community: Programming the L.A.gora	**64**
VI. Methodological Execution: Design for an Artist Community	**71**
References	87
Appendix A	92
Appendix B	103
Vita	107

Figures

CHAPTER 2

Figure 2.1.	Los Angeles County	pg. 28
Figure 2.2.	City of Los Angeles	28
Figure 2.3.	Population Density Centers, 1990	30
Figure 2.4.	Average Commute Time	33
Figure 2.5.	Population Density Comparison	33
Figure 2.6.	Pacific Rim Capital Flow	34
Figure 2.7.	Re-establishing Polycentrism	38

CHAPTER 3

Figure 3.1.	Miracle Mile Regional Location	41
Figure 3.2.	Wilshire Boulevard	42
Figure 3.3.	Museum Row	43
Figure 3.4.	LACMA	43
Figure 3.5.	Wilshire Corridor	44
Figure 3.6.	Hancock Park	44
Figure 3.7.	Park La Brea	44
Figure 3.8.	Residential Neighborhoods	44
Figure 3.9.	Fragmented Urbanism	45
Figure 3.10.	Surveillance of the Public Realm	45
Figure 3.11.	"Hard" Street Edge	46
Figure 3.12.	BCAM + Pedestrian Axis	48
Figure 3.13.	Chris Burden's Installation	48
Figure 3.14.	Three Sites	50

CHAPTER 4

Figure 4.1.	Community Center Methodology	53
Figure 4.2.	Big-Box Community Center	55
Figure 4.3.	Lack of Specificity	55
Figure 4.4.	Cultural Center Methodology	56
Figure 4.5.	Production of Spectacle	58
Figure 4.6.	Cultural Divide	58
Figure 4.7.	Imbrication Methodology	59
Figure 4.8.	Programmatic Punch-List	62
Figure 4.9.	Illusion of "Publicness"	62

CHAPTER 5

Figure 5.1.	Four Facilities of the L.A.gora	66
Figure 5.2.	Program	67
Figure 5.3.	Hybrid Program	68
Figure 5.4.	Social Overlap of User Groups	69

Figures Continued

CHAPTER 6

Figure 6.1.	Polycentric Civitas	72
Figure 6.2.	Internalized Building	73
Figure 6.3.	**"**Deconstructed" Building	73
Figure 6.4.	Organizational System	75
Figure 6.5.	Master Plan	76
Figure 6.6.	Site Model	76
Figure 6.7.	Artist Commune Elements	77
Figure 6.8.	Cross Section through Plaza, Looking Toward Cinema	78
Figure 6.9.	Roof Plan	79
Figure 6.10.	Ground Level Plan	80
Figure 6.11.	View of Lofts + Tower	81
Figure 6.12.	Landscape Between Market Kiosks	81
Figure 6.13.	View of Plaza, BCAM in Foreground	82
Figure 6.14.	Plaza Plan + Elevations	83
Figure 6.15.	Vertical Circulation, Communal Studio	84
Figure 6.16.	Longitudinal Section Through Plaza, Library, + Cinema	85
Figure 6.17.	Longitudinal Section Through Gallery + Housing Tower	85

APPENDIX A

Figure A.1.	History of Land Annexation by Decade	93
Figure A.2.	Population Growth in Proportion to Total Land Area	94
Figure A.3.	The Los Angeles Fabric	95
Figure A.4.	A Sunny Climate	96
Figure A.5.	Average Annual Temperature, Farenheit	96
Figure A.6.	Average Annual Rainfall, Inches	96
Figure A.7.	Pressure System Causing Santa Ana Winds	96
Figure A.8.	Persons per Registered Vehicle in Los Angeles County	97
Figure A.9.	Total Transportation by Type	97
Figure A.10.	Percentage of People per Census District Who Travel to Work in a Private Vehicle	97
Figure A.11.	Percentage of People per Census District Who Travel to Work Using Public Transportation	98
Figure A.12.	White Population Concentration	99
Figure A.13.	Black Population Concentration	99
Figure A.14.	Latino Population Concentration	99
Figure A.15.	Racial Composition of Los Angeles	99
Figure A.16.	Poverty Rates as Related to Race	100
Figure A.17.	Average Home Value per Census District	100
Figure A.18.	Poverty Rates per Census District	100
Figure A.19.	Highest Level of Education Completion	101
Figure A.20.	High School Completion Rates	101
Figure A.21.	Bachelor Degree Completion Rates	101
Figure A.22.	Age Composition of Los Angeles	102
Figure A.23.	Average Age per Census District	102

* All Diagrams, Drawings, and Photographs by Author

I

(Re)Discovering Civitas: An Inquiry into the Death and Life of the City's Soul

> Even the most primitive community must handle its common affairs and face its common difficulties, breaking unbearable tensions of anger, fear, suspicion, restoring the social equilibrium upset by assault and revenge, by robbery and arbitrary reparation. Such a place for gathering…must have long existed in the village: an area large enough so that village dances or games might be held there, too. But, in its primitive state, the agora was above all a place of palaver; and there is probably no urban marketplace where the interchange of news and opinions did not, at least in the past, play almost as important a part as the interchange of goods. Not indeed until the automatism and the impersonality of the supermarket were introduced in the United States in the mid-twentieth century were the functions of the market as the center of personal transactions and social entertainment entirely lost (149).
>
> -Lewis Mumford

INTRODUCTION

The strip mall is all that remains of the great public spaces of past cities: the agora, forum, and market. As one of the only remaining public spaces left in the contemporary suburban fabric of United States cities, it retains many of the same spatial qualities of the great civic spaces of architectural history: an established commercial center with an identifiable hierarchical spatial order, a built in system of primary and secondary circulation routes that separate the public space from the delivery of goods, immediate connectivity to the larger city fabric, and the enclosure of a large central open space. Yet, where the agora and market actively created and engaged civil society, the strip mall serves to make only individualistic consumers. *Civitas*, that enigmatic soul of the city, no longer exists.

In cities of the past, public space was not defined merely by the circulation of people or the sale of goods. The definitive function, rather, was the collection of citizens at points in the city for the simultaneous display and creation of ideas. The agora, forum, and market were dynamic social centers, places for citizens to actively assemble and create the image and ideas of the city. They represented the identity of the polis, and they created critically engaged populations. In the making of the city over the past hundred years, this function of public space was somehow obscured, and then eventually lost. The scientific rationalism of the Enlightenment and the socio-economic changes of the Industrial Revolution combined at the close of the nineteenth century as powerful spatial and social transformers in both Europe and the United States, ultimately leading to zoning laws that decentralized and divided the city into a loose collection of separate spatial and programmatic elements.

As the dust has settled, it has become increasingly clear that this fundamental transformation has destroyed the soul of the city. Thus, we are left with public spaces that are utilitarian shells of their former selves, centered on the passive consumption of goods over the active production of society and culture. What remains unclear is whether or not *civitas* can be rediscovered in our contemporary cities. Urban and social theorists from Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre to Christopher Alexander and Kenneth Frampton have offered manifestoes pertaining to the transformation of the society and the potential recreation of meaningful urban spaces in the wake of the twentieth century Modernist experiment. But, none, as yet, have lead to a new social contract or redefinition of the public soul of the city. Was the transformation of the twentieth century so powerful that it forever changed the way human beings interact in space? Is *civitas* simply an outdated term, no longer useful for understanding the post-industrial city? Only in studying the ways in which public spaces such as the agora, forum, and market emerged and transformed over time will we be able to understand what role they might play in transforming the future and rediscovering the soul of the city.

THE HISTORIC CIVITAS

As defined by Dictionary.com, *civitas* is "citizenship, as imparting shared responsibility, a common purpose, and a sense of community" (Dictionary.com). As Leon Krier argues in *Houses, Palaces, Cities*, this sense of community and common purpose was created in historical cities through a mutually supporting interweaving of a city's private and public realms (Krier, 40-41). Implicit to Krier's argument is the notion that in order for a community to exist, citizens must have simultaneous everyday access to both private individually-owned shelter and a public domain for meaningful social interaction between citizens. Thus, in this framework, a collection of private dwellings is not a community.

As Paul Zucker explains in his work, *Town and Square: From the Agora to the Village Green*, there are several examples of cities in the ancient past where public space "did not represent an essential element of the town". In his study of Mesopotamian and Egyptian towns, for example, Zucker explains towns as "accumulations of clustered primitive huts, interspersed with more pretentious houses". There were temples and palaces, but they "were isolated and without reference to any kind of overall pattern". Moreover, when people did meet for the exchange of goods, it occurred outside of the city walls (Zucker, 23). The difference between these early cities and the Greek *polis*--often associated with the initial development of *civitas*--is Zucker's notion that the inhabitants of Mesopotamian and Egyptian cities represented a "subjugated mass" (ibid). He argues, "only within a civilization where the anonymous human being had become a 'citizen', where democracy had unfolded to some extent, could the gathering place become important enough to take on a specific shape" (Zucker, 19). Lewis Mumford, in his work *The City in History*, supports Zucker's claim--though in reverse--arguing that a once a community is formed, there must be a public "place of assembly", if for no other reason than to be able to make communal decisions, such as "whether a murderer had paid an adequate blood fine to the kin of the murdered man" (Mumford, 149). Given these arguments, it can be seen that the controlling element in Krier's argument concerning the emergence of *civitas* in pre-industrial cities was not the private realm. For as long as there have been cities, there have been private individual shelters. However, there have not always been critically engaged populations within these cities. If *civitas* is to emerge within the city fabric--if a city's inhabitants are to identify themselves as a community instead of a subjugated mass--it will be so because a meaningful public realm/space has been defined in supporting relation to the private realm. Thus, in order to understand the true nature and power of *civitas* (the ability for

citizens to actively create and define the identity of their city), understanding the qualities, characteristics, and functions of these early public spaces becomes absolutely paramount.

THE AGORA

There were two types of public space in the ancient Greek city: the acropolis and the agora. As Zucker explains, the acropolis, as the "nucleus of early Greek towns", emerged first as the "fortified place of refuge" given its topographic position on an elevated area. Given this "defensible" quality, the acropolis served as the original "gathering place" when the town was still in its vulnerable period of early growth. However, as the town grew, and given its elevated position, the acropolis quickly became a sacred area, dedicated to temples, monuments, and altars, thus becoming the "agora of the Gods" (Zucker, 30). Thus, the acropolis was a symbolic public space, not meant for the everyday interaction of the towns inhabitants. Rather, as Zucker continues, "it is the agora that makes the town a *polis*".

Where the acropolis was the "nucleus" of the town, the agora was the "focal point", often located in the very heart of the town. It was a place for all public functions of the town, from "political gatherings and legislative assemblies" to the "center for marketing", as well as manufacturing and education (Zucker, 31, Mumford, 151). Moreover, the agora also had a very important informal function to play in the creation of *civitas*. As Mumford explains, the agora "served as a sort of informal club where, if one waited around long enough, one would meet one's friends and cronies"; it provided the space where "spontaneous and face-to-face meetings, conversations, encounters, and flirtations take place, unformalized even when habitual" (Mumford, 150). It was in these functions that the agora engaged citizens in the creation of the soul of the city. In the living out of everyday life, a citizen could buy a loaf of bread, watch a craftsman fashion a piece of pottery, listen to the speech of an orator, and engage in conversation with their fellow citizens in the same place. Citizens were engaged in complex, spontaneous interactions, aggrandizing to form a dense communal fabric. Most importantly, given the processes through which the earliest agoras formed in space, all of the town's citizens were able to access, engage, interpret, and invent the soul of the city.

As Zucker explains, the agora was "visually in immediate contact with the streets that ran into it and fitted into existing road systems" (Zucker, 32). In fact, as Mumford elaborates, the origination of the agora "might be little more than the widening of the main street" (Mumford, 149). These descriptions are important to understanding the original informal quality of the agora. To begin with, the agora's emergence within the existing road system highlights the fact that the location was not planned. It was not located on a plot of land adjacent to the existing town limit, where a large site might have been more easily attained, or topography might have made for an easier construction process. Simultaneously, this unplanned quality of the location reveals the notion that the form and processes of the agora likewise were unplanned.

The emergence of the agora in the "main street" describes a process where the important public gathering place simply grew out of the space where the largest numbers of inhabitants were already gathering in their daily traversing of the town. This idea is supported by Mumford's description of the early agora as having an "amorphous and irregular form". He describes a space where "the adjoining buildings are thrown about in irregular order" (ibid). For Zucker, this "irregular" pattern occurred because, in the first instances of the typology, "there were no continuous formal boundaries of the area" (Zucker, 33). This implies that the agora was able to expand over time and take up more room as the public characteristics and needs of the space and the citizens took more concrete form.

The irregular order of the adjoining buildings comes from the fact that they were not all built at the same time. Rather, new building typologies, such as the bouleuterion (or council chamber) arose only once they became necessary through the functions and interactions of the citizens, at which point they were situated into the ever-changing form of the larger agora. As Zucker explains, this emergence of the agora was a gradual process in which defined activities "in connection with the agora [became] attended to in closed special buildings" that over time accumulated to form a boundary for the space (Zucker, 31). It was not until this informal process of defining function through use had been completed that the agora could be framed by the formal *stoa* (portico)--as occurred in Atalus in the second century B.C.--thus finally defining the agora as set component of the town (Zucker, 33). Thus, regarding Krier's definition of *civitas*, the early agora serves nearly as a perfect prototypical example. The agora grew informally as a new public realm directly out of the previously existing private realm, and in turn, the new public gathering space allowed inhabitants to critically engage one another in new ways, in turn becoming citizens of a larger urban community. Importantly, this mutual codependency was defined not by the rigid doctrines of an authoritarian city leader, but through the everyday needs and interactions of the people.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PEOPLE

> After the Hellenistic/Roman epoch when the city as a work of art, or *urbs,* prevailed over *civitas*, the city as a righteous assembly of people, we find again an assertion of community. This is what sustains some of the Roman towns despite their sorry state, their shrinkage, their bankruptcy, brought about by the disintegration of the empire. "Not the stones but the people," as Isidore of Seville put it in the 7th century in describing *civitas*. And when several centuries later the people regain control of their cities from their feudal overlords, once again there is a collective presence, a moral imperative, a parity of citizens in charge of their destiny and their city-form (37).
>
> -Spiro Kostof

The implications of Spiro Kostof's description of *civitas* are far-reaching, especially considering the form, location, and defined functions of a city's major public space shifted little between the original Greek agora and the subsequently defined Roman forum. As Zucker illustrates, the forum was the nucleus of the Roman town, a largely open space at the center of the city, defined by surrounding buildings such as temples, basilicas, markets, and taverns, and unified by a continuous portico. Moreover, Zucker is careful to explain that "the forum served both public and commercial purposes, and the sacred temples were surrounded by taverns and simple market stands", with "the people gathering…for political meetings in the forum proper". Finally, the porticoes that defined the boundaries of the forum "often stretched into the main streets, and in these instances, streets and fora represented elements of one integrated plan" (Zucker, 49-50, 54). This description of the form and functions of the Roman forum could just as easily be used to illustrate the final formalized plan of the agora, when it was eventually enclosed by the *stoa*. Such was the similarity between these two typologies, that Zucker argues the forum was simply a "Roman attempt to regularize earlier Greek agoras and to change them according to their own taste" (Zucker, 52). And yet, in classifying the forum within broader typologies, Zucker resists the agora, instead arguing that the forum "had become [a] sacred area… comparable in function and in representative appearance to Greek acropolises" (Zucker, 50).

As Lewis Mumford explains, "when one thinks of the ancient city of Rome one thinks at once of its empire" defined by "symbols of visible power", from the aqueducts and viaducts to the paved roads cutting across landscapes to connect Roman towns (Mumford, 205).

What requires Zucker to associate the forum with the acropolis over the agora, despite the forum's obvious formal and functional similarities to the latter, is the fact that the forum, in Roman society, was less an informal gathering space for people to conduct the business of their everyday lives, but rather one of the symbolic representations of power described by Mumford.

As Mumford describes, the major shift between the agora and the forum was not a formal one, but rather Rome's universalizing of the typology as a tool for colonization. For Mumford, the main goal of Rome was turning other civilizations into subjects. When they erected new forums in conquered cities, it was not to "promote variety" and the other qualities that lead to *civitas*, but to "maintain long-established distrust and jealousy among neighboring cities" and ensure "Rome's undivided rule" (Mumford, 208). Thus, a schism is revealed separating the forum from the original agora: a fundamental disjunction between "the container and the contents". For, as Mumford describes, the life of the common people in Roman cities was "often revolting, sometimes a veritable cesspool of human debasement and iniquity". Yet, the forum, as built space, "was often a marvel of formal dignity and masterful composure" (ibid).

Given Mumford's elucidations, it becomes possible to understand the formal qualities of the Roman forum in a new light. As Zucker points out, everything about the Roman city was based on ordered symbolism. At its earliest inceptions, the Roman city was defined in space by the axial crossing of main streets--the *cardo* and *decumanus*--leading to the subsequent grid and defining a symbolically important space at the center of the city that often became the site for the forum (Zucker, 46-47). Moreover, when the forum did take form, there were important differences regarding the enclosure of the central space. For instance, the porticoes that defined the boundaries of the central open space ran across the openings where the street met the forum. Thus, the "whole organization became a completely closed square, axial, dominated by the temple, and kept together by porticoes" with the porticoes "concealing the transition from street to square" (Zucker, 50, 54).

This simple change in form from the original agora had a broad impact on the symbolic function of the forum. As Zucker argues, the "easy access from street to forum was not necessary" because the forum was no longer meant to be and informal "public promenade" but rather as a "public representation". Thus, the public nature of the agora was "sacrificed for the sake of monumental unity" (Zucker, 54). It becomes possible to interpret the forum as the "shaping of void space" and search for "artistic meaning" over the development of meaningful social interaction that fundamentally defines *civitas* for theorists like Kostof and Krier (Zucker, 45).

This paradigm shift is at the heart of the argument Kostof makes that in the Roman epoch, "the city as a work of art, or *urbs,* prevailed over *civitas".* Thus, in defining the nature of *civitas,* an important distinction must be made. This reading of the forum calls into question Krier's argument that *civitas* is achieved through a mutually supporting interweaving of a city's private and public realms. The Roman forum had these characteristics: the forum, at its most basic, was a mixed-use public realm situated within the private fabric of the city. There is no doubt that these public spaces are necessary for the emergence of *civitas*, but there must simultaneously be the possibility for citizens to freely interact with such spaces and, in turn, interpret and construct the characteristics and meanings of the space. As Kostof quoted Isidore of Seville, it is "not the stones but the people" that make *civitas*. There can be public space, but without the collective presence of the people, the inhabitants of the city are little more than the "subjected mass" Zucker discussed in analyzing Egyptian and Mesopotamian towns.

On a final note in discussion of the Roman forum, it must be noted that the possibility for *civitas* was not destroyed with the shift in symbolic meaning between the agora and the forum. The functions of the city still overlapped in important ways; the overlap of temples, political assemblies, markets, taverns, and private shelter would still bring the mass of the city to an single point in space. Thus, despite the symbolic shift, it would still be possible to informally congregate in the ways Mumford outlined in his discussion of the Greek agora. Hidden in Kostof's discussion of *civitas*, is the notion that, given the right twist of political or economic context, citizens might again come to control the qualities and functions of the city's public space. The people might again shape a collective identity that would allow *civitas* to return to the city.

CIVITAS ANEW

As was previously discussed, in the wake of the disintegration of the Roman Empire, Spiro Kostof argues that there was once "again an assertion of community". In the medieval period, society shrank and the "original Roman towns became too large for their decreased population" (Zucker, 67). Thus, the symbolic qualities that had subverted *civitas* in the Roman forum lost their contextual relationship to a coherent power structure. Indeed, as Zucker explains, the changing local conditions of medieval society "destroyed the outline and often even the location of the ancient square, for whose original function the medieval town had no longer any use" (Zucker, 69). With the fall of the Empire, society was left with a power vacuum that required the re-interpretation of how societies organized themselves. As we shall see, the processes that led to the re-emergence of cities simultaneously outlined the re-emergence of *civitas*.

In the early medieval period, many towns, both existing and new, became founded as Episcopal sees, and "*civitas*, the community of urban dwellers, became almost identical with 'diocese'". In a context where warring tribes defined the European landscape, the church became a place for people to "settle down under the protection of an episcopal see". The towns then formed around the strong-hold of the monastery, eventually developing a market square and the buildings necessary for public life. As Zucker points out, this type of growth has striking similarities to formation of Greek towns around the acropolis and the eventual spatial definition of the agora (ibid). However, given the description of this context, it is also possible to see the outlines of the forum. After all, these new dioceses were arranged around a central power structure that could have easily dictated the qualities and symbolic structure of emerging public spaces. Thus, it becomes highly important to understand the character of the monastery.

Mumford argues that the early medieval monastery "was in fact a new kind of *polis*", where people came together not as rulers and subjects, but as a "brotherhood of likeminded people for permanent cohabitation, in an effort to achieve on earth a Christian life" (Mumford, 243). The emphasis here on a "Christian life" is incredibly important. At its earliest stages, Christian life was a denial of the excesses and institutions of the Roman Empire; it implied the rejection of "property, prestige, and power", instead "[ennobling] work by making it a moral obligation" (ibid). The implications here are twofold. First, this type of societal structure implies a high degree of equality between inhabitants. Secondly, the emphasis on work means that all members of the diocese were in some way actively engaged in the creation of the city. It is in this context that Kostof is able to argue that a new "assertion of community" had occurred.

The initial societal qualities of the monastery carried on in many ways as undertones throughout the medieval period as the character and shape of cities began to take form. For instance, as the medieval town expanded, becoming encircled by protective walls, society continued along the model of the monastery, with individuals operating within a loose brotherhood of laborers. As Mumford describes, "the warrior, the merchant, the priest, the monk, the bard, the scholar, the craftsman and tradesman, achieved something like an equilibrium", with each social component weighted in such a way as to ensure that each was "duly represented". Furthermore, while Mumford concedes that "freedom, corporate equality, democratic participation, and autonomy were never fully achieved in any medieval town", he argues that the existence of these qualities were occurring to a larger degree than had ever been experienced in history. He thus concludes that for a "brief while, 'communitas' triumphed over 'dominium'" (Mumford, 252). Thus, citizens, to a large extent, had control of their cities. There were no symbolic references to an overt power structure. Towns were free to be formed according to the needs, desires, and whims of the people. This new form of society through community had extremely important implications on the creation of the city and its associated public spaces.

As Mumford describes, the open public spaces of the medieval city were "anything but formal squares" (Mumford, 507). Rather, as was the case with the original agoras, we again see a process of place formation based on informal processes. For instance, the market square tended to emerge out of the main thoroughfare of the town; the main public gathering space naturally occurs where the largest numbers of people are already traversing the city (Zucker, 75). Thus, public and private life was not separated. Rather, a market square was slowly defined by sequential carvings out of the existing private fabric of the city. The market might start out as the simple widening of the street. Over time, it would assume an irregular shape, "sometimes triangular, sometimes many-sided or oval, now saw-toothed, now curved, [and] seemingly arbitrary" (Mumford, 307). This perceived arbitrariness is actually a product of a slow, organic process, where space was not created for its own sake, but rather only when the community had evolved a new need for space based on the development of some new rite, ritual, or necessity. As Mumford argues, the markets assumed these "arbitrary" shapes because "the needs of the surrounding buildings came first and determined the disposition of the open space" (ibid). Over time, through this democratic type of process, the market came to envelop the entire range of social interactions, from the performance of plays and the punishment of criminals to the manufacturing and selling of goods. The market became a place for the people, slowly designed over time according to the needs of the people: a true and ever-shifting reflection of the identity of the citizens that inhabited the city. In this way, Mumford argues that the medieval marketplace "recaptured, in fact, the function of the earliest agora" (ibid).

The distinguishing feature that separates the medieval market from the Greek agora is the notion that, given the unprecedented high degree of corporate freedom and democratic value in the medieval city, the central market was not the only public space to emerge within the fabric of the city. In the Greek city, citizenship was not granted to all of the city's inhabitants. Rather, slaves and free foreigners made up a majority city (Mumford, 151). Thus, these people had no ability to shape the city or the agora. Thus, despite the informal qualities of the original agora and the beginnings of democratic qualities, society was still based in many ways on the power structure based on the difference between citizen and outsider. Though there were many other functions that fell within the structure of the agora, the agora was also a symbolic political center where societal differences were disseminated. The ability of the state to enforce these differences would be weakened if public space began to emerge throughout the city. Thus, the agora became situated in space, a singular public heart of the city. In the medieval city, however, public space began

to emerge throughout the town, creating several "neighborhood units" (Mumford, 310). As Mumford describes, this emerging pattern revealed a city that "was a congeries of little cities". Each neighborhood became, to a relative degree, self-sufficient, with a local church, provision market, fountain, and secondary square. As with the larger market square, these local public spaces were formed by the everyday needs and rituals of the citizens of each individual neighborhood slowly carved out of the private fabric over time (ibid). Thus, the city became a collection of smaller identities that converged to enrich the image of the whole, revealing a more accurate interpretation of the soul of the city.

For the first time, it becomes possible to comprehend the full extent of Leon Krier's argument concerning the definition of *civitas*. The medieval city reveals a context in which the overlap of public and private realms had occurred to such an extent, that the city was no longer the sum of its parts, but acting as a holistic unit. This is the essence of *civitas*. At any moment, a citizen could walk out of their door and engage the soul of the city, engaging in complex, spontaneous interactions with their fellow citizens. More importantly, considering how these spaces evolved over time, it became possible to know that the very qualities that defined the space were a true reflection of the collective decisions and agreements made by the *polis*. In this way, the city is no longer a private thing or a public thing: it becomes a community.

A EUROPEAN THING?

The fact that the examination of *civitas* in urban conditions has, to this point, been focused solely on European models, coupled with Lewis Mumford's critique at the beginning of this paper that it was the "automatism and impersonality of the supermarket [as] introduced in the United States in the mid-twentieth century" that led to the downfall of meaningful, engaging public spaces in the first place, begs the question of whether or not *civitas*, as a concept, ever existed in the United States. Or, perhaps, is *civitas* simply a historically European construct unable to explain society in different locations?

As Carl Feiss argues in an essay entitled *Early American Squares*, the notion of public space as a center for collective engagement and activity transferred to the United States during the colonial period. For instance, he argues that the settlers of the United States brought with them from Europe "their immediate memories of the cities from which they came", and that they would have "well remembered the medieval market square" (Feiss, 238). Thus, when they set to designing new cities, Feiss points out that, among all of the plans that were drawn, "it is hard to find an early [one] that did not incorporate a public open space or square for both a utilitarian purpose and an ornamental amenity" (ibid). Indeed, in a lecture given on September 23, 2009 by Professor T.K. Davis at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, he explained that when the Dutch founded New York City (then New Amsterdam), the first thing they did was erect a city wall and construct a central market place, with the hope that the city would grow up around this space (Davis, 9/23/2009). Given this history, Feiss argues that the idea of the public square has become "deeply entrenched" in American culture, strongly associated with specific events and rituals in the history of the city. Thus, the square, for many Americans, has become "the symbol of the city itself" (Feiss, 239).

This description of the role of public squares in the United States calls into question whether or not these types of spaces would have been capable of supporting the type of dense, complex weavings of society that have been described in the original medieval cities. As with the Roman forum, it is quite possible for public space to act more as a symbol than as an actual gravitational point for social gathering. The description of the building of the new market hall in Dutch New Amsterdam is reminiscent of, if not entirely the same as, the ways

the Romans used the typology of the forum as a tool for colonization. The obvious difference is that the Romans were colonizing existing cultures, while American settlers were creating new cities for their own inhabitation. However, the point still remains that a public space built prior to the existence of a public cannot be influenced or shaped by the characteristics of that society. Thus, the public space is not a true reflection of the identity or soul of the city, but rather a representation of a public meant to exist. And, as has been argued in the preceding passages, such symbolism does not support the type of critically engaged populations that lead to *civitas*.

In the context of a 1987 book entitled *The Buildings of Main Street* by Richard Longstreth, it becomes possible to see the symbolic public squares of the early American colonial period as a single epoch in the history of American public space. Longstreth argues, as American cities expanded beyond their colonial origins, business and commerce slowly became "clustered in more or less central districts", with housing located in and around this central core at a pedestrian scale (Longstreth, 13). This spatial arrangement, of course, has many similarities to the overlaps seen in the Greek agora and the medieval market. More important, however, than the individual businesses and private homes is the public space that was simultaneously created through this centralization and overlap: Main Street. As Chester Liebs describes in the foreword to *The Buildings of Main Street,* Main Street was the new, and culturally specific public realm that "served as a magnet" for society, defined by "a densely packed intermingling of buildings, buggies, trolleys and people" (Liebs, 7). For Longstreth, this new commercial core served to simultaneously give the "town its identity" and "provide focus for its activities". There was no monumental symbolism, but rather a social arrangement defined by an "ever-expanding scope and complexity" of communal needs that led to an overall "specialization in function" (Longstreth, 13). Thus, once again, an urban pattern is revealed where public space emerges in relationship to the private realm, producing the possibility for individuals to focus their everyday lives in a communal atmosphere. These are the very characteristics of *civitas,* as outlined in the European models previously described.

While the contexts in which Main Street developed were fundamentally different than those that described the agora, forum, or medieval market, the emergence of Main Street implies that, at least at some point, engaged communities existed in the United States. Therefore, the notion of *civitas* can be extended beyond the boundaries of Europe.

ELEMENTS

It is, of course, dangerous to attempt to identify a finite set of composite elements meant to adequately define *civitas*. However, given Mumford's argument that the development of the supermarket in the mid-twentieth century fundamentally removed the social compact that had previously defined public space, it is extremely important to try and understand exactly what characteristics that social compact originally entailed.

In the examination of the agora, forum, and medieval market, it is possible to identify several societal and spatial trends that combined to create communities in historic cities. In all of the models studied, there was a dense weaving of the public and private realms of the city in which they became mutually supporting elements of a larger whole. In the public realms, several functions overlapped in such a way that these centers were able to support the spontaneous gathering of individuals as they carried out the duties of their everyday lives. However, the most important element in defining *civitas,* given the example of the Roman forum, is the idea that the evolving rites, rituals, and needs of the community might actively engage and alter the nature of the relationship between the private and

public realms of the city. The universalized form of the forum, as disseminated by the Roman Empire, valued the symbol of community over the active creation of community. *Civitas*, to truly emerge in these historical instances, required the active participation of citizens as a collective entity in place of the "subjugated mass". Thus, the form that these spaces took was actually quite inconsequential to the understanding of *civitas*. It is not the buildings, but the process that created communities. The buildings themselves were simply expressions of the process. As Isidore of Seville perhaps more eloquently put it: "Not the stones, but the people" (Kostof, 37).

THE DEATH OF CIVITAS: A PARADIGM SHIFT

> This colossal centralization, this heaping together of two and a half millions of human beings at one point, has multiplied the power of this two and a half millions a hundred-fold; has raised London to the commercial capital of the world, created the giant docks and assembled the thousand vessels that continually cover the Thames…the masses of buildings, the wharves on both sides…the countless ships along both shores, crowding ever closer and closer together…all this is so vast, so impressive, that a man cannot collect himself, but is lost in the marvel of England's greatness before he sets foot upon English soil (59).
>
> -Friedrich Engels, 1845

In an 1845 essay entitled "The Great Towns", Friedrich Engels' description of the early Industrial City reveals a major social and spatial schism--developed in the very processes of the Industrial Revolution--which began to break down the model of the city defined by a high degree of individual citizen participation in the emergence of communities. The factories and systematized mass production of the Industrial City both enabled and required a massive influx of workers into urban centers, resulting in what Engels describes as the "crowding of the great city" (Engels, 60). As can be seen from his description above, Engels was quick to realize that this crowding made cities more important and powerful than they had ever previously been. However, in his personal experiences with the Industrial City, Engels saw an inherent paradox in this elevation of the status of the city, stating that citizens had "been forced to sacrifice the best qualities of their human nature, to bring to pass all the marvels of civilization that crowd their city" (Engels, 59). With the Industrial Revolution, the city became choked and clogged to the point where critical engagement with fellow citizens was no longer possible, resulting in what Engels defined as the fundamental characteristic of the Industrial City: the "isolation of the individual".

THE BURDEN OF OVER-CROWDING

In contrast to the cities of the pre-industrial past--especially those of the medieval period described previously--defined by communal activity leading to Spiro Kostof's description of "the city as a righteous assembly of people" (Kostof, 37), Engels describes the Industrial City as a place where people "crowd by one another as though they had nothing in common, nothing to do with one another" (Engels, 60). This "isolation of the individual" can be understood as the result of the particular characteristics of the new Industrial socio-economic condition. To begin with, the massive influx of workers into cities provided a surplus labor pool, where employers at the new factories could pick new laborers from the masses on a day-to-day basis. Nothing guaranteed that "willingness to work [would] suffice to obtain work", leading to a situation for laborers where the very ability to maintain a livelihood was constantly in question. Thus, Engels argues that the very nature of Industrial society required individuals to become "brutally indifferent" to one another given the need to focus on the private interest of maintaining work, leading to the "dissolution of mankind into monads, of which each one has a separate principle and a separate purpose" (ibid).

This perceived change in social values and relationships begins to outline the paradigm shift that undercut the notion of *civitas* in cities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the "isolation of the individual" alone cannot fully describe the downfall of communities. After all, the Greek and medieval cities that created the agora and market square, respectively, can also be understood as collections of individuals attempting to maintain an everyday existence. Indeed, it was the necessities of everyday life that allowed the functions of the agora and market square to be formalized. In these instances, despite the private interests of individual, the gradual formation of important public spaces allowed for the informal gathering of society as a community. Yet, this process did not occur in the Industrial City. To understand why requires seeing the "isolation of the individual" not as the fundamental cause of the downfall of communities, but rather, as a symptom of a larger problem of Industrialization, where the overcrowding of the city spatially constricted the urban fabric in such a way as to prevent public spaces from any longer operating as symbolic unifying elements.

At the most basic level, cities, at the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, did not have built infrastructures capable of dealing with the vast population growth that characterized the period. As a result, cities became overburdened and polluted. To simply accommodate the growing populations, streets were narrowed and open spaces filled in with a "planless, knotted chaos of houses" that, for Engels, were on the verge of "uninhabitableness" given their "defiance of all considerations of cleanliness, ventilation, and health". The industrial city became a kind of open sewer, littered "everywhere [with] heaps of debris, refuse, offal, [and] standing pools for gutters" (Engels, 63-4). Furthermore, novels such as Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist* and Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* corroborate Engel's dystopic image of the city, highlighting the fact that these kind of developments happened everywhere industrialism touched in the early period, from Manchester to London to Chicago. Given this context, the deterioration of communities almost becomes inevitable. Barely housed in the worst imaginable conditions and chronically underemployed, it hard to imagine people at the edge of life finding the time or desire for informal and spontaneous interactions with their fellow citizens. However, even if they had, the characteristics of the great public spaces that had housed such communities were equally deteriorating as a result of the overcrowding of the city.

As James Schmiechen and Kenneth Carls describe in their work, *The British Market Hall: A Social and Architectural History,* the market square of the medieval period had endured as the heart of the city well into the nineteenth century, changing very little in both form and function as a typology, remaining "much as they had been several hundred years earlier" (Schmiechen, 3). Given this historic stability, it is not difficult to imagine the problems that may have occurred with a massive influx of new population during the early nineteenth century. After all, the market square had evolved as a reflection of the needs of much smaller medieval cities. For instance, as Schmiechen and Carls point out, in the British town of Stockport, the population grew from 2,000 to 45,000 at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Schmiechen, 4). Of course, when the needs of society had shifted or grown in the past, the market square was simply expanded further into the urban fabric in order to accommodate the needs of the community. However, as we can see from Engels' descriptions, every inch of available land was being consumed in the mere attempts to house these new populations. There was simply no opportunity for the expansion of open public spaces in this context. Quite the opposite, in many towns, the market square itself was filled in with new streets and buildings (Schmiechen, 5). Thus, a condition existed in which the informal, unplanned processes that had defined and maintained the form and characteristics of the market square for centuries became impotent. Unable to continue

an expansion concomitant with the needs of society, the market square, and other public spaces, became medieval relics attempting to deal with the needs of a modern society.

As Schmiechen and Carls illustrate, the public spaces of the industrial city were afflicted with the same ailments that plagued the rest of the city described by Engels: overcrowding, lack of sanitation, and pollution. However, unlike the rest of the city, the market square was still the centralized place where all goods were bought and sold, requiring the patronage of citizens, and further compounding the problems of overcrowding. As demand increased, the open spaces of the market square "became so crowded it was almost impossible to conduct business". Additionally, loose livestock for sale in the market wandered through the crowds, "[sticking] their horns into the first unguarded inhabitant that came their way", and the running of "carriages, trading carts, and wagons on market days was so great that it was dangerous to walk on certain streets" (Schmiechen, 15-16). More importantly, however, given the economic uncertainty of most of a city's inhabitants--as described by Engels--the presence of food incited frequent theft and even food riots. With the crowding together of masses of underemployed people, market squares became the type of places "where if a man purchases a piece of meat he cannot put it out of his hand but it was immediately stolen" (Schmiechen, 11). Moreover, as the market square still served as the public gathering space for cities, the crowding of the square often resulted in scenes where "the market [was] turned into a beer garden [as] young men and women come in hundreds [using] foul language and rushing and pushing each other"; the once great public gathering place had been reduced to an arena for "debauchery and wickedness and frequently of outrage and riot" (Schmiechen, 19). Thus, a condition existed where crowding had rendered the market square incapable of perform its most basic function of delivering goods and services to the people of the city, let alone developing critically engaged communities. In this context, public space became a theater of violence and rioting that can be understood as symptomatic of Engels' description of the "isolation of the individual", no longer able to uphold the social contract that had created the "city as a righteous assembly of people". Public space had become more of a nuisance than important piece of civic infrastructure, and the notion of *civitas* had, at least temporarily, been crushed under the sheer weight of the industrial city.

MODERNITY AND ENLIGHTENED RATIONALISM

It is critically important here to point out that the crowding of cities and the socio-spatial changes that occurred during the industrial epoch, though preventing the assembly of communities at a particular point in time, do not represent a complete deathblow to the notion of *civitas*. As Schmiechen and Carls point out, in larger towns of this period, the centralized market square was "gradually split into specialty markets, which often spread out up and down nearby streets" (Schmiechen, 5). While this split initially did little to alleviate the crowding of the city, the gradual process of the split highlights the continued possibilities for towns and public space to slowly and informally adapt to the new and growing needs of a city's population. Given enough time, it is quite possible the fabric of cities might have changed organically, in the mode of the early Greek agora or medieval market square, to express the needs of new kinds of communities in a modern context. As Spiro Kostof argued so vehemently, as long as a collective group of inhabitants retain control of the ability to shape and image the essence of the city, *civitas* remains a possible outcome (Kostof, 37).

Understanding the death of *civitas* requires distinguishing the Industrial Revolution, not as an end in itself, but rather as a singular process described within the much broader framework of the project of modernity that extended out of the eighteenth century Enlightenment. The

notion of modernity cannot be adequately explained through its individual characteristics, such as the growth of cities, the rise of mature capitalism, new production methods, and labor specialization. Rather, as K. Michael Hays argues in *Architecture Theory Since 1968,* these socio-economic changes were dependent on a larger theoretical framework initially developed in the Enlightenment that outlined a new belief that human rationalism could "develop objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art according to their inner logic" (Hays, 413). At the core of modernity is a belief that the structure of the Platonic ideal world could be discovered by the human mind. Thus, as rational beings, a person would theoretically be able to discover a perfect solution to any given problem, including the "overcrowding of the great city".

In the context of this "emerging 'enlightened' view of urban life", Schmiechen and Carls explain that the natural evolution of cities and public space was no longer seen as a valid or desirable way to create cities. By the second half of the nineteenth century, a belief developed that human designers could solve the problems of the industrial city, that "the proper arrangement of the townscape could correct human behavior and thus create a better and safer society". Thus, as the center of social interaction and symbolic heart of the city, the open public space of the market square became one of the first sites for the restructuring of urban space according to the "rational and educated…models of respectability, social order, and civic virtue" (Schmiechen, 21).

In an attempt to counteract the disorder and chaos perceived in the market square, the first step taken was the removal of the market from the open space of the square and the surrounding streets. By 1886, two-thirds of all towns in Britain had "prohibited marketing on the street" (Schmiechen, 27). The second step in this process was the building of a new centralized and enclosed market hall. The rationale behind this enclosure are obvious enough: preventing meat and produce from spoiling in the sun and rain, the lowering of prices through centralized competition, and the reduction of theft by limiting the number of access points to the market. However, this intervention had a much broader corollary effect. As Schmichen and Carls argue, the enclosure of the market hall "freed the market from the non-marketing activities of the traditional marketplace" (Schmiechen, 29). This, of course, was the very goal of the "enlightened designers", who had developed a belief that public spaces were "spheres of anonymity and respectability" that should be clearly separated and distinguished from the social activities of the street (Schmiechen, 21). However, this separation of the activities of the city into distinct zones represents a fundamental paradigm shift in the way cities operated and the ability for communities to emerge within the urban fabric.

At the agora and market square, it was the very overlap of street life and the necessary functional elements of everyday life that allowed for informal and spontaneous interactions that, over time, agglomerated to develop the specific character, or soul of the city. At the enclosed market hall, such informality was not permitted, with town officials exerting a new control over the actions of the enclosed space, ensuring the constant removal of non-marketing activities (Schmiechen, 29). The very act of planning a prescribed way for a building to work removes the possibility for the spontaneous to exist. Thus, where the agora and market square were primarily centers for public gathering and the exchange of ideas, the market hall became a utilitarian construct based solely on the buying and selling of goods. In this way, Schmiechen and Carls argue that the market hall of the late nineteenth century was the direct precursor to the twentieth century supermarket and shopping mall (Schmiechen, 34). And, as Lewis Mumford argued, it was the "automatism and impersonality" of these building typologies that originally removed the sense of community from the city's public spaces (Mumford, 149).

While the provision of basic goods provided the impetus for the market to fill the role of public gathering space throughout history, there is nothing in this original zoning of the market square to suggest that some other public space would not have been able to take up the function as the central gathering space for communities. Politics, religion, and education had, to varying degrees, also been important social unifiers throughout history. However, the notion of rational planning during this period was an incredibly powerful construct. The market hall set a compelling precedent for ordered reason in the alteration of cities. Once the first step toward the zoning of the city had been taken, it was not long before such processes became seen as a way of curing all of the ills of the modern city.

MODERNISM AND THE IDEAL PLAN

Confronted with cities crushing themselves under the weight of their own growth and the developed Enlightenment principle of objective rationality, designers in the early twentieth century set out to "open" the city: providing air, light, adequate housing, and the ability to move through the city to inhabitants. The adopted principle to achieve these goals was the zoning of the entire city, separating its individual elements from one another. Essentially, the initial zoning of the market square was taken as a model that could be applied to the entire city. At the time, this pulling apart of the city was seen as the rational solution to the ills described by Engels. As Jane Jacobs explains in her book, *The Life and Death of Great American Cities*, "Ebenezer Howard looked at the living conditions of the poor in late-nineteenth century London, and justifiably did not like what he smelled or saw or heard". As Jacobs describes it, Howard "thought it an outright evil and affront to nature that so many people should get themselves into an agglomeration", and that his "prescription for saving the people was to do the city in" (Jacobs, 17).

Howard's ideal solution to the industrial city was the "Garden City": an arrangement of concentric rings, each zoned for a particular use. At the middle is a central park containing important public buildings. This zone is then encircled by a "Crystal Palace" containing the retail functions of the city. This pattern continues, with rings for houses and gardens alternating with avenues and intersecting boulevards, stretching further and further form the city center until reaching the industrial ring at the edge of the city, at which point land is given up for agriculture (Howard, 309-16). Howard did not abolish any of the functions of the city, but simply pulled them apart to prevent the kind of overlap that he saw as the cause for the over-crowding of the city.

In the years following Howard's revolutionary "Garden City", several prominent architects, including Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright proposed their own ideal plans aimed at the redefinition of city life. These plans varied greatly in their formal constructs. Le Corbusier's "Contemporary City", for instance, was composed of vertical towers for housing and offices situated in a gridded fabric prescribed as park space. A supplemental "Industrial City" would be situated away from these "Garden Cities" to ensure that manufacturing did not contaminate the zone in the city where people were meant to live. The plan was meant to create a centralization of each of the city's different zones (Le Corbusier, 317-24). Wright's "Broadacre City", in contrast, represented the complete decentralization of the city, a fundamentally horizontal plan that contradicted Le Corbusier's verticality. In Wright's plan, each family was to be given a "minimum of one acre" of land on which to build a free standing house. These individual parcels were collected together in large residential zones. Industry, farming, recreation, education, and tourism were also given their own zones, the whole composed as a kind of low-density, programmatic quilt where the only connection between zones occurred at the connecting edges (Wright, 325-330).

While these examples, coupled with Howard's "Garden City", reveal the discrepancies that could occur within the framework of the ideal plan, there are important commonalities that tie these plans together as a single epoch. For one, each plan represents the fundamental disjoining of the city's elements that had previously overlapped in spaces like the Greek agora and medieval market square. More importantly, however, these plans, brought together in the context of the Enlightenment's emphasis on objective rationalism, represent a radical shift in the organization of cities. No longer would the functions and form of the city evolve in conjunction with the changing needs of citizens, creating a representation of the values of specific communities. Rather, professional architects and planners would lay out universal rules and prescriptions in an attempt to achieve a rationalized utopian vision that would fit the needs of all communities.

Of course, the ideal plans of the modern period do not represent the first instances of the universalizing of the city fabric. As was seen in the examination of the Roman forum, the basic notion of the Greek agora was formalized as a colonial tool, representing a universal symbol of the power of the Roman Empire. However, in that instance, the Romans formalized a space that had originally been defined by communities; they did not redefine the basic character or spatial relationships of the agora. Ideal plans, on the other hand, represent a complete break with the historical notions of the city and the way they operate. The ideal plan represents a theoretical shift which suggests that the Industrial Revolution had created a new society with new problems that must be planned for in new ways that could only be solved by rational architects and planners.

It is important, of course, to point out that the prescriptions of ideal cities did not remain solely in the realm of theory. While the plans described above were never built in their entirety, the underlying theories have had a fundamental effect on the growth of towns. For instance, when Frederick Law Olmsted designed and built Riverside, Illinois it was not planned as a complete community with all of the necessary elements for the living out of everyday life. Rather, it was envisioned as an ancillary bedroom suburb for Chicago. Inhabitants were meant to move between Riverside, as the landscaped zone for living, and Chicago, as the zone for industry and work, on a daily basis. Once again, there is zoning of human activities, this time, however, in a real-world scenario. Furthermore, this type of zoning began occurring at vast scales as new cities developed in the period following the initial shock of the overcrowding caused by the Industrial Revolution. For instance, Los Angeles, at the turn of the twentieth century, was still a small city, only 43 square miles in total size (City of Los Angeles). Yet, as Greg Hise highlights in an essay entitled "Nature's Workshop", the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce had effectively zoned the entire Los Angeles Basin into residential, commercial, and industrial swaths by 1920 (Hise, 186-90). As Richard Legate and Frederic Stout describe in *The City Reader,* the definition and building of zoned districts was occurring throughout Europe and North America by the 1920s (Legate, 54). Thus, it seems that Howard's original notion of zoning had become so pervasive and accepted that entire cities were being laid out prior to inhabitants ever even occupying those spaces. Indeed, in the contemporary context of the United States, it is expected that every city has a planning office that zones the city by use, and that all new development, building, and even alterations to existing structures will occur within this established framework. The shift from the informal development of cities around the needs and rituals of citizens in the pre-industrial era to the highly "rationalized"/planned creation of cities since the Enlightenment has been complete and resounding.

PLANNED CIVITAS

An interesting aspect of the ideal plans proposed in the early part of the twentieth century is that many recognized a need for public communal zones in the new city. Howard's "Garden City", for instance, located civic buildings at the very center of the concentric ring diagram. In Clarence Perry's planning of "The Neighborhood Unit" for New York in1929, he provided both a "common lawn" and a "market square" as specific zones in the plan for his new "super-blocks" (Perry, 54-65). Le Corbusier likewise situated his towers in vast open space prescribed as "public parks" (Le Corbusier, 320). Thus, it can be deduced that ideal plans, in the "opening" of the city, intended only to abolish overcrowding, not community. Community, rather, was seen as a key aspect of cities, and was therefore given its own programmatic zone in ideal plans. The inherent idea was that, given adequate space, civil society would manage to re-congregate, inhabit, and energize these prescribed zones. These plans were not meant to destroy *civitas*, but rather interpret and define a new kind of *civitas* better suited to the needs of a modern society. However, given the factors and processes that led to the emergence of *civitas* in pre-industrial cities, the idea of zoning for community and civil society quickly reveals its limited capacity to actually develop critically engaged populations.

In providing vast space simply designated as "public", the original reason for engaging public space is fundamentally removed. In pre-industrial cities, these spaces organized the interface between public and private. As Leon Krier argued, and the example of the medieval city corroborates, there was a complete interweaving and overlap of the public and private realms; all of the cities functions and amenities existed in close relationship to the others. The agora and market square represented complete integrations of all a city had to offer. Thus, people entered these spaces informally by simply fulfilling the needs of their everyday lives; they then decided to linger based on some form of spontaneous interaction that had occurred as a result of entering those spaces. There is nothing spontaneous about the public spaces provided in the ideal plans of modernism. Without being linked to the other various functions of the city, a conscious choice must be made to enter public space. There is no other reason to be there. As Krier argues:

> In the manifestoes of modern architectural culture, no notion has been stressed as much as that of space, total space, irrational space. The escape into vague and confused formulations has coincided historically with the loss of precise urban spaces such as the piazza, colonnade, arcade, passage, etc. The obsessive emptiness of modern [public] spaces…has led to the dissolution of the city as a complex spatial continuum (Krier, 20).

Indeed, Jane Jacobs supports Krier's claim with factual information gathered from a neighborhood in New York City where modernist planning principles were actually put into practice with the replacement of a "run-down slum" with zoned districts for housing, shopping, and community, "interspersed with air, light, sunshine, and landscaping". As she describes, in the wake of this "great demonstration in city saving…Morningside Heights went downhill even faster" (Jacobs, 6). The district's inhabitants failed to interact with one another, creating an area devoid of community. As one of the district's inhabitants later described, "Nobody cared what we wanted when they built this place. They threw our houses down and pushed us here and pushed our friends somewhere else. Nobody cared what we need" (Jacobs, 15). This testimony reveals a major schism between the way communities actually form and the ways in which modernist zoning attempted to create community.

There is a lacking capacity for informal, spontaneous interaction to occur in rationalized, planned public spaces. When everything is planned completely, life becomes scripted.

In moving between isolated prescriptive zones, the interstitial spaces of the city become barriers instead of unifying social elements that allow communities to develop through a commonality of needs. In zoned cities, people are no longer able to gather in a central location to carry out the needs of their everyday lives. Where pre-industrial cities were defined by the ability to pause and linger given the simultaneity and overlap of the functions of the city, the modern, zoned city requires constant movement. There is never the opportunity to congregate, and people become isolated in the dis-continuum of the city.

In a 1981 lecture entitled "Modern and Postmodern Architecture", Jurgen Habermas quoted Camillo Sitte in asking perhaps the most important question: "Can one invent and construct, according to a plan, contingencies that history has produced over the course of centuries? Could one have genuine unfeigned pleasure in such false naiveté, in such artificial naturalness?" (Habermas, 423). Given the testimony of the Morningside Heights tenant interviewed by Jacobs, the answer must be a resounding "No"! With the modern project, as an extension of Enlightenment theory, we can see the death of *civitas*, not as a purposeful destruction of community, but in the failure of designers to address the fundamental processes that had led to the formation of communities in the first place. Communities and their corresponding public spaces had never been defined by universal, rationalized laws; engaging public space had always been a place-centered representation of the individual qualities of specific societies. In the process of "objectively" solving the problems connected to the over-crowding of the industrial city this reality was misplaced. Given the fact that the sense of community had already been lost to the "isolation of the individual", the more fundamental needs of simply providing air, light, and shelter justifiably took precedent. However, as a result of the processes used to manifest these changes, we are left in contemporary suburban landscapes with utilitarian public spaces devoid of the critical functional and social overlaps capable of supporting communities. Rationalized zoning and universal plans killed *civitas*.

(RE)DISCOVERING CIVITAS: A PATH FORWARD

As Jurgen Habermas points out in "Modern and Postmodern Architecture", there is steep price to pay for relying solely on the "praising [of] anonymous construction and an architecture without architects" as a method for defining a way forward from modernism's rationalism: the complete removal of planning from the process of city making as well as the hidden potentials that might lie therein. In the pre-industrial cities of the past, cities and their public spaces slowly emerged based on the needs of citizens. As has been argued throughout this paper, the correlation between city form and the functions of society provided a powerful impetus in the emergence of communities. However, society no longer exists in a pre-industrial context. The urban fabrics remained ordered and useful in pre-industrial cities, despite the lack of the type of formal planning we see today, because they were serving small populations of only a couple thousand people at the maximum. Cities are now vast metropolitan regions. The Los Angeles metropolitan area, for example, has a population of nearly 13 million that continues to steadily rise. Thus, the type of slow organic change and evolution that defined historic cities are fundamentally inapplicable in a contemporary context.

While it is certainly possible that, given enough time, the city might still be informally adapted to the needs of a post-industrial society, the overcrowding of the industrial city reveals the limitations of such a model for future development. In the presence of vast population growth, informal adaptation cannot alter the urban fabric fast enough to accommodate the development of new societal needs, rituals, and patterns. As Habermas explains, "our concept of the city is connected to a form of life, but in the meantime that

form of life has changed so much that the concept that grew out of it can no longer keep pace" (Habermas, 424). We could, of course, wait for the city to adapt, hoping for population growth to slow, but the pollution and chaos that would surely ensue during this period--as it did during the Industrial Revolution--would necessarily demand action. Thus, the study of pre-industrial cities and their public spaces is not meant to provide a process to be taken literally as the path forward in an attempt to rediscover *civitas*, but rather as a way of understanding and identifying the underlying characteristics of community formation, or rather, what was missing from modern city planning that led to public spaces devoid of communities.

This study is not an argument against planning or an advocacy for an anonymous "architecture without architects". Planning is absolutely necessary in dealing with modern societies; there is the latent potential for planning to quickly reshape large cities when the needs of societies shift and change as the notion of the everyday shifts and changes. The problem becomes not if we should plan, but how we decide to plan, finding ways of formally creating the urban environment while simultaneously allowing for the informal and spontaneous human interactions that allow communities to emerge.

In the wake of modernism's ideal plans, universal zoning, and the perceived problems that resulted, several urban theorists have offered alternative visions for the making and planning the city, meant to allow for the renewed emergence of communities and the rediscovery of the lost soul of the city. In this sub-chapter, I will present and review several of those theories in an attempt to identify potentials for the rediscovery or redefinition of *civitas*. Given the scope of this inquiry, I will not be able to examine every theory that has emerged in the postmodern context. Rather, I have selected readings that represent a wide cross-section of possible solutions for the "automatism and impersonality" that have been associated with the contemporary suburban understanding of the city and its public spaces. The following theories present possible solutions that are vastly different in their individual prescriptions. Despite these differences, there is an important underlying commonality: the belief that a critical characteristic of cities was lost in translation in the shift from the pre-industrial making of cities to the rationalized modern planning of cities. Each of the following theories present, in their own ways, attempts to bring back what they feel was lost from the past in ways capable of dealing with the new needs of industrial and post-industrial societies, and thus rediscover the soul of the city.

PATTERNS OF THE SEMI-LATTICE

In a 1965 essay entitled "A City is Not a Tree", Christopher Alexander argues that the impersonality generated by modern city planning could be explained by a fundamental limitation in the intellectual process that had informed the original decisions that led to zoning. At the center of this argument is Alexander's belief in the modern understanding of human cognition, in which "grouping and categorization are among the most primitive psychological processes" (Alexander, 385). In this context, Alexander claims that the very "processes of thought prevent you from putting a mental construct into more than one mental category at once". When confronted with a complex and ambiguous structure such as the city or the notion of community, "the mind's first function is to reduce the ambiguity and overlap" (ibid). Alexander argues that this cognitive limitation, despite the good intentions of early urban planners, created a situation, following the Industrial Revolution, in which cities were envisioned as "tree structures".

For Alexander, the "natural city" is a "semi-lattice" defined by the "structure of a complex fabric" in which "many systems of activity" overlap (Alexander, 380-3). To clarify this point,

Alexander offers the example of Cambridge University:

> At certain points Trinity Street is physically almost indistinguishable from Trinity College. The buildings on the street, though they contain stores and coffee shops and banks at ground level, contain undergraduates' rooms in their upper stories. In many cases the actual fabric of the street buildings melts into the fabric of the old college buildings so that one cannot be altered without the other…In Cambridge, a natural city where university and city have grown together gradually, the physical units overlap because they are the physical residues of city systems and university systems which overlap (383).

In contrast to the "natural" and "gradual" development of cities where many functions became grouped and overlapped based in the "realities of life", Alexander argues that the tree structures that resulted from early urban planning group the functions of the city at a conceptual level according to common characteristics of individual units. Once these groupings are made, they perform as holistic units, incapable of interacting with the other functions or groupings in the city except for the instances where the whole group interfaces or joins to another complete group. As Alexander explains, "it is a little as though the members of a family were not free to make friends outside the family, except when the family as a whole made a friendship" (Alexaner, 380). This understanding of tree structures is easily seen in early ideal plans, such as Wright's Broadacre City, where the individual programmatic zones that composed the fabric of the city only interacted at the edges where one zone met another, or perhaps Le Corbusier's Unite d'Habitacion, raised on *pilotis* so that living units are separated from the ground plane at an even smaller scale.

Alexander's critique of the tree structure is that the groupings that tend to emerge-given the human need to simplify and compartmentalize complex problems--are out of touch with reality and the ways in which everyday life operates. For instance, Alexander cites the example of New York City's Lincoln Center, at which several performing arts venues were grouped into a larger super-block meant to serve the people of the city as an entertainment core. For Alexander, this grouping only makes sense as a conceptual framework, where the opera and symphony halls are not grouped based on how they will interact with one another in reality, but rather within an overarching mental abstraction in which "the concept of performing art links them to one another". The limitations of the tree structure are thus revealed, as Alexander poses the question: "Does a concert hall ask to be next to an opera house? Can the two feed on one another?" (Alexander, 383). The point is clear: after the show is over, there is nothing left to hold people in the space of the Lincoln Center. Based on the lack of overlap inherent to the tree structure, inhabitation becomes a very formal construct; one must plan to visit the Lincoln Center and other "districts" like it. The tree, as a mental construct, fundamentally removes complexity and spontaneity upon which social life is predicated. As Alexander proclaims, "If we make cities which are trees, they will cut our life within to pieces" (Alexander, 388).

In answer to the limitations of the tree, Alexander offers the "semi-lattice", not only as a way of understanding the "natural cities" of the past, but as a construct for re-imagining the planning of cities and revealing the complexity that once defined public life. To describe the process, Alexander discusses a painting by Simon Nicholson, in which several individual triangles overlap and connect "to form the larger units of the painting". As Alexander explains, "if we make a complete inventory of the perceived units in the painting, we find that each triangle enters into four or five completely different kinds of units, none contained in the others, yet all overlapping in that triangle" (Alexander, 386). The implication is that the process at work in the painting can be transferred to the act of planning, where the most elemental units of the city would be diagrammatically overlapped in order to allow the designer to study the patterns and complexities that emerge in different configurations. This

would theoretically allow the designer to place all possible urban relationships in front of the mind, avoiding the limitation of the mind's desire to simplify complex constructs.

Over time, as Alexander argues in *A Pattern Language*, a comprehensive study of overlapping patterns would develop a language capable of describing "core solutions" to design problems (Alexander, x). This language could then be used to relate different patterns to one another, building ever more complex patterns "so that the larger world at that one place becomes more coherent, and more whole" (Alexander, xiii). Thus, for Alexander, the re-engagement of cities requires revealing the elemental patterns that describe different socio-spatial relationships. These patterns can then be overlapped to develop an "essential field of relationships needed to solve the problem" (ibid): in this case, the development of communities. Through this constructing of complexity, the socio-spatial characteristics of Cambridge University, or any other "natural" place, could, theoretically, be actively created and built as a result of a planned process.

In Alexander's expression of the role that patterns and the semi-lattice can play in redefining the planning of cities, it must be noted that he has not rejected the rational universalism of ideal plans and Enlightenment thinking. Rather, his theory requires only a subtle shift in that rationalism: an understanding that the designer must actively construct ways of working that allows the mind to perceive and interact with complexity, and a constant awareness of the innate desire to compartmentalize and simplify. What has not been shifted is the idea that human beings can actively create and envision perfect solutions capable of defining society. There is still a fundamental belief in Platonic archetypes "so deeply rooted in the nature of things, that it seems likely that they will be a part of human nature, and human action, as much in five hundred years, as they are today" (Alexander, xvii). Thus, within this context, the static impersonality of the suburban context can be altered, not in abandoning planning to the informal processes that defined the agora or market, but in the development of a universal pattern of overlapping within the semi-lattice that describes the needs and complexity of a modern society.

As Alexander himself admits, there exists a potential schism at the heart of his theory. As he explains, "it is so tempting to make plans in which overlap occurs for its own sake" (Alexander, 386). In maintaining the value of Platonic archetypes within his broader construct, overlapping of the functions of a city, on its own, is not enough to correct the impersonality of the modern zoned city. After all, "a garbage can is full of overlap". Rather, the end result of Alexander's pattern language is meant to be a structured way of understanding elemental socio-spatial relationships that can be applied as a universal model. In order to maintain this status as a model for future development, "the overlap must be the right overlap". Given this stance, Alexander's modus operandi becomes the attempt "to understand just what overlap the modern city requires" (ibid). There is an implicit lumping together of all modern societies, or perhaps all societies, in the search for a singular pattern of overlap capable of revealing a fundamental truth.

As Gordon Cullen points out in his work *Townscape*, "tropical housing differs from temperate zone housing, buildings in a brick country differ from buildings in a stone country, and religion and social manners vary the building" (Cullen, 3.1-4). This may seem an obvious enough statement, but it has broad implications on the viability of Alexander's pattern language. While Alexander outlines the need for both "physical and social relationships" to be taken into account in defining the nature of the patterns he is advocating, the majority of the 253 patterns presented in *A Pattern Language* are solely spatial constructs, such as "City Country Fingers", "Neighborhood Boundary", "Promenade", and "Small Public Squares". The underlying assumption is that a certain

pattern in the built environment will create a desired social response. However, differing social patterns may have profound effect on the way certain patterns are perceived by different communities. To take Cullen's example of religion, a protestant would undoubtedly have a different reaction to Bernini's piazza in front of St. Peter's cathedral than that of a devout catholic. Yet, "Holy Ground" and "Public Outdoor Room" are included as specific patterns in *A Pattern Language*, meant to illicit a universal response when provided in the overlap of a broader pattern. Can an identical pattern equally describe the needs and relationships of a protestant society as that of a catholic society? To take religion out of the equation, would the same pattern be equally appropriate for Manchester, a town that industrialized before the development of zoning, as for Los Angeles, which located its factories far from the city center?

A Pattern Language, given its universal agenda, necessarily ignores these inherent differences of place. Yet, the very complexity that Alexander is trying to reveal is born out of the peculiarities of specific places and cultures. The qualities of the Cambridge University neighborhood he discussed no doubt had as much to do with the pattern of the built environment as with the characteristics of the community that inhabited it. As was discussed in the examination of the agora and market, there was a commonality in the process of place making, but only to the point that each was defined through the informal needs of individual communities. In attempting to reveal a specific pattern capable of restructuring "the modern city" in broad terms, Alexander presents a rationalized universal method, while the very nature of the design problem he is addressing demands exacting specificity and nuanced understandings of locality. Rather than being made up of a complex set of universal patterns, it is more likely, as Cullen argues, that the "real world" is defined by many patterns that "may synchronize or, just as likely, may conflict with each other", and that "a town could take one of several patterns and still operate with success" (Cullen, 3.1-2).

Undoubtedly, there are patterns that can be examined and understood as a way of describing a specific place. These patterns would undoubtedly be useful in defining complex buildings that relate to individual societies in the ways that the agora and market square did for their corresponding societies. However, in attempting to reveal an underlying fundamental pattern, the focus of such a study is lost, narrowness and specificity obliterated. Without constantly re-examining established patterns to ensure that they actually reflect the characteristics of a given society, instead remaining content with generalized rationalities, any attempt to re-create cities and the communities that once defined them will ultimately be done with a buzz saw, while the scalpel is what is truly needed.

CRITICAL REGIONALISM

In contrast to Alexander's altered rationalism that attempts to discover universal patterns elemental to the definition and design of "real cities", Critical Regionalism argues that the impersonality and placeless-ness of the modern city can be altered, not in adjusting the rationality behind the definition of universal models, but in the renouncing of the complete faith in universal models. As Kenneth Frampton explains in and essay entitled "Towards a Critical Regionalism", "the fundamental strategy of Critical Regionalism is to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived *indirectly* from the peculiarities of a particular place" (Frampton, 23). This recognition of the existence and validity of place specific characteristics and identity begins to separate Critical Regionalism from the Enlightenment epoch, establishing a new fault line in the discourse concerning the making of cities. However, it is also important to note Frampton's use of the word "mediate" in his discussion of universal civilization. For Frampton, Critical Regionalism is not a reactionary

denial of the universal or a sentimental desire to simply return to a lost vernacular of "architecture without architects". Rather, there is an acceptance of the altering effect that the Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution had on society, while at the same time still expressing the fundamental need for the city's spaces to reflect the peculiarities and ambiguities of a particular place if communities are to form.

As Frampton explains, Critical Regionalism represents an expression of an *arriere-garde that* has a "capacity to cultivate a resistant, identity-giving culture while at the same time having discreet recourse to universal technique". In order to produce meaning and identity (or community) within the fabric of a modern city, thereby resisting the tendency for the universal to produce impersonal, placeless cities, this *arriere-garde* requires a "process of double mediation" capable of "[deconstructing] the overall spectrum of world culture" and providing a "manifest critique of universal civilization" (Framtpon, 22-3). Rather than representing a complete rejection of the universalisms created through the Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution (i.e. consumer society, automobile travel, mechanized production, zoning, etc.) and their altering effects on space and society, Critical Regionalism seeks to co-opt and adapt these universal qualities of modern society to the characteristics of specific places. Thus, the *modus operandi* for Critical Regionalism lies in answering the fundamental question posed by Paul Ricoeur in *History and Truth*: "How to become modern and return to sources; how to revive an old, dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization?" (Ricoeur, 167-7).

In Critical Regionalism, the answer to Ricoeur's question is represented in the notion of the "bounded place-form" as a resistant force to the "non-place urban realm" and impersonality defined by rationalized zoning and modern urban planning. For Frampton the rationalization of urban planning removed the possibility for a public realm to exist by removing the place-form (i.e. agora or market square) where it had previously existed, creating urbanized populations which had "lost the object of [their] urbanization". As Frampton argues, using Martin Heidegger's theory of phenomenology, the act of dwelling is predicated on "a domain that is clearly bounded" (Frampton, 26). Essentially, there can be no community or civilization unless a corresponding space is actively defined for its existence. This, of course, is quite similar to Zucker's and Mumford's arguments concerning the formation of the original agoras, where the formation of a nominally democratic society necessitated the creation of engaged public space. Thus, the underlying argument of Critical Regionalism is that, for society and *civitas* to once again emerge, bounded and defined spaces must be actively created to allow for their existence.

In Critical Regionalism, it is not enough to simply provide a space for the public realm to exist. As the previous discussion of early ideal plans showed, modern urban planners often recognized the need for community spaces within the city, and thus zoned particular parts of the ideal plan for that use. However, as Krier argued, such spaces, in their undefined vastness, were devoid of meaning, incapable of engaging communities. The important part of the "place-form", then, can be seen not in the provision of space, but in the active defining of "place". In Critical Regionalism, it is the very emphasis on the peculiarities of a specific region that are meant to enable community and the notion of *civitas* to re-emerge.

To achieve this sense of place, Frampton argues against the Populist notion of applying pastiche or kitsch decoration to buildings as an attempt to symbolically link space to a lost vernacular, instead claiming that "Critical Regionalism necessarily involves a more directly dialectical relation with nature than the more abstract, formal traditions of modern avant-garde architecture allow" (Frampton, 28). The emphasis on a relationship with nature is particularly important. In this context, it is not the peculiarities of society in a

particular region that are meant to inform the "place-form", but the natural qualities, such as topography, climate, and light. Thus, Frampton champions Mario Botta's method of "building the site", in which the tectonics of a building, including materiality, ventilation, and structural systems are defined in direct relationship to the natural specificities of a particular site. As Frampton argues, this process yields built form fundamentally located in the "prehistory of the place" capable of providing meaning across time, while simultaneously avoiding the possibility of "falling into sentimentality" (Frampton, 29). More importantly, however, built form following the prescriptions of Critical Regionalism are seen by Frampton as expressions of "rooted culture" (Frampton, 30). Underlying this notion of "rooted culture", however, is the assumption that the making of localized, contextual built forms will necessarily create localized identity capable of forming regional communities.

In the spaces of pre-industrial cities, where *civitas* was indeed a defining quality of societies, the built form of public space was expressed based on the specific regional characteristics of society. The agora and market square were specific vernacular representations of the everyday. In positioning Critical Regionalism as an expression of the natural qualities of a region instead of the societal qualities, Frampton has neglected to really address the functioning and formations of the city and its public spaces. Instead, he relies on a form of built-determinism that is actually quite similar to ways in which modern urban planning and Alexander's pattern language operate. The notion remains that if the right kind of space is built, people and societies will behave in the desired way. The reason explaining why community has not formed simply becomes that the "right" kind of built form has not yet been described. For Frampton, paying close attention to the natural regional conditions of a site represents the "correct" shift in perception that will finally allow space to shape society. Tectonics define culture and community.

The study of the agora and market square reveals a fundamental characteristic concerning the formation of public spaces capable of supporting and engaging communities that challenges the underlying assumptions of Critical Regionalism. In the agora and market square, we see a typology in which people defined space; everyday needs were the controlling element in the socio-spatial relationship. However, since the Enlightenment, that relationship has been fundamentally reversed. What we can see in Critical Regionalism, Alexander's pattern language, and modern zoning is a collective, and sustained belief people do not define space, but rather, that space defines people. The transformation has been so complete, that even in an attempt to establish an *arriere-garde* as a way of standing outside of, or resisting the Enlightenment doctrine, Critical Regionalism nonetheless becomes situated within the very construct it is attempting to critique.

The shift in focus from universalism to regionalism represents, in itself, an important step in rediscovering *civitas*. The belief that specific regional characteristics of a place play an important role in the success or failure of spatial formations must be sustained if public spaces are to ever again be the places where communities gather and construct their identities. However, a belief in universal truth was not the only factor that led to the death of *civitas* in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. The agora and market square were places where many different and supporting functions became overlapped based on regional characteristics. In different ways, both Critical Regionalism and Alexander's notion of the semi-lattice address these elements of engaging public space by attempting to reintroduce the notions of "overlap" and "regionalism" into the theoretical discourse surrounding architecture. However, they refuse to divorce themselves from the underlying dogma of rational human thought that arrests the one quality of spatial formation that made overlap and regionalism important characteristics in the formation of public space in the first place: the will of the people. Until we are capable of letting go of the "enlightened" desire to

define and present models for the creation of spaces capable of manipulating human interaction, *civitas* will not exist. It cannot exist. As Spiro Kostof proclaimed, *civitas* occurs only in the presence of "a parity of citizens in charge of their destiny and city-form" (Kostof, 37).

ARCHITECTURE OF THE EVERYDAY

As Michel de Certeau argues in *The Practice of Everyday Life,* the reason that the will of the people has been misplaced in discussions of architectural theory and the formation of public space is that the system put into place as a result of the Industrial Revolution is simply "too vast" for the people to "make it their own" and "too tightly woven for them to escape from it" (de Certeau, xx). Essentially, the sheer inertia of the Enlightenment and consumer society overwhelmed the local stabilities that had previously defined *civitas*. However, as he goes on to argue, the everyday has never had its own "ideologies or institutions", instead "inventing itself by *poaching* in countless ways on the property of others" (xii-xiv).

Accepting Kostof's proclamation concerning the formation of *civitas,* we can we apply de Certeau's parasitic concept of the everyday to architecture: the ability for public space to support *civitas* becomes tied directly to the space's ability to conform to the changing needs of the everyday population that inhabits it. If public space is designed in accordance with the universalism of Enlightenment dogma, distinct societies will not be able to adapt those spaces to their own needs. If, on the other hand, architects reject the rationalizations of Modernism and begin providing public space that allows for a multiplicity of interpretation and use, de Certeau's concept of the everyday suggests that everyday society can and will adapt that space to itself, and itself to that space. Thus, if architects begin to allow themselves to let go of some of the control that characterized the Modern movement, we might use de Certeau's understanding of the adoptive power of the everyday to yet again produce architecture in which a "parity of citizens" are able to take "charge of their destiny and city-form". However, "flexibility", though implying a later process of customization, also has the potential to degenerate into a universal, and ultimately static, tactic. Can an empty, flexible space inspire society the way an empty canvas inspires the artist? Will they customize it on their own, as de Certeau seems to believe? Or, does *civitas* require some kind of cue, a space that in some way reflects, from the outset, something specific about the society that inhabits it?

In examining the merits of an "architecture of the everyday" based on de Certeau's writings, the philosophical work of Henri Lefebvre provides an important commentary. As Lefebvre argues in "The Everyday and Everydayness", the everyday is inherently monotonous, as "the days follow one after another and resemble one another" (36). It is this very monotony that allowed for the definition of universal tactics during the Enlightenment. However, as Lefebvre continues, precisely at the moment when "people can no longer lead their everyday lives", a social revolution will occur, and "everything changes" (14, 36). In transferring this understanding of the everyday to architectural theory, Deborah Berke argues that an architecture of the everyday must always remain in a state of transformation. As she explains, "the forms, materials, and images of innovation in everyday life are often unpredictable…the next everyday cannot be discovered through focus groups and market analysis" (224-5). Thus, even if an architecture of the everyday is successfully defined in a particular space and time, that success does not ensure future success. A true architecture of the everyday cannot be replicated from one project to the next; there can be no model, other than the process itself. In identifying an architecture of the everyday, the process must begin again with the start of each new project. Thus, an architecture of the everyday cannot be replicated from one place to another. The specificities of place that will ultimately link a

formal building to the informal everyday reality of a given place will necessarily be different from one location to another. Thus, it is not enough to provide "flexibility". To provide public architecture capable of supporting *civitas*, architects must become researchers, tenaciously seeking out and analyzing the small nuances that make a place and the people that inhabit it unique.

CONCLUSION

The processes of the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution forever altered the processes through in which public space is developed in human societies. In pre-industrial societies, public space was often the product of long periods of informal development; the agora and medieval market, for instance, were not the product of top-down architectural visions. While this was not always the case, as an examination of the Roman forum reveals, this ad-hoc development ensured that the spatial and architectural characteristics of public space was a direct reflection of the specific societies that inhabited them. They were, as Spiro Kostof argues, evidence of community's with control over the destiny of their city-form. This is the historic essence of *civitas*.

In the wake of industrialization, the scale and scope of human society has expanded to such a degree that the adaptive development of public space over vast periods of time is no longer a viable model. Top-down development is required to keep pace with technological and demographic changes in our cities. However, this does not mean that universalism represented by the Modern movement in architecture is inevitable. Despite the unifying force of globalization, individual societies are still defined by particular peculiarities. Universalism, while capable of addressing the infrastructural needs of the modern city, ultimately suppresses social differences. In the case of many Modernist projects constructed during the first half of the twentieth century, universalism led to alienation and, eventually, urban decay.

Architectural methodology since the Enlightenment can be defined by a singular, pervasive belief: architectural space is capable of influencing and creating a certain kind of people. However, while the slow, informal development of the agora and medieval market is no longer applicable to the design and construction of modern cities, it does reveal a common pattern of human society—at least in Western cultures. When *civitas* has been a defining element of human society, the corresponding architecture has not been idealistically designed to modify and manipulate human interaction. Rather, human interaction has modified and manipulated architectural space.

Critical Regionalism has shifted the focus of architectural design, offering a design methodology that once again responds the peculiarities of particular places. However, in defining a regional architecture, Critical Regionalism often elevates climatic factors above the specific human qualities that define regional cultures. The focus still ignores the will of the people and maintains a connection to the belief that architecture should modify human interaction.

Using the philosophical writings of Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre as a starting point for the development of an "architecture of the everyday", we might finally liberate ourselves from the pervasive dogma of the Enlightenment. If the architectural *modus operandi* shifts to respond to everyday life and its ability to co-opt and adapt space to its own needs, while simultaneously recognizing that the everyday is not a static, universal construct, we might again be capable of designing architectural space that responds to the needs of the people. An "architecture of the everyday" is ever-changing. In this methodological

framework, no two buildings would ever be designed using an identical set of assumptions. An "architecture of the everyday" denies the applicability of the universal models and prototypes that emerged in response to industrialization. If we are to (re)discover *civitas* in the modern city, architecture must once again respond to the needs of the people.

II

Polycentric Civitas: Understanding Urbanism in Los Angeles

> Penthesilea is different. You advance for hours and it is not clear…whether you are already in the city's midst or still outside. Like a lake with low shores lost in swamps, Penthesilea spreads for miles around…Every now and then at the edges of the street a cluster of constructions… seems to indicate that from there the city's texture will thicken. But you find instead other vague spaces…And so you continue, passing from outskirts to outskirts until you have given up trying to understand whether there exists a Penthesilea the visitor can recognize and remember, or whether Penthesilea is only the outskirts of itself (Calvino, 1974, 156-157).
>
> -Italo Calvino

INTRODUCTION

Italo Calvino's description of never-ending Penthesilea represents a common description of Los Angeles. In this narrative, Los Angeles is the collection of suburbs searching for a city, a place lacking meaning because it has grown, expanded, and distorted itself to such an extent that no common identity is able to hold the city cohesively together. For the city's detractors, the lack of an identifiable hegemonic core reveals a city without order or reason: Los Angeles becomes an unknowable, and therefore, soulless city. As Greg Hise explains in an essay entitled *Rethinking Los Angeles*, "Urban expansion [in Los Angeles] is seen as an uncontainable, possibly mutant force…not only unplanned and without order but also simply beyond control…the place where it all comes apart" (Hise, 3-4).

Such understandings of what occurred in Los Angeles over the course of the twentieth century offer powerful and enduring visions of the city. It is easy to look at contemporary Los Angeles, with its grid-locked super highways and never-ending built environment, and imagine a city that simply allowed its suburbs to swallow it whole. This destruction of the city can be seen as the end result of unfettered private consumption spurred on by the dream of private homeownership and the resultant acceptance of a total reliance on the automobile for movement throughout the city. (Longstreth, 9). For instance, in his book, *Houses, Palaces, Cities,* Leon Krier supports this depiction of the American suburban narrative in a critique entitled "Town and Country". For Krier, the moment the suburb begins expanding out of the urban core, it becomes destined to destroy the city. More importantly, when the original core has been destroyed, the suburb will search out new "victims" to consume, "at whatever expense, effort, or distance" (Krier, 30-31). As Greg Hise describes in an essay entitled *Nature's Workshop: Industry and Urban Expansion in*

Southern California, this suburban narrative represents the "stock account" of Los Angeles' suburbanization:

> [There are] four narrative conventions: the settings depicted represent a new landscape order; once outside the "city", specific location is secondary if not immaterial; the vast array of individual development projects that constitute a particular suburb are staged and completed without the benefit of coordination or deliberate planning; and the resultant physical and social patterns display an increased degree of homogeneity relative to past trends (Hise, 1979).

Thus, as Krier continues in this framework, the city becomes an undifferentiated "agglomeration" incapable of supporting "civic rights, liberties, or community" (Krier, 30-31). In many ways, this reading of Los Angeles as a homogenous spread of suburbia across the entire Los Angeles Basin illuminates why, as Hise explains, there is an intense "sense of lost community, or even lost soul" when attempts are made to understand the contemporary Los Angeles landscape (Hise, xi). This is the Los Angeles most disseminated in popular culture since *Newsweek* first labeled Los Angeles the "Biggest Darn Collection of Suburbs in the World" in 1957 (Hise, 8).

The following section is an analysis of urbanism in Los Angeles, an attempt to discern how much of the fictional narrative accurately reflects historic and contemporary realities in the city. This section also represents an attempt to identify and understand the different social, economic, political, and spatial factors that converged to unravel the city's social/civic contract and define Los Angeles as a city without community. Additional information on design factors such as climate, transportation, demographics, etcetera—which do not necessarily fit into the agenda of this section, but are nonetheless important areas of inquiry in the design of the L.A.gora—can be found in Appendix A.

THE LOS ANGELES SCHOOL

The problem with labeling Los Angeles as a collection of suburbs lacking a central core is the assumption that the city's historical suburbanization falls within the broader framework of the Chicago School model. In the Chicago School model, there is a well-defined core and the outlying suburbs are seen as serving, or being dependent on the core (Hise, 1). For

Figure 2.1. Los Angeles County.

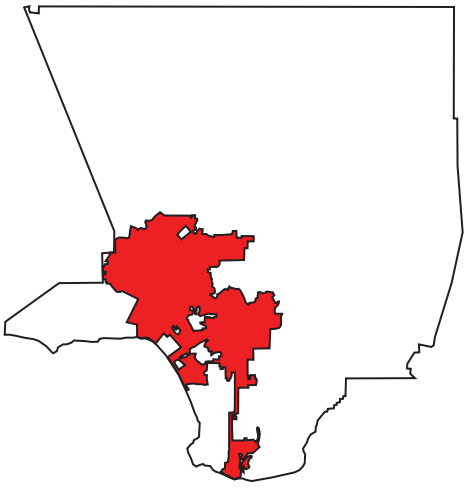


Figure 2.2. City of Los Angeles.

instance, Frederick Law Olmsted's plan for Riverside, Illinois was never meant to stand on its own. Rather it was designed as a remedy for the congested and polluted urban fabric of the industrial Chicago described by Upton Sinclair in *The Jungle*. As Olmsted himself explained in 1870, suburbs were seen as a way of opening up the city: differentiating space between "parts which are likely to be dwelt in, and those which will be required exclusively for commerce" and allowing the "air [to be] disinfected by sunlight and foliage" (Olmsted, 30-31).

What is important to remember in this context is that in the early twentieth century, when the city first began to expand and decentralize, Los Angeles was a relatively small city of 102,000 people built primarily on profits from the real estate speculation in the 1890s (Longstreth, 6). As a *Los Angeles Times* editorial discussed in 1905, "As recently as ten years ago, the most enthusiastic boomer would never claim that it was ever likely to become an important manufacturing center" (*Los Angeles Times,* 1 January 1905, in Hise, 183). And, while there was a city center quickly emerging in Downtown with retail and financial activity centered on Spring Street, it was quite modest in size, occupying only twenty square blocks (Longstreth, 23).

In the Los Angeles of the early twentieth century, everything was new. More importantly, the city's residents and developers had experienced first hand the nearly 400 percent growth of the city during the 1880s and 1890s stemming from a real estate speculation boom caused by a migration of Midwesterners seeking out the mild climate and economic promise of the Los Angeles Basin (Longstreth, 6-7). When Los Angeles began expanding and decentralizing, Downtown was not defined in space by tradition (i.e. rites, rituals, history, etc.) or geography (i.e. a major port or location along a large river). In addition, surrounding cities such as Long Beach, Pasadena, and Glendale were congruently growing and expanding during this period (Longstreth, 6). There was nothing to suggest that further land speculation and migration would not create additional population centers within the greater Los Angeles Basin. Essentially, Downtown Los Angeles of the early twentieth century in no way resembled the cores of contemporary cities such as Chicago, Detroit, or Pittsburgh where the Chicago School model was applicable. Thus, to label Los Angeles as the "Biggest Darn Collection of Suburbs in the World", implying that the city's suburbs somehow subsumed and swallowed their core, is to misread Los Angeles' particular brand of urbanism. Closer to the historic reality: Los Angeles never had a core.

For Richard Longstreth, whose book–*City Center to Regional Mall*–traces the evolution of commercial development in Los Angeles from 1920 to 1950, the city that was defined by a "small city character" in 1900, "boasted one of the mot extensive business cores of any American city" by 1930. Furthermore, as he explains, "Angelenos…placed great value on having a large commercial core as the metropolitan centerpiece" (Longstreth, 20-21). And yet, as early as the beginning of the 1920s--barely removed from the opening of the great Downtown department stores, such as The Broadway, Bullock's, and Barker Brothers, that, for Longstreth, marked the rise of Downtown to symbolic urban core--plans were underway to build *new* city centers in Hollywood and along the Wilshire Boulevard corridor (Longstreth, 36-39, 97, 127).

In Hollywood, commercial development followed the early establishment of the initial film colony in 1911 (Hise, 197, wikipedia.com). Additionally, given the 1915 annexation of the San Fernando Valley by the City of Los Angeles, Hollywood's proponents began to position the area as the "gateway" between the two halves of Los Angeles (Longstreth, 81). Indeed, by 1930, Hollywood was "the second largest business district in Los Angeles and one of the largest outlying centers in the United States" (Longstreth, 82).

At the Miracle Mile, the vision was even more radical. When A.W. Ross began collecting and developing land along Wilshire Boulevard nearly five miles from Downtown in1923, there was no nascent film industry or geographical advantage to explain the picking of a site for the development of a new city center. There was no surrounding residential community; in fact, "most of the area remained open land" (Longstreth, 127). As Longstreth describes, the Miracle Mile was a "hypothetical center" (ibid). Much as Downtown had grown to prominence in the previous decade, Ross simply believed, given the staggering population growth and the ability to buy and sell land, that a business district could be placed anywhere in the Los Angeles Basin and become a commercial core (Longstreth, 128). And, he was right. By 1929, skyscrapers were "soaring above a sea of single-story buildings and still vacant lots" in Los Angeles' "new downtown" (Longstreth, 131). Such was the power of the promise that Los Angeles offered in the early twentieth century: investment in the Los Angeles Basin would lead to ever-greater wealth, prosperity, and development, and that each new development offered a once in a lifetime opportunity. Thus, in this context, urban expansion through the development of ever newer commercial cores continued, stopping only once reaching the Pacific Ocean, with places like Westwood and Palos Verdes following Hollywood's and Wilshire's lead (Longstreth, 144, 160).

Of course, the development of outlying commercial and business centers during the 1920s was not unique to Los Angeles. As Longstreth explains, Upper Darby in Philadelphia, Englewood in Chicago, and Midtown in St. Louis were all set up as alternatives to downtown commercial and business cores in their respective cities (Longstreth, 82). However, the difference between these suburban centers and the new city centers developed in Los Angeles lies in the fact that Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis can all be adequately described by the Chicago School model. Prior to these new centers being developed in Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis, residential neighborhoods had been built away from the city as part of a core-periphery relationship. The new commercial centers were meant merely as alternatives to traveling to the core for everyday needs (ibid). Thus, Upper Darby, Englewood, and Midtown were never meant to challenge or operate independently of the established core; rather, they reinforced the established hierarchies in

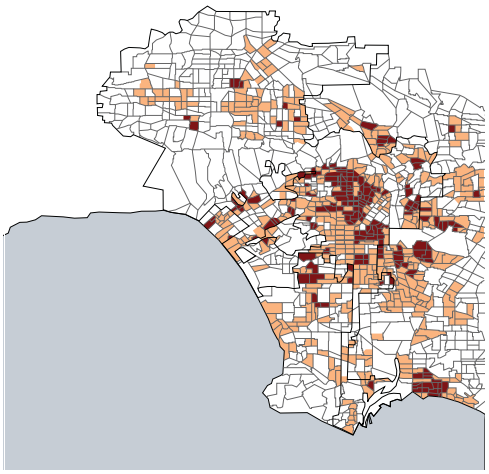


Figure 2.3. Population Density Centers, 1990.

the core-periphery model.
Even in their earliest inceptions, Hollywood and Wilshire differed greatly from this established typology of alternative commercial centers. The boosters in Hollywood, despite the continued growth of Downtown, believed that their new development would "wrest commercial dominance from the city center" (ibid). Likewise, the early developers of the Wilshire Boulevard corridor believed that Wilshire would "become, throughout the world, synonymous with Los Angeles…the most famous lane in modern civilization" (Longstreth, 103). These grand statements reveal an important quality of early twentieth century Los Angeles: there was no traditional center, no place where all of the city's inhabitants imagined a symbolic heart of the town, and therefore, no place to capitulate new development toward. There was always the sense that some new opportunity might at once redefine the city. To a certain extent, this also explains why Hollywood and Wilshire were also never themselves able to attain the status of symbolic heart their developers so desired. The very notion of city center did not exist in the psyche of the Angeleno.

The importance here, is not to see Hollywood and Wilshire as somehow failed developments, but to realize, for the first time, alternative population centers were being developed in a metropolitan area without regard to an urban core. Hollywood and Wilshire, as well as other developments within the basin were, from their very beginnings, planned, not as suburbs, but as independent, autonomous centers. Thus, in order to understand Los Angeles, it becomes necessary to rethink the common narrative of the city as a collection of suburbs searching for a center, and instead see the city as it was originally designed and envisioned: a polycentric city.

POLYCENTRIC POTENTIALS

In concept, the polycentric city has an incredible inherent potential as a model to deal with the sprawling conditions of the modern metropolis that currently inhibit the formation of communities and the emergence of *civitas*. In *Houses, Palaces, Cities*, Leon Krier argues that "the notions of metropolitan centre and periphery must be abolished", and that the existing periphery must "be transformed into many autonomous cities" (Krier, 30). His rational behind this argument, established in diagrammatic drawings, is quite easily followed. For instance, a metropolis composed of many small city centers inherently begins to break down the overwhelming scale of the composite metropolitan area. The individual nodes, instead of relying on a central core for their definition and meaning, instead begin operating as autonomous communities, each necessarily containing the basic functions and forms necessary for the living of everyday life. Thus, it is no longer necessary to travel in and out of the core, revealing the potential urban space to once again be scaled to the pedestrian instead of to the automobile. Most importantly, in a metropolis of many centers, the possibility of informal and spontaneous interaction once again becomes possible. If people are able to live their lives at a local scale, despite being positioned in a much larger metropolis, there is a potential for people to gather and create specific urban identities that establish a sense of meaning and belonging for individual communities.

In examining the ways in which Los Angeles, as a metropolitan region, was envisioned and created, it becomes possible to see Los Angeles as the physical embodiment of the theory Krier champions in *Houses, Palaces, Cities*. Think of Los Angeles and attempt to put a single image in front of the mind's eye that encapsulates the essence of the city. It is an impossible task. On which image would you center your thoughts? Downtown? The Hollywood Hills? Venice Beach? East Los Angeles? Santa Monica? Compton? The problem in attempting to define the identity of Los Angeles is that each separate vision represents an equally valid way of interpreting the essence of the city. Metropolitan Los Angeles may have a seemingly

overwhelming population of twenty million people, but the existence of several identity giving centers underscores the fact that those twenty million people are never attempting to access the entire metropolitan area for the living of their everyday lives. Rather, the way in which Los Angeles was created enables the metropolitan area to operate much more like a collection of small communities; anything can be accomplished at the local level. For instance, in Los Angeles since 1930, it has not been necessary to go Downtown to work.

As Greg Hise explains in an essay entitled "Nature's Workshop", a study conducted in 1925 by the Chicago-based engineering firm Kelker, De Leuw & Company revealed that, "contrary to the received narrative regarding traction, residential dispersion, and sprawl, a significant share of workers employed in the East Side and North Side Industrial Districts lived within walking distance to work". It is important to point out that this spatial pattern was not limited only to the East Side and North Side Industrial Districts. For instance, in Vernon, southeast of Downtown Los Angeles, one-third of all workers lived less than two miles from their place of employment. As Hise is quick to point out, this distance "is the equivalent of the standard distance urbanists accept as a metric for the pre-industrial walking city". Furthermore, when the scope of the study was slightly extended, it was found that a full one-half of all those employed in Vernon and three-fifths of those employed on the East Side lived within three miles of their place of work (Hise, 192). These are incredible statistics given the 1,667 square mile size of metropolitan Los Angeles and the early acceptance of the automobile (as outlined by Longstreth) that would have theoretically allowed Angelenos to live great distances from their places of work. The fact that workers instead lived in close proximity to their places of employment reveals the extent to which Los Angeles largely operated at a local level on an everyday basis.

It is important to again emphasize that the ability for Angelenos to live, work, and shop in small, localized sections of the larger metropolitan region was not an accidental occurrence, but rather a willful act of regional planning. For instance, in 1922, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors sponsored a conference on regional planning at which the entire Los Angeles region was zoned and envisioned as to encourage individual districts to "[crystallize] around natural centers and sub-centers…each with its own individual character and identity". By 1930, this model had become so pervasive and accepted that the Los Angeles City Planning Commission was able to establish a generalized prescription for all future development in which industrial and manufacturing districts were to always be located near a residential section to ensure that "traveling between the two [was not] a disadvantage", and that a small part should be "reserved for a local business center". This act of planning produced a reality where "hundreds of manufacturing establishments of diverse kinds [became] scattered over the metropolitan district", even in places like Hollywood, Beverly Hills, Santa Monica, and Pasadena (Hise, 189-196). Thus, from an early stage, Los Angeles, as a region, was a collection of several autonomous centers.

The broad effects of this far-sighted early planning of Los Angeles as a polycentric city can still be seen in contemporary Los Angeles. For instance, despite the city's continued population growth, the average travel commute time to work remains under thirty minutes. This compares favorably to cities like New York and Chicago–cities generally seen as superior models for urbanism to Los Angeles–which have average commuting times of forty minutes and thirty-five minutes, respectively (www.census.gov). Likewise, the existence of multiple self-sufficient centers has created an urban condition in which Los Angeles, as a metropolitan region, has become the densest population center in the United States, with 7,071 inhabitants per square mile. This number far outpaces other American cities. For instance, the New York metropolitan region has a density of 5,429 inhabitants per square mile. Chicago has a metropolitan density of 4,099 inhabitants per square, while Atlanta–a

city often compared to Los Angeles given the popular view that both cities are examples unabated suburban sprawl--has a metropolitan density of only 1,783 inhabitants per square mile (wikipedia.com). This comparison alone is justification enough for the merits of a polycentric city. In the contemporary context, where "sprawl" is one of the key buzzwords in urban theory, Los Angeles actually represents the most successful model for collecting the largest number of people in the smallest land area.

While the initial comparison of metropolitan population densities is revealing of Los Angeles' capacity to support several districts with distinct identities, it is not until a comparison of urban density and metropolitan density is conducted that the full extent and character of Los Angeles' polycentricism can be appreciated. In New York City, for instance, the density within the city limits is 27,440 inhabitants per square mile. This incredibly high density of the urban center skews the metropolitan density of 5,429 inhabitants per square mile (wikipedia.com); in reality, the population densities of New York City's outlying areas would actually be much less than that figure. Thus, we are confronted with a context in which only the city center has the critical mass required to support civic functions and buildings, such as opera houses, museums, theaters, markets, plazas, public parks, etc. Thus, if an inhabitant of the New York metropolitan area living outside of the central core is to have any sense of belonging to a larger public identity or community, it will be tied to the city center. Such an identity or sense of community cannot be accessed on an everyday basis. Rather, inhabitants of New York's outlying metropolitan areas become visitors in their own city, fundamentally incapable of engaging or partaking in the definition of the character of place given their lack of proximity to an easily accessible public realm.

In contrast to the example of New York City, the population density of the City of Los Angeles is 8,205 inhabitants per square mile, which is only slightly higher than the 7,071 inhabitants per square mile that defines the metropolitan region as a whole (wikipedia.com). This means that the entire metropolitan region represents a critical mass capable of supporting a public civic realm. It is in this context that we can explain and understand the fact that many of the city's most recognizable civic amenities--the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) along the Miracle Mile of Wilshire Boulevard, Santa Monica's promenade, Hollywood's Chinese Theater, the Watt's Towers, the Los Angeles Memorial

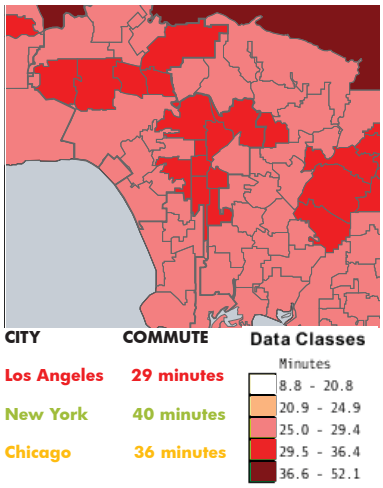


Figure 2.4. Average Commute Time

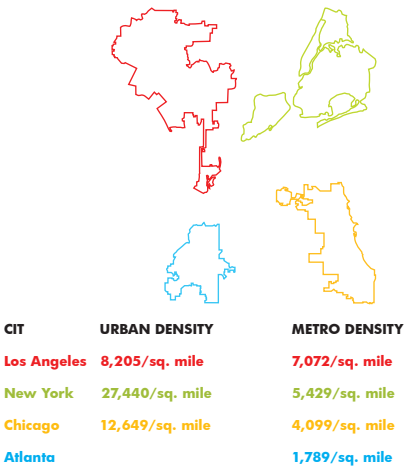


Figure 2.5. Population Density Comparison

Coliseum in Southcentral Los Angeles, or the Getty Center in the Santa Monica Mountain foothills–exist in locations removed from the Downtown core. Thus, the polycentric character of Los Angeles can be seen to produce individual and distinct districts capable of supporting not only the most basic functions of living, working, and shopping, but also of sustaining critical, identity-giving public realms. Thus, Los Angeles, as a polycentric city, represents a real world model capable of collecting 20 million people in a definitive area, while simultaneously ensuring that all inhabitants have some form of access to the spirit of the city.

POLYCENTRISM UNDERMINED

In the years since the original formation of Los Angeles as a polycentric city, several economic and political shifts have begun to fundamentally alter the way the metropolitan region operates: most importantly, the rise of Pacific Rim Capitalism. As Mike Davis describes in *Dead Cities*, beginning in the early 1980s, the relative value of the Japanese currency (yen) had grown to such an extent that there existed a "mass of Japanese trade surplus" in the United States. As a result of the "superyen" and the policy of foreign protectionism practiced in Japan at the time, it became clear to many Japanese business people that domestic industrial reinvestment was no longer capable of providing the greatest return on investment. A "tsunami of Asian finance and flight capital" resultantly found its ways to financial centers along the west coast of the United States and Canada (Davis, 155). In Los Angeles, this influx of capital was highly centered on real estate speculation in Downtown's Central Business District (CBD). As Davis explains, "the superyen of the late 1980s put the skyscrapers along Figueroa's 'gold coast' at rummage-sale discounts compared to Tokyo real estate". In 1986, for instance, Shuwa Company Ltd. Purchased nearly $1 billion worth of Downtown Los Angeles "in a single two-and-a-half month buying spree" (Davis, 156).

Even at the onset, when Los Angeles was first emerging as a polycentric city, and even though it had actively been planned to perform that way, there was always a faction of the Los Angeles elite that desired a strong, region-defining core centered on the Downtown CBD. In the time between the initial development of alternative cores in Hollywood and

Figure 2.6. Pacific Rim Capital Flow

along the Wilshire Boulevard corridor in the late 1920s and early 1930s and the arrival of Pacific Rim Capitalism in the 1980s, these Downtown loyalists and boosters have produced several redevelopment plans and strategies in their "re-centering crusade" (Davis, 144). At Bunker Hill, northwest of the original CBD, for instance, a redevelopment plan received approval in 1959 to demolish Bunker Hill's historic Victorian residential neighborhood to make way for skyscrapers and building parcels "suited for sale to developers". In 1964, the *Centropolis* plan outlined the ways in which this new development on Bunker Hill would be connected to the old financial and retail centers along Spring Street, Broadway, and 7th Street. For instance, the plan called for a linkage of all of the major Downtown structures by means of "mid-block malls, with pedestrian circulation lifted above the street on 'pedways'" (Davis, 149-50). The end goal of the *Centropolis* plan was the creation of a "single vast Downtown mall" capable of unifying the image of Downtown and consolidating regional power through such unification (ibid).

Despite the desires and proposed plans of Downtown boosters in the years between 1930 and 1980, several factors prevented the broad re-development of the CBD and related re-centering of Los Angeles from taking concrete form during this period. In the early 1950s, for instance, there was a general lack of cohesion concerning the vision as to how Downtown should be re-developed. While the Downtown boosters argued vehemently for a Downtown defined by civic buildings and centralized financial and retail districts, then Mayor Fletcher Bowron, supported by the CIO and civil-rights organizations, envisioned an adversarial reconstruction of Downtown as a grouping of "working class neighborhoods", ultimately signing a contract with the federal government under the Housing Act of 1949 to build ten thousand public housing units in Chavez Ravine and Bunker Hill (Davis, 147). While Bowron's housing initiative was ultimately defeated by opposition from CBD landowners, this example highlights the Downtown boosters' general deficiency of political capital needed to achieve their "re-centering" agenda. Additionally, while this political squabbling was effectively preventing the redevelopment of the CBD, alternative plans were completed in 1964 for Century City on the Westside of Los Angeles (ibid). While Hollywood and Wilshire Boulevard had always been alternative commercial centers, they had never challenged Downtown's role as the financial and governmental center. As Davis explains, unlike Hollywood and Wilshire, Century City represented the first decentralized development meant to serve as an alternative CBD to Downtown, creating the context in which Reyner Banham claimed in 1971 that Downtown had become "irrelevant", barely deserving of inclusion in a discussion of the urban ecologies that make up and define Los Angeles as a city (Davis, 147 and Banham, 201-8).

The dispute between Mayor Bowron and Downtown boosters in the early 1950s is not the only representation of the Downtown booster's lack of political clout in the broader Los Angeles context. Homeowners in San Fernando Valley--representing a large source of tax revenue for the City of Los Angeles--have long resented the use of their tax dollars for Downtown development schemes (Davis, 146). In 1975, for instance, political representatives from San Fernando Valley sued the Los Angeles City Council to prevent the diversion of tax dollars from general funds uses to the Central Business District Redevelopment Plan (Davis, 153). Thus, the very polycentric character of Los Angeles, with individual districts viewing their own needs as more important than that of a "city center", effectively undermined aspirations for a well-defined Downtown core; Downtown simply was not seen as important enough, symbolically, to warrant the investment of public monies. Despite their lofty goals, Downtown boosters, in reality, represented a minority coalition in Los Angeles politics. Their political deficiencies meant that the economic capital concomitantly necessary for the recentralization process was impossible to gather.

It is in this context, with Downtown boosters unable to secure public funds for their "re-centering crusade" that the full meaning and implications of the powerful emergence of Pacific Rim Capitalism beginning in the early 1980s can be best understood. The Japanese "super-yen" and complementary interest in Downtown real estate speculation (as discussed previously) provided, for the first time, the type of capital investment in the CBD that would be needed to truly "re-center" Los Angeles. More importantly, this capital influx, coming from private investors, was not tied to a local political constituency acting in the context of a polycentric urban fabric. Thus, foreign capital was free to be invested solely in the CBD, as long as approval from city hall could be secured.

Tom Bradley was elected Mayor of the City of Los Angeles in 1973, serving until 1993 (wikipedia.com). While Downtown boosters initially viewed the election of Bradley quite skeptically, given his connection to "South-Central ministers and wealthy Westside liberals", it quickly became clear that Bradley was a vehement proponent of the Downtown "re-centering crusade", as outlined in the Central City Association's (CCA) *Silverbook*. As Davis explains, during Bradley's twenty year rule, "city hall routinely [approved] every request of the developer's lobby, and new capital was encouraged to flow into Downtown's greenfields" (Davis, 154-5). Thus, for the first time since the decentralization of Los Angeles began during the late 1920s, political will and economic investment aligned behind the goal of realizing a region-defining, hegemonic core for the City of Los Angeles.

The growth that resulted in the context of Pacific Rim capital investment and city hall rubber-stamping of Downtown initiatives was, by the numbers, astounding. As Davis explains, "if there were just five new high rises above the old eqrthquake limit of thirteen floors in 1975, there are now fifty". Furthermore, of the 26 million square feet of corporate real estate that existed in Downtown Los Angeles by the end of the 1980s, over half had been built during that decade, with that number set to "double or triple" during the 1990s (Davis, 143-55). In economic terms, property bought in 1969 at Ninth and Figueroa for $8 per square foot was worth $225 per square foot by the end of the 1980s, resulting in an estimated two billion dollars of net profit generated for CBD landholders during the 1980's growth and speculation boom (Davis, 159). Indeed, Downtown had become the epicenter of Los Angeles growth, and boosters were quickly attempting to make it the symbolic civic heart of the region as well. In 1986, the Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA)–the brainchild of Tom Bradley and Marcia Simon Weisman--was opened on Grand Avenue. In 1999, the Staples Center was opened Downtown, housing all of the city's sports franchises except for the Dodgers, as well as concerts and other large events, brining an estimated 4 million people to Downtown Los Angeles annually. Finally, in 2003, the Frank Gehry designed Walt Disney Concert Hall was opened across Grand Avenue from MOCA (wikipedia.com). Downtown Los Angeles is now defining the image of Los Angeles in ways that it has not been able to since the 1920s; it has finally defied Banham's claim that Downtown is irrelevant in understanding Los Angeles as a city. As Davis explains, "the 'suburbs in search of a city' have finally found what they were looking for" (Davis, 143).

THE FIRST-WORLD/THIRD-WORLD DICHOTOMY

Los Angeles, almost from its very beginnings, was actively defined as a polycentric city. Developers and the City Planning Commission went to great lengths to ensure that the entire population could live, work, shop, and find civic identity at a local, "walkable" scale. While a core-periphery model aptly describes many cities in the United States, such a model is fundamentally incapable of describing or successfully developing a functioning future for Los Angeles. Reyner Banham was right, in 1971, to dismiss Downtown as irrelevant; Los Angeles had its own form of successful urbanism. Yet, despite this reality, we find ourselves

in a contemporary context where the original identity-giving polycentric urban fabric has been eroded in favor of a core-periphery model better suited to places like New York City or Chicago. Such fundamental shifts cannot occur without altering the very nature of the entire city. While the "re-centering" of Los Angeles did indeed have beneficial economic effects for CBD landowners, such profits were achieved through a de-prioritization and lack of investment in the rest of the city. While Downtown now stands crowned with sky-scrapers symbolic of financial wealth and prosperity, the majority of the city, or Banham's "Plains of Id", has been left by the city's wealthy and powerful elite to decay.

As Greg Hise, Eric Schockman, and Michael Dear argue in an essay entitled "Rethinking Los Angeles", the re-centralization of Los Angeles as a result of global capitalism has resulted in a social condition where "Los Angeles is now characterized as a 'First World' city flourishing atop a 'Third World' city" (Hise, 11). As Mike Davis argues, this exposed dichotomy between the "haves" and "have-nots" in Los Angeles is a direct result of the city bowing to the Pacific Rim economy. As Davis explains:

> To the extend that Japanese capital was now the major player, the Downtown economy had become illicitly dependent on the continuation of the structural imbalance that recycled U.S. deficits as foreign speculation in American assets. In a word, it had become addicted to U.S. losses in the world trade war, and bank towers on Bunker Hill were rising almost in direct proportion to plant closing in East Los Angeles. The Downtown renaissance had become a perverse monument to deindustrialization (Davis, 156).

Essentially, the re-centering project for Los Angeles required a trade deficit between Tokyo and Los Angeles in order to maintain the influx of super-charged foreign currency. The closing of the localized industrial zones that had previously defined spatial relationships in Los Angeles was a requisite to this process. Of course, the existence of industrial zones incorporated in mixed-use zones throughout the Los Angeles Basin had defined the very structure that had allowed Los Angeles to operate as a polycentric city. Without this critical source of local employment, Hise, Schockman, and Dear argue that Los Angeles has become an "information city" centered on Downtown with a vast informal economy paying "poverty-level wages" left to employ the remainder of the city (Hise, 11). In this new economy, there was simply nothing left to allow the vast majority of Los Angeles to continue to operate as socially sustainable collection of local centers.

Of course, the effects of this decomposition of local economies could have been lessened if the Los Angeles city government had played some role in defining the nature of the new economy by simultaneously investing in job creation in the "new periphery". As Davis explains, the full extent of finance and information economies is never located solely in the CBD of a city. Rather, there are always "back-office" jobs, such as number crunching and data processing, that provide entry-level employment opportunities that are often located outside of the CBD. Davis argues that these jobs could have been funneled by the local government to the local communities most heavily affected by the closing of industrial plants in order to offset the detrimental effects of the re-centering of Los Angeles (Davis, 159). Simply put, however, the local government (headed by Bradley) appeared "indifferent to the new geography of service jobs" (ibid). The Bradley government was so consumed by the re-centering project that they completely "neglected investment in other parts of the city" as "jobs, safety, health, and welfare" in the Plains of Id became "lesser priorities" (Davis, 161).

As Hise, Schockman, and Dear explain, "communities [in Los Angeles] have been irrevocably altered…[as] issues of community and the public interest have taken a back seat" given a local government unable or unwilling to maintain a city created and defined

by polycentrism. As a result, the vibrant patchwork of local communities that once defined life throughout the Los Angeles Basin has fallen apart. Hise, Schockman, and Dear paint a disturbing picture:

> The collapse of community is one reason why [Los Angeles] is increasingly without a credible infrastructure. Crime is rife. The drug culture is recognized as a rational response to the absence of mainstream employment. Health care for the poor is increasingly difficult to obtain. The public schools are in a shambles. Homelessness is pandemic in the region, and the welfare system is on the verge of collapse (Hise, 11).

Los Angeles has become a city where those capable of accessing the new Downtown can live a life a wealth and prosperity, while those who cannot are subject to a life of meagerness and uncertainty. Moreover, this juxtaposition between the "glittering towers of corporate high-techdom" that define Downtown and the broader reality illuminated by Hise, Schockman, and Dear reflects a city "increasingly polarized along class, income, racial, and ethnic lines…[where] the disadvantaged classes are overwhelmingly people of color" (ibid). In fact, Hise, Schockman, and Dear, in the preface to "Rethinking Los Angeles", argue that the polarization of Los Angeles has been so complete, that the 1992 riots in South-Central Los Angeles, ignited by the acquittal of four police officers accused of using excessive force on Rodney King, can be understood as the end result of Los Angeles' "re-centering" project and City Hall's concomitant neglecting of the rest of the city. For Hise, Schockman, and Dear, the 1992 riots were many things (an economic referendum, a rebellion, civil unrest, etc.), but above all else, they were "an expression of outrage by peoples who find themselves increasingly marginalized in a changing society, without hope of realizing their vision of the American Dream" (Hise, x). If we accept this understanding of the 1992 riots, we must also accept that polycentrism has been completely lost in Los Angeles, that the city is badly broken and in desperate need of a new social contract and a new way of creating and defining the spaces and neighborhoods of the city.

CONCLUSION

Los Angeles at its best–as a potential model for the gathering of large populations in a densely packed area–is a polycentric city. That is how it was carefully defined over time and

Figure 2.7. Re-establishing Polycentrism

meant to operate. It is a place where, as Reyner Banham contended, Downtown is irrelevant because every part of the city is capable of supporting the everyday needs of society. And yet, we are left with the reality that the original forces that concentrated to create the polycentric city cannot be replicated. Global capitalism is a pervasive reality, and industrial manufacturing has, for the most part, left the city for other, comparatively cheaper, countries. We must resist the urge to be reactionary and search for ways to merely revert to the past, when Los Angeles was defined as the land of prosperity and limitless potential.

Within this reality, Los Angeles presents the perfect context for a study concerning the (re) discovery of *civitas* in the contemporary condition. It is a city which has lost the ability it once had to sustain and engage communities. If the 1992 riots prove anything, it is that the current interaction with global capitalism in Los Angeles is socially unsustainable; if left unaddressed, the city will eventually tear itself apart. What is needed is an altered return to polycentrism, a (re)discovery of the local capable of dealing with global economic implications. As it once did at the agora and medieval market square, public spaces must again become a true reflection of the needs and desires of local communities. New agoras, new forums, and new village greens must be established to root local communities and provide gathering spaces capable of resisting and preventing the type of governmental neglect that has pushed Los Angeles to the brink. Polycentrism, as a concept, has the capacity to achieve such a goal; globalization, if imbued with the right parameters, can operate at the local level. If polycentrism, and therefore community, is to be (re)discovered in Los Angeles, it will be because a new social contract has been fashioned in the forgotten and neglected spaces of the city, revealing an understanding that *civitas* requires all the people of the city have equal ability to shape and define the places where they live, not just those with access to Downtown.

III

The Miracle Mile: Locating and Revealing Civic Potential

> The Miracle Mile offered profound lessons concerning location. While Sears and Bullock's showed how large retail facilities could successfully operate in isolated but strategically placed sites created *de novo*, Ross's endeavors revealed how much the same ends could be achieved on a far more ambitious scale, offering a spectrum of goods and services that, at least in many people's minds, outshone the choices provided by the city center (Longstreth, 141).
>
> -Richard Longstreth

INTRODUCTION

The Miracle Mile is a one square mile district of the city of Los Angeles, located approximately halfway between Downtown and Santa Monica along the Wilshire Boulevard corridor in the central Los Angeles Basin. It is bordered by Fairfax Avenue to the West, 3rd Street to the North, La Brea Avenue to the East, and San Vicente Boulevard to the South. The district was originally developed by A.W. Ross in the 1920s during a period of general expansion away from the Downtown core and shift from a street-car transportation system to one dominated by the newly available automobile. Ross's development of the Miracle Mile, beginning in 1923, stands out among all other Los Angeles development in the first half of the twentieth century, in that nothing existed in the surrounding area at the time Ross started assembling land. As Richard Longstreth describes in *City Center to Regional Mall*, "much of the [Miracle Mile] area remained open land" with Ross "planning a large retail center absent a surrounding community" (Longstreth, 127). The district's name, in fact, stems from a widely-held belief at the time of its origin, that it was a "miracle" that Ross' development had survived. Ross's ultimate ambition, however, was greater than the creation of a mere retail center; Ross envisioned the Miracle Mile as a new "linear" Downtown serving the entire Los Angeles Basin (131).

Given the unprecedented scale and agenda of his development at the Miracle Mile, Ross' efforts to decentralize Los Angeles should be understood as an enormous success. By the middle of the 1930s—less than a decade after purchasing his first plot of land—department stores, including Bullock's, Sear's, Desmond's, and May Company, lined the edges of the Miracle Mile, ultimately shifting economic and political focus from Downtown to the Wilshire corridor and other outlying areas (127-41). In its success, the Miracle Mile became the pioneering development in the decentralization of Los Angeles, domination of the type of strip development championed by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown in

Learning from Las Vegas, and the eventual realization of a new, automobile-dominated urbanism that Reyner Banham originally dubbed "Autopia" in his 1971 work, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies*.

Supporting Banham's definition of a new Los Angeles urbanism, Longstreth argues that "the factor that appears to have been at the heart of the Miracle Mile's success was parking... the absence of space downtown was reputedly a basic reason that Ross embarked on his venture in the first place" (Longstreth, 134). Designing the city for the car instead of the pedestrian was a major step in American urban planning that has persisted into the current context. The negative impacts of this shift have been widely discussed, but it should also be noted that it is precisely this shift, in the specific context of Los Angeles, that allowed for the development of several individual communities throughout the Los Angeles Basin, resulting in a polycentric city. To this day, the Wilshire Boulevard corridor remains an important core for the city precisely because it continues to operate as one of Los Angeles' most important automobile thoroughfares.

Of course, a district defined by an elevation of the automobile over the pedestrian may not seem like the optimal location for a study in (re)discovering *civitas*. After all, I concluded in the first section of this paper that informal interaction between individuals has been the main characteristic of community formation in the historical context. The automobile, enabling the high-speed, isolated transport of individuals represents, perhaps, the most significant obstacle to the development of such spontaneous interaction.

Despite this challenge, however, the Miracle Mile should also be understood as a site of limitless potential regarding the re-establishment of polycentric urbanism and the eventual development of *civitas*. For instance, it is one of Los Angeles' most densely populated neighborhoods, with 15,000 inhabitants per square mile (uscensus.org). As the city's original alternate core, the Miracle Mile thus has the necessary critical mass needed to support the development of new civic buildings. Additionally, the Miracle Mile lies on one of the border zones between affluent and poverty-stricken neighborhoods defining Los Angeles' First World/Third World dichotomy that arose out of the "Downtown Renaissance" of the 1970s, outlining one of the few spaces in the city where the socio-political schism that came to a

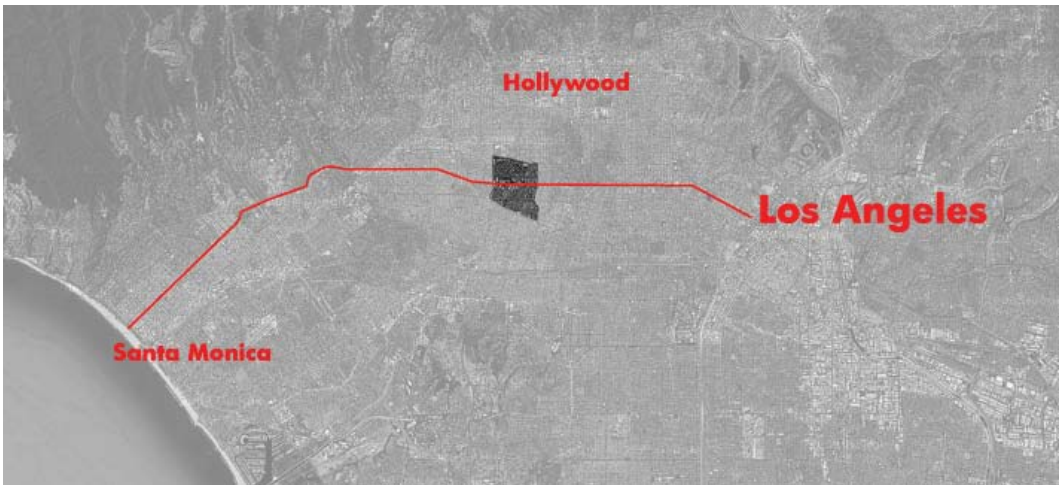


Figure 3.1. Miracle Mile Regional Location

head in 1992 can be addressed through architecture rather than policy-driven intervention. Lastly, and in spite of the re-emphasis on Downtown that led to the collapse of the Miracle Mile as a major retail center, the Miracle Mile remains one of Los Angeles' most important civic hubs given the presence of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA): one of the most important art collections in the city.

The Miracle Mile was chosen as the site for this study precisely because potentials for the re-establishment of *civitas* already exist. As Pruitt-Igoe, Morningside Heights, and countless other buildings of the Modern movement in architecture have shown, *tabula rasa* tactics cannot address the informal and ad-hoc layering of space required for the development of *civitas*. Rather, the Miracle Mile offers an opportunity to architecturally infill and complete an existing system defined by particular histories, characteristics, and qualities that demand a place-specific/local architectural solution. In choosing a site for its existing potentials and qualities over the "emptiness" sought by Modernist planners, the buildings proposed in this study will become an extension and an evolution of a particular place rather than the definition of a new and external reality.

The following section is an examination of both the existing potentials and limitations present in the Miracle Mile District of Los Angeles. The goal is to identify and describe the particular qualities of the neighborhood that make the Miracle Mile different from other districts in the city and thereby define ways in which a built intervention might buttress the existing characteristics that support *civitas* while simultaneously altering and subverting the characteristics that are preventing the Miracle Mile from currently operating as a site of civic engagement. The information presented in this section represents my personal analysis of the site chosen for this study, established over a three day site visit to the Miracle Mile district in December of 2009.

Figure 3.2. Wilshire Boulevard

CONTEMPORARY ELEMENTS

While the Miracle Mile was conceived as a retail corridor adapted to the needs of the automobile, the district, over the past eighty years, has evolved into one of Los Angeles' most dense mixed-use neighborhoods. In its contemporary configuration, the Miracle Mile can be understood as a collection of four basic components: the LACMA/Hancock Park complex North of Wilshire between Fairfax Avenue and Curson Avenue, an office and retail corridor stretching the length of Wilshire, the Park La Brea "planned" residential community to the North of LACMA, and a single family housing neighborhood to the South of Wilshire. Each of these four elements plays an important role in defining the *genius loci* (spirit of the place) for the Miracle Mile.

Originally established as part of the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art, LACMA relocated from a site in Southcentral Los Angeles, near the University of Southern California, to a donated site in Hancock Park in 1965 (wikipedia.com). Since that time, it has become one of the most important sites in the country for the display or art. With over 100,000 objects in its collection, LACMA is the largest museum in the Western United States (lacma.org). Due to this continued expansion, the museum has undergone several transformations and expansions, including the annexation of the abandoned May Company Building (one of A.W. Ross's original department stores) in 1994, and more recently, the opening of an entirely new wing in 2008: the Broad Contemporary Art Museum (BCAM), designed by the Renzo Piano Building Workshop (ibid).

With the presence of LACMA alone, the Miracle Mile should be understood as Los Angeles' most important arts district. Due to the monumental gravity of LACMA, however, several smaller museums, such as the Petersen Automotive Museum, California Craft + Folk Art Museum, and George C. Page Museum (which is linked to the La Brea Tar Pits in Hancock Park) are also located in the Miracle Mile, resulting in the district simultaneously being known as "Museum Row". This agglomeration of museums, coupled with the centrality of the Miracle Mile in the Los Angeles Basin and ease of access in comparison to other sites such as the Getty Center, I believe, defines the Miracle Mile, foremost, as Los Angeles' "Arts District".

Figure 3.3. Museum Row

Figure 3.4. LACMA

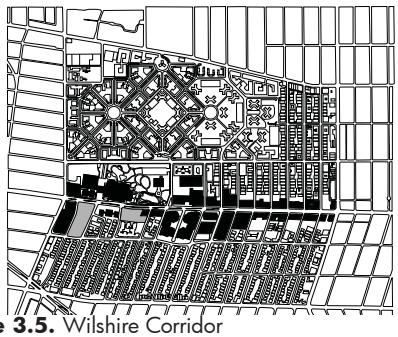


Figure 3.5. Wilshire Corridor

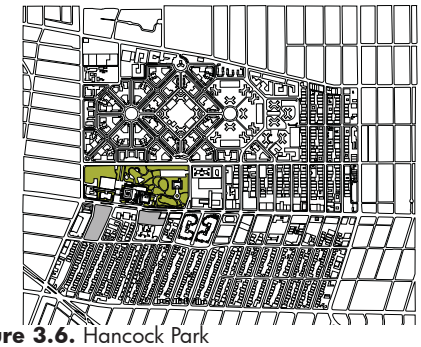


Figure 3.6. Hancock Park

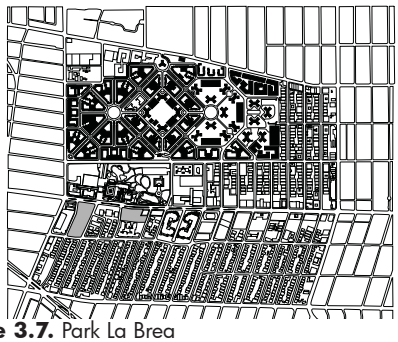


Figure 3.7. Park La Brea

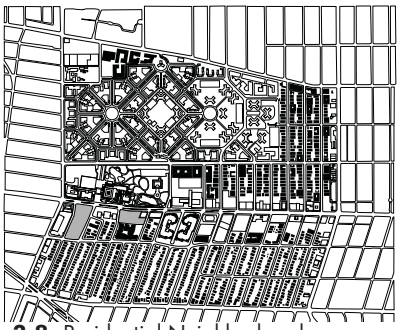


Figure 3.8. Residential Neighborhoods

In addition to Museum Row, the Miracle Mile also supports several large office towers and complexes, retail stores, and restaurants. Several large corporate entities, including Variety, the Screen Actor's Guild, CBS Radio, and Bank of America have prominent headquarters along Wilshire Boulevard. The majority of A.W. Ross's original buildings have been adapted for use as rentable office space. Thus, the Miracle Mile has become a major center for employment in Los Angeles and even boasts its own Chamber of Commerce to ensure that the district's individual companies are perceived as a holistic entity rooted in a specific location within the city (miraclemilechamber.org). Commercial retail and dining is located on the ground floor of most buildings along the eastern half of the Miracle Mile, between Curson Avenue and La Brea Avenue, though they are conspicuously absent from the areas directly adjacent to LACMA and Hancock Park.

Beyond the borders of Wilshire Boulevard, the Miracle Mile has become one of Los Angeles' densest residential neighborhoods, with more than 15,000 residents between the "planned" Park La Brea community North of Wilshire Boulevard, and the single-family residential neighborhood South of Wilshire. Park La Brea is a Corbusian development, complete with X-shaped residential towers situated in a landscape of community greens and smaller row houses. The neighborhood to the South is characterized by narrow streets, broad sidewalks, small lot lines, and continuous tree canopies. While both neighborhoods are extremely "walkable" and share a common commercial core and recreational park, these neighborhoods actually operate quite distinctly from one another. Each, for instance, has its own residential association, and Park La Brea is even surrounded by a gate, spatially and psychologically divorcing it from the rest of the district.

FRAGMENTATION

The schism between the Miracle Mile's two residential neighborhoods should be understood as a microcosm of the social and spatial composition of the district as a whole; the Miracle Mile, as a site of potential civic engagement, is fundamentally fragmented along several fault lines. Unlike the historic civic spaces examined in this study, in which the individual social and architectural elements that composed engaged societies overlapped through

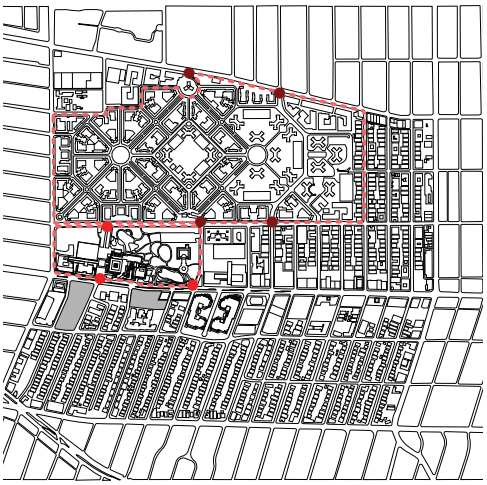


Figure 3.9. Fragmented Urbanism

Figure 3.10. Surveillance of the Public Realm

complex and critical processes, the individual elements that make up the Miracle Mile can be identified precisely because they currently operate independently of one another.

While the LACMA and Hancock Park complex has the potential to operate as a great civic unifier and symbol of the public realm for the Miracle Mile district, these elements currently operate like private corporate entities. The entire complex, located in the heart of the district, for instance, is surrounded by a six foot high fence. There are a four access points through the gate, dispersed around Hancock Park at regular intervals, posted with reminders to the public that the park and museum are monitored through closed-circuit television and security personnel. These signs state the terms of use for the complex as well as the opening and closing hours for the park. The homeless—who's presence often signifies the existence of a truly public domain—are absent from this public space. Thus, while Hancock Park represents the Miracle Mile's public domain in name, it actually resembles the guarded, isolated character of the Park La Brea community in function. Given Hancock Park's and Park La Brea's adjacency and enormous scales, nearly half of the Miracle Mile district operates as a gated community. Obviously, this type of guarded access to much of the district does not support the type of spontaneous, informal interaction between citizens that activated the civic spaces of the past.

Wilshire Boulevard, designed to primarily support the use of the automobile, also represents a highly fragmented landscape when experienced from the perspective and speed of the pedestrian. While there are several office headquarters, retail vendors, and restaurants along Wilshire in the Miracle Mile, the architecture is clearly composed in order to be viewed and understood by those traveling at 45 miles per hour in their vehicles. The ground level of the vast majority of Wilshire's buildings are presented to the pedestrian as "hard", inaccessible edges; the entrances to many of the buildings are either recessed away from Wilshire or located on the side streets that bisect the Boulevard. This lack of architectural interaction with the sidewalk is a common feature of buildings erected in the United States since the 1930s, leading to Reyner Banham's definition of a new building typology in 1976: the megastructure.

Figure 3.11. "Hard" Street Edge

Urban theorists, such as William H. Whyte and Jane Jacobs have argued vehemently against the merits of the megastructure typology. Whyte, for instance, in his film, *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*, presents documented evidence that the "hard" ground level edges of megastructures actually suppress engagement between people, necessarily denying the evolution of a critically engaged public sphere (Whyte, 1984). This theory, documented by Whyte in United States' cities such as New York City, Chicago, and Houston, accurately depicts the contemporary context in the Miracle Mile district; despite the presence of both workers and residents, ensuring continuous activation of the district throughout the 24 hour cycle, there is no street life on Wilshire Boulevard.

EXPANDING THE CIVIC REALM

Unlike much of the Miracle Mile, the residential neighborhood South of Wilshire Boulevard clearly accommodates the pedestrian and the development of an engaged community. The vehicular thoroughfares are very narrow, often accommodating only one-way traffic. There are broad sidewalks which establish a public domain. Small lots with minimum set-backs and a continuous tree canopy ensure that each residential street appears as a continuous community-oriented neighborhood, rather than a collection of individual homes. In my personal experience in the Miracle Mile—during several different times of day and days of the week—I encountered a far greater number of pedestrians in this neighborhood than I did along the whole of the commercial strip along Wilshire Boulevard. Whether or not this "communal" quality is the result of the slow, informal, ad-hoc development of this particular neighborhood by individual land owners—as compared with the profession dominated "top-down" approach used at Park La Brea and along Wilshire Boulevard—the urban qualities present in this neighborhood represent the clearest and best opportunity for both anchoring and expanding a new civic core in the Miracle Mile, as a means of combating the fragmentation that defines the district when viewed as a whole.

In his design for the expansion of LACMA, which opened for public use in 2008, Renzo Piano appears to have arrived at a similar conclusion concerning the civic role that LACMA might play in the Miracle Mile if its basic fabric were re-oriented and anchored to the surrounding elements of the district, including the residential neighborhood South of Wilshire Boulevard. Though the LACMA commission was established due to the museum's need to accommodate an expanding contemporary art collection—the main function of the new Broad Contemporary Art Museum (BCAM) designed by the Renzo Piano Building Workshop—an additional intervention was proposed in Piano's masterplan which does not serve any functional purpose in the operation of the museum: the BP Grand Entrance. This entrance is described on the Renzo Piano Building Workshop website as follows:

> The gravity centre of the whole project is the BP Grand Entrance, where visitors' facilities are accommodated. It is built on the axe of the former Ogden Avenue, which was cleared in order to give the site the desired cohesion. In the same manner, the parking lot was moved underground, thus affording an expanded landscape and, consequently, a visual link with the adjacent Hancock Park. Featuring a steel canopy, the pavilion seems to be floating over a vast courtyard that opens northwards to the park and southwards to Wilshire Boulevard. Here, Chris Burden's art installation, a dense multitude of street lamps, visually introduces visitors and passers-by to the art and vibrant life of the museum (rpbw.r.ui-pro.com).

Given this first-hand description of the project, it becomes clear that Piano's main goal for the LACMA renovations was not the accommodation of an expanding art collection, but rather the re-enforcing of LACMA's primary role as the civic center of the Miracle Mile and the promotion of a "vibrant" pedestrian-oriented street life capable of stretching across

Figure 3.12. BCAM + Pedestrian Axis

Figure 3.13. Chris Burden's Installation

Wilshire Boulevard. The major question raised by this study, however, is whether or not a museum complex, on its own, is capable of promoting and supporting *civitas*.

Despite the intentions of Piano's masterplan, it is my belief, based on my study of historic architectural typologies capable of sustaining *civitas*, that LACMA and Hancock Park alone are not enough to establish the Miracle Mile as one of the major nodes in the renewal of polycentrism in Los Angeles. The museum, in particular, is a static construct. Visitors drive to a parking lot buried beneath LACMA, ascend to the entrance, pay to enter, view art, return to their vehicles, and leave. LACMA does not currently offer any kind of secondary amenities that might entice visitors to linger in the Miracle Mile either before or after their visit to the museum. More importantly, beyond the shaded sitting area provided by the canopy at the BP Grand Entrance, LACMA does not have an *everyday* functional value for the full-time inhabitants of the Miracle Mile's residential neighborhoods. In historic contexts, the needs and desires of the everyday population provided the catalyst for defining public space capable of supporting *civitas*. Without a programmatic function aimed at supporting these everyday needs, it is unlikely that LACMA, on its own, will be capable of provoking the type of critical engagement that might lead to the formation of a place specific community node and re-emphasize polycentrism as a workable model for urban design in Los Angeles. This critique is not meant to downplay the role that the museum might play in defining a new civic hub in the Miracle Mile; rather, it should be considered the most important piece. However, to transform LACMA into a site of *civitas,* I believe, requires the addition of ancillary buildings capable of supporting and uniting the Miracle Mile's everyday population.

LOCATING AN ARCHITECTURAL INTERVENTION

In the context of this study, Piano's attempted re-orientation of the primary function of LACMA from the display of art to the active promotion of an engaged civic society is the dominant reason that the Miracle Mile was chosen as a site for the testing of a broader theory concerning the re-establishment of polycentrism in the city of Los Angeles. With Piano's intervention, LACMA now represents the type of civic "potential" that can support a "parasitic" infill project of additional civic buildings aimed at completing the functional communal necessities required for the emergence of *civitas*. Simultaneously, LACMA, with Piano's intervention, now defines the *genius loci* capable of illustrating and modeling the specific character and qualities of the infill project proposed later in this study. In this way, LACMA becomes the anchor and driving force in the establishment of a new, holistic community hub, rooted in the specificity of a particular place, capable of serving the same basic function that the agora performed for societies in ancient Greece.

To achieve the end-goal of transforming LACMA into a local civic hub through an infill intervention, three specific sites were chosen during a three day visit to the Miracle Mile as the proposed locations for the architectural project proposed in this study. All three sites are directly adjacent to LACMA and Hancock Park and strategically located to expand on preliminary re-orientation of LACMA already established by Renzo Piano's additions to the LACMA campus.

The first site of investigation is an irregularly shaped city block located directly across Wilshire Boulevard from Piano's BCAM building. The site measures approximately 650 feet from North to South and 250 feet from East to West. It is bordered to the west by Ogden Avenue, which serves as a natural extension of the pedestrian axis developed for the BP Grand Entrance. Situated directly across Wilshire from BCAM, the site also offers an opportunity to enter into a direct architectural dialogue with Piano's built intervention, symbolically bridge the automobile traffic along Wilshire, and create an entryway into the Miracle

Mile district near the intersection of Fairfax Avenue and Wilshire Boulevard. At the southern end of the block, the site comes into direct contact with the residential neighborhood previously discussed, creating an opportunity to expand the civic realm of LACMA beyond the Wilshire corridor and directly link the project to the Miracle Mile's everyday population. The site is currently occupied by a derelict building along Wilshire Boulevard and two apartment buildings at the southern residential end. Beyond these buildings, the site is largely unoccupied.

The second site of investigation is located on a common north-south axis with the first site within the boundaries of Hancock Park, directly north of Piano's BCAM and A.W. Ross's May Company Building. The site is currently designated as garden and park space in Piano's masterplan for LACMA. However, as that piece of the masterplan is yet un-built, the site remains vacant. The site is L-shaped, with maximum dimensions of approximately 325 feet from North to South and 575 feet from East to West. This site was chosen for the location's potential to continue the pedestrian axis North into Park La Brea and create a continuous civic space linking the two disparate residential neighborhoods in the Miracle Mile. Likewise, the site's location offers an opportunity to directly infuse the space of Hancock Park and LACMA with programmatic elements based on the needs of the Miracle Mile's permanent population and symbolically erode the artificial boundaries (i.e. fences) erected around both Park La Brea and Hancock Park.

The final site of investigation is located directly across Wilshire Boulevard from the Eastern end of Hancock Park. The site shares a city block with an existing apartment complex and is currently used for surface parking. The site measures approximately 225 feet from North

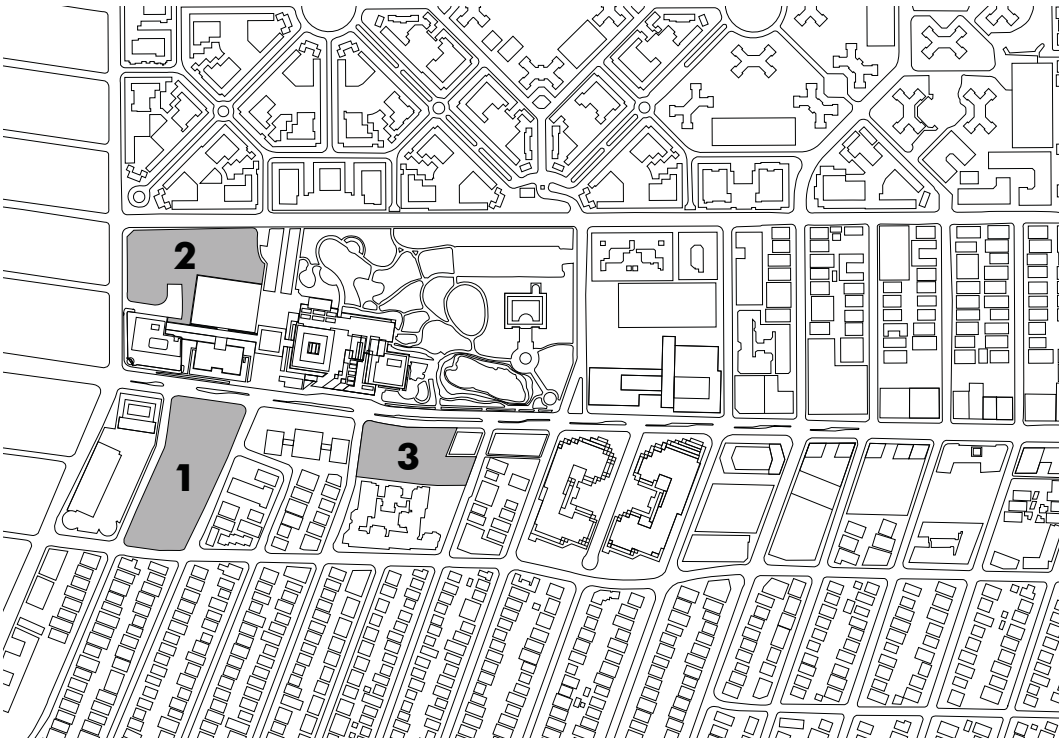


Figure 3.14. Three Sites

to South and 500 feet from East to West. It was chosen given its frontage on Wilshire Boulevard and direct adjacency to Hancock Park. The site represents both an opportunity to expand the civic heart of the district further to the East and, through architectural intervention, establish an active, pedestrian-oriented street life along Wilshire Boulevard.

In the context of this study, these three sites are not defined or examined as separate entities, but rather as a singular site enveloping the LACMA/Hancock Park complex, providing the space needed to transform LACMA into a functioning public space capable of supporting *civitas*. These sites were chosen primarily for their adjacency to LACMA and Hancock Park. It is true, however, that several other sites in the Miracle Mile might have served this purpose. It is, therefore, important to emphasize the fact that these sites, for the most part, are currently unoccupied by existing buildings. Ultimately, this study proposes an infill project, adding civic value to the Miracle Mile without destroying the existing context that currently established the Miracle Mile's identity.

CONCLUSION

The ultimate goal of this study is to test a theory aimed at re-establishing polycentric urbanism in Los Angeles as a means of renewing the city's social contract and (re)discovering *civitas*. Historically, the Miracle Mile was the city's most important alternative core to Downtown. In the contemporary context, there are several existing potentials that identify the Miracle Mile as a potential site for a renewed focus on polycentrism. LACMA provides identity for the district and a concrete starting point for the development of a place-specific program and architectural language. As the failures of the Modern movement in the United States have shown, un-rooted, *tabula rasa* planning often leads to formation of alienated populations. Several urban problems can be identified that are currently preventing the Miracle Mile from serving as a civic core in Los Angeles, but it also offers an identifiable "place" with which to respond.

IV

Adapted Methodology: Defining the New Public Space

> Interaction comes with the supposition that there is exchange in the encounters and negotiations that happen between free and equal citizens. It is a representation of social recognition. Public space, then is not a designated place overseen by corporate interest for maximum tax rebate, or as part of the fiction of good corporate citizenship that is financed by the state. It is rather an active space for the expression of popular sovereignty, an agonistic public sphere (Enwezor, 10).
>
> -Okwui Enwezor

INTRODUCTION

Though the agora, forum, and market square serve aptly as historic precedents in identifying common socio-cultural tendencies and processes that have led to the successful production of civic space, their actual built form should have little bearing on the architectural definition of contemporary public spaces. In the time since the Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution the demographic, economic, and technological compositions of cities has been fundamentally altered. New building typologies have emerged over the course of the past century in reaction to these shifts in urban development; several have surfaced in response to the need for new, post-industrial spaces of civic engagement.

In developing a framework useful for the examination of architectural precedent concerning public space and the promotion of *civitas* in a post-industrial suburban context—such as Los Angeles—the scope of this study was narrowed exclusively to built form. Historically, open spaces, such as the agora, piazza, and Main Street have played crucial roles in the formation of critically engaged communities. However, in much of the contemporary American city, as Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour point out in their work, *Learning from Las Vegas*:

> The space that divides high-speed highway and low, sparse buildings produces no enclosure and little direction. To move through a piazza is to move between high enclosing forms. To move through this landscape is to mover over vast expansive texture: the texture of the commercial landscape (Venturi, Scott Brown, 13).

The power of open spaces as public gathering places in the pre-industrial context was defined by the fact that they offered a spatial release from the density of the rest of the city. In the post-industrial American city, the figure ground relationship of built form to void has been reversed. Vast open space now composes the fabric of the city with buildings as the

anomaly. And, while Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour were analyzing what they found in Las Vegas in 1971, their description can be applied equally well to the contemporary condition found throughout Los Angeles, and more specifically, along the Wilshire Boulevard corridor in the Miracle Mile. While historic civic space was defined as void, designing an open space within the landscape of the Miracle Mile would most certainly be a rejection of context: a piazza without meaning or purpose.

Given this fundamental shift in city form, this section focuses on the analysis of new building typologies of the past half-century that have attempted to (re)discover the communal spirit of the agora, piazza, and Main Street in the interior spaces of built form. Specifically, three prominent typologies have been chosen for the analysis: the community center, the cultural center, and mixed-use development. Within the analysis of each typology, individual projects have been chosen for comparison in order to identify each typology's inherent potentials and limitations and develop a composite architectural methodology for use in designing a new civic core in the Miracle Mile district of Los Angeles.

COMMUNITY CENTER

The community center is a typology that is represented throughout the world. The typology has been able to achieve this level of cross-cultural success due, in large part, to a focus on generic universalism. Regardless of the location, the program tends to focus on recreation as a means of gathering people in a communal space. A large, undefined "multi-purpose" room is also commonly included. In this way, the built form unites people through the execution of a basic everyday need: exercise. Ideally, this focus on basic needs and the presence of the multi-purpose room allow a community center to be built as a universal container capable of adapting over time to the specific needs of the people that come to inhabit it.

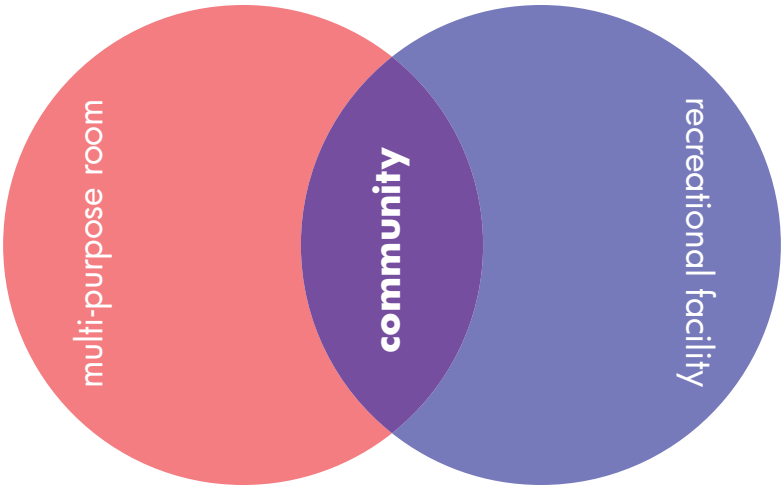


Figure 4.1. Community Center Methodology

GLENEAGLES COMMUNITY CENTER
West Vancouver, British Columbia, 2003
Patkau Architects

The Gleneagles Community Center's program is centered on a gymnasium, with a multipurpose room, community living room, fitness rooms, and childcare facilities situated around the periphery. As Patkau Architects elaborate on their website:

> The gymnasium volume is a unifying space that rises through all three levels of the building. Glazed walls allow visual connection between the major program components so that the interior of the community centre is animated by the complex variety of simultaneous activities that comprise the social life of the building (www.patkau.ca).

Given the symbolic centrality of the gymnasium and corresponding fitness rooms, the building can be read primarily as a recreational facility. Implicit to this spatial organization is the notion that recreational activity will be the agent to bring individuals together as a community. The hope seems to be that the visual connection provided through the glazed walls will lead to informal personal contact once the game is through, moving into and activating the multi-purpose room and community living room. Of course, this notion of community emerging through recreation is not a new one; rather, it was one of the central arguments in Le Corbusier's description of his *Contemporary City,* where the crowds would gather in the vast parks planned beneath the skyscrapers and games and sporting would ensue (Le Corbusier, 324). The problem that has always existed is that once the game is through, what is left to hold the people together as a community? In Le Corbusier's *Contemporary City*, the city was zoned into seperate programmatic parts, effectively negating these possibilities. By situating the gymnasium within other spaces, Patkau Architects attempt to address this proble. However, without giving the multi-purpose room and the communal living room a defined programmatic function, they have left the emergence of community entirely up to the users. Without providing some other major function—some reason to spontaneously linger—what is left to hold the people together once the game in through?

OAKDALE COMMUNITY CENTER
North York, Ontario, 1999
Patkau Architects

The decision to include two community centers by the same architecture firm came from an understanding of the community center typology as a kind of universal model. While this community center is located in an entirely different region of Canada from the Gleneagle Community Center, it can be seen from the plan below that the programmatic elements and arrangement of spaces are almost identical. In place of a glazed partition connecting the multi-purpose rooms to the recreational space, there is instead an internal street, meant, as described by Patkau Architects, "to support a variety of informal activities" (www.patkau.ca). However, to at least some degree, the very notion of community center implies some kind of connection to community. For instance, in the medieval market, functions and spaces arose out of communal needs, mutually reinforcing one another. Yet, at the Gleneagle and Oakdale centers, the attempt to make space flexible has required the function to be universalized. In these schemes, there can be no overt ties to place, no way to connect the design of the building to the individual characteristics and needs of the specific communities these buildings are meant to address. They are instead designed with the basest needs in mind: recreation and gathering.

THE CLUBHOUSE
Commune by the Great Wall
Badaling, China, 2002
Seung H-Sang

The most obvious difference between this community center and the community centers designed by Patkau Architects is its siting and relationship to the surrounding context. Whereas the Gleneagle center was plugged into an existing fabric, the Clubhouse was part of a larger development of a total commune. Thus, the Clubhouse has a captive audience of several privately owned homes, removed from the chaos of Beijing. Indeed, the development of a specific community was one of the stated goals of the Clubhouse. As the architect elaborates:

> I think it is time to think about Asian originality laid beyond human rationality, science and technology...architecture of communality is one of top priority in a highly fragmentized modern society (H-Sang, 178).

And yet, despite this sentiment toward specificity and locality, in many ways, the program is identical to Gleneagle. Common sitting rooms are arranged next to the recreational facilities–in this case an olympic-size swimming pool instead of a gymnasium. Once again, the ubiquitous multi-purpose room is included (H-Sang, 180). Rather than the community defining a use for the room that might best serve their collective needs, the multi-purpose room is often rented out for conferences (www.communebythegreatwall.com). Thus, a collection of people must first organize themselves outside the walls of the community center before this type of room becomes of any use. Like the Gleneagle Community Center, in trying to remain flexible to the needs of the community, the Clubhouse does not contain an option to spontaneously gather. Such spontaneous gathering was one of the characteristics that made the agora and medieval market successful as models for supporting communities.

ANALYSIS

The plan and program of a community center is actually quite similar to the original agora. There is a communal gathering space, around which, several rooms for more specific

Figure 4.2. Big-Box Community Center

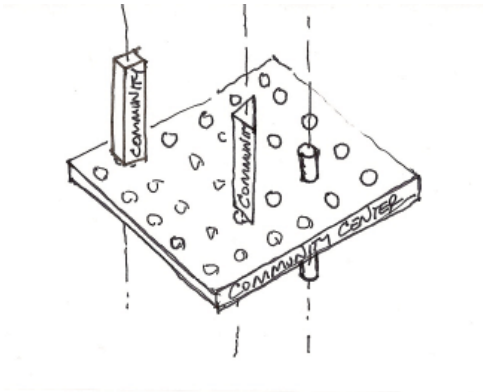


Figure 4.3. Lack of Specificity

purposes are clustered. The main difference is the way in which they are brought into form. The agora, for instance, was formed gradually out of the existing street pattern, expanding as necessary, with the individual structures being added as the need for their function arose. The community center attempts to compact this process into one design move. For instance, a need for communities to have large rooms to congregate has clearly been identified. However, in trying to produce the space before the community has aggregated, these spaces are left as multi-purpose rooms. The fact that the agora evolved alongside the community in ancient Greece meant that specific rites, rituals, and traditions were associated with the individual spaces when they arose. The community center, contrastingly, offers empty space. The typology must declare itself a community center and hope that some grouping of people that have already defined themselves as a community find a meaning for it. Of course, if a community has already managed to form elsewhere, there is little use for a new typology.

CULTURAL CENTER

The cultural center, in many ways, is a new typological construct that is deeply rooted in colonialism. Prior to the period of global colonization, civilizations developed, with exceptions of trade and warfare, largely independent of one another. When cultures evolved internally, there was no need for the cultural center; every public building was a product of that particular culture. Thus, in the modern context, the cultural center has emerged out of the need to commemorate lost or foreign cultures—a celebration of "otherness", and in many ways, a learning and teaching facility.

JEAN MARIE TJIBAOU CULTURAL CENTER
Noumean, New Caledonia, 1998
Renzo Piano Building Workshop

The Tjibaou Cultural Center was conceived by the French Government as the only one of its Grand Projects to be located outside of France. New Caledonia has been ruled by France for the past 100 years, and is home to the indigenous Kanak culture (www.wikipedia.com). The building was meant as a way of celebrating the local culture, while simultaneously

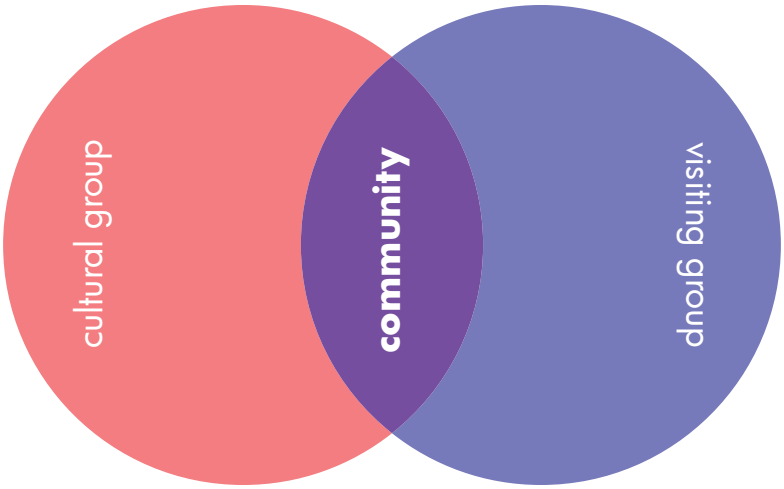


Figure 4.4. Cultural Center Methodology

allowing it to evolve and change.

Along these lines, the building's form was conceived by Renzo Piano as a collection of ten individual "cases", collected along a central pathway as a new community "village" (A+U, 93). Included in the program are several spatial elements meant to celebrate the Kanak culture, such a theater for performances, several exhibition halls, and learning rooms, where visitors can interact first-hand with the Kanak culture (http://rpbw.r.ui-pro.com).

As the building is also meant to allow the culture to evolve in new ways, a library, digital imaging center, and several studio spaces were also included in the program. There are also several living quarters to allow visiting artists and researchers to stay for prolonged periods directly on the grounds (ibid).

As Renzo Piano points out, "there is a rich contradiction" inherent to this kind of project. In interacting with the Kanak people, Piano came to the realization that "from one side they love to be Kanak and to be something from their rich interesting past, on the other hand, the same people feel very proud too to be part of modernity" (A+U, 92). Thus, in the very act of hiring an Italian architect for a culturally specific building implies a desire to interact with the outside world. The building thus becomes a symbol of that desire. However, there is a disjunction between this desire and the actual functions of the building. When the building was positioned as a type of exhibition hall, it set up a one-sided input system. The Kanak people will create and display varying works of art, but the visitor becomes mere spectator, unable to give anything back to the Kanak culture. There is no possibility for cross-cultural interaction or redefinition of meaning that would actually allow the Kanak culture to become a part of modernity. The building functions more as a spectacle to be consumed than as a generator of diverse and complex communities.

EXPERIENCE MUSIC PROJECT
Seattle, Washington, 2000
Frank Gehry

Despite their clear geographical and formal differences, the Experience Music Project is an equally clear precedent for the typology of the cultural center as the Tjibaou Cultural Center. Rather than celebrating an indegenous culture in a colonial context, the Experience Music Project celebrates the art of making music. What makes these buildings different from museums is the promise that the visitor, rather than statically viewing art, is actually able to interact with the culture on display. Thus, the Experience Music Project has a nearly identical program to that of the Tjibaou Cultural Center: indoor and outdoor theaters for live performances, exhibition halls, and most importantly, learning rooms, where visitors are given the chance to participate in the act of making (GA Document, 10). The main difference lies in the fact that there is no live culture interacting with these spaces, as the Kanak people do at Tjibaou. There is no community engaging the building in new and spontaneous ways; every act is planned. It is a building created solely for the paying customer, the notion of culture as commodity, and the power of the spectacle. In many ways, the form of the Experience Music Project reflects these qualities, the highly stylized form projecting its cultural significance through its inherent juxtaposition with the surrounding urban fabric rather developing a mutually supportive dialogue.

ANALYSIS

As Lewis Mumford explains in his book, *The City in History*, the agoras and markets of the past always contained elements for "social entertainment" (Mumford, 149). Indeed, in

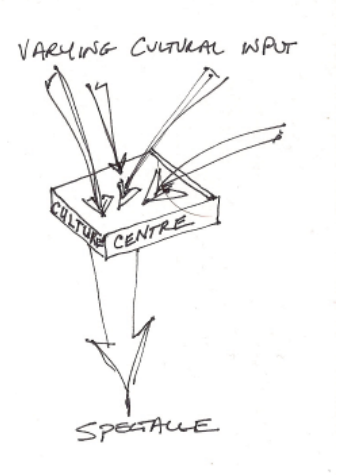


Figure 4.5. Production of Spectacle

Figure 4.6. Cultural Divide

the ancient cities of Miletus and Timgad, the theater was positioned in direct relationship to the market (Zucker, 38-44). The theater was an extension of the community, a way for society to identify and understand itself. The cultural centers discussed here, however, are differentiated from this precedent. Rather than vessels capable of supporting the showcase of an ever-changing society, the cultural center is a memorialization, taking specific elements of culture and putting them on display to be consumed by the visitor. In order for this process to occur, the culture must already exist, and more importantly, be considered worthy of tribute. The active formation of the rituals by a community does not happen in the space. Rather, cultural centers are sieves that filter external cultural input and fix it in time to make it purchasable as spectacle. Moreover, once this process has occurred, there is no way for the visitor to critically engage the culture. They may interact with the spectacle, but these interactions will not have any altering effect. The spectacle cannot be adjusted to the needs or desires of a new community. The cultural center is ultimately a jewel box for the preservation of culture and community, not a platform for its active creation.

COMMUNITY THROUGH IMBRICATION

Unlike the community center and cultural center, the buildings presented here do not attempt to define a completely new typology as a means of promoting *civitas*. Rather, these projects innovate on an existing methodology of mixed-use development to overlap several well-established typologies in new ways to promote the development of critically engaged local communities. While each project focuses on the needs of everyday populations, each building has been designed in response to nuanced understandings of local cultural and social contexts.

BRYGHUSPROJEKTET
Copenhagen, Denmark
Unbuilt
Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA)

The Bryghusprojektet is a mixed-use development along the Copenhagen harbour front. It comes at a time when the previously underutilized waterfront is being actively developed

as a new urban space within the city. To this point, however, Koolhaas argues that the site "lacks any identity", with "public spaces, city, and water [merging] into one" (www.oma.eu). Furthermore, the site lies between two zoned districts of the city: the government district defined by offices and historic buildings, and a commercial district. One of the stated goals for the project is to link these two zones, creating a cohesive urban district. To this end, the building has a varied program including: an administration center and auditorium for the Danish Architecture Center, laboratories for the conducting of research, the offices for RealDania, rentable office space, commercial space, and several urban plazas defined as public space to connect the city to the waterfront. Koolhaas describes the project as an "urban motor", where the project creates a "new impulse and language" for Copenhagen by "turning the constraints into exciting conditions" (ibid).

Koolhaas' method for creating new and exciting urban conditions, given a set program, is the "program heap". In contrast to the stacked section, where Koolhaas argues program becomes autonomous, despite its relationship to a larger structure, the "program heap" is meant to provide the possibility for "unexpected and unpredictable situations where each program is made aware of its coexistence with others" (www.oma.eu). In order to have a meeting with a co-worker, a DAC employee might have to leave their office, cross a public plaza, pass through the RealDania offices before reaching the office of their co-worker. In countless daily processes such as this, workers from different offices and shoppers will constantly come into contact with one another, weaving the two zones adjacent to the site into a single district, while simultaneously creating a situation where spontaneous and informal human interaction can occur.

This concept is very similar to a description of New York City's Downtown Athletic Club first presented by Koolhaas in *Delirious New York*. In the essay, he argues that, in the context of the formally gridded city with individual plots zoned for specific uses, the possibility for unexpected programmatic pairings in unexpected places within buildings provides a way to define new social activity and community in the post-industrial city (Koolhaas, 152). On the ninth floor of the Athletic Club, for instance, a locker room joins a boxing ring with an oyster bar. Everything from swimming pools and golf courses to restaurants and sleeping quarters are grouped on the individual floors of the building. This is the type

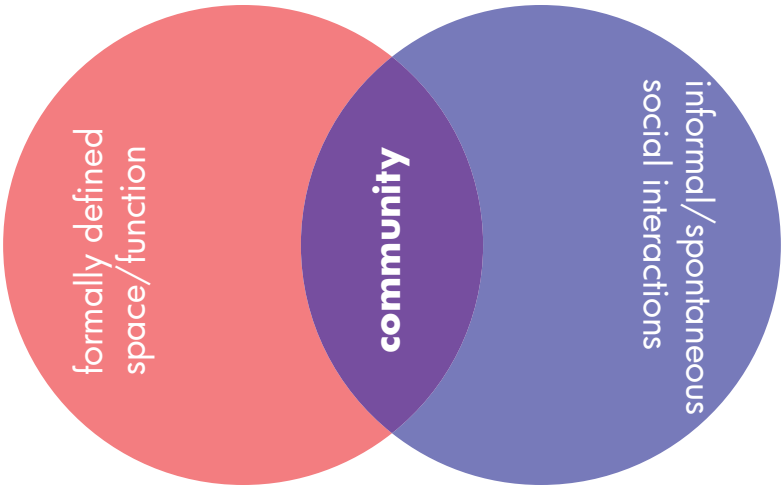


Figure 4.7. Imbrication Methodology

of social overlap that defined the agoras and markets of past cities, but can no longer be achieved in the open air of the post-industrial city due to zoning laws put in place during the twentieth century. In how individuals choose to interact with the varying and unexpected programs, new informal connections might occur that otherwise would have never had the chance, revealing the potential for new types of communities to emerge.

41 COOPER SQUARE
New York, New York
2009
Morphosis

41 Cooper Square is a new academic facility for The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art. The program includes academic lecture halls, laboratories, individual faculty offices, an exhibition gallery, auditorium, and retail space. Similarly to OMA's Bryghusprojektet, these programmatic elements are arranged as to be physically interconnected and overlapping in order to "encourage interconnection between the school's Engineering, Art, and Architecture departments" (www.morphosis.com). While the several open public spaces provided in the Bryghusprojektet had implications on the circulation of the building, the path for traversing the spaces was mostly left up to the individual user. At 41 Cooper Square, Morphosis has placed almost the entire emphasis on the circulation: the building was conceived as a vertical piazza (ibid).

A central atrium rises the full height of the building, with an over-sized grand staircase and several "sky bridges" serving as gathering spaces for students and faculty. The main elevator core houses skip-stop express elevators that stop only on the 5th and 8th floors, where administrative functions are located (ibid). Thus, the hope is that the grand staircase will become the sole way for most people to move through the building, creating the possibility for spontaneous social interaction.

The inclusion of gallery and retail space, coupled with the transparency of the ground level, is meant to situate the building within its surrounding environment and entice the general public into the building to take part in this new kind of social gathering place.

WHITECHAPEL IDEA STORE
London, United Kingdom, 2005
David Adjaye

The series of Idea Stores, to which the Whitechapel Idea Store belongs, began from the notion that libraries could become the important community gathering center in local neighborhoods. Each Idea Store offers a broad range of programmatic uses. For instance, at the Whitechapel Idea Store, adult, teen, and children's libraries have been combined with a dining room, dance studio, massage and therapy room, teaching rooms, internet lounges, and a community deck (A+U, 74). Thus, a person might enter the Idea Store looking for a particular book and in the process wind up signing up for a dance or continuing education class (A+U, 82). As people congregate through these types of informal decisions to linger in the space, communities would grow. The inclusion of a dining room can be seen as a hopeful nod to the future, when these communities might even decide to stay for dinner.

At its core, the Whitechapel Idea Store relies on the same types of spatial imbrications that define both the Bryghusprojektet and 41 Cooper Square. However, there are certain peculiarities about the design that separate it from these previous studies. To begin with,

at the entrance to the building, Adjaye "omits the void": the facade of the building is suspended over the street, and an escalator that begins at the sidewalk pulls individuals into the building (Adjaye, 126). For Adjaye, the sidewalk is one of the only remaining public spaces where human beings can truly interact on an informal level. Thus, as Okwui Enwezor describes, in discussing the Whitechapel Idea Store, "the social value is [outlined] by integrating and folding the structure into the skin of the regular commercial activities of the street" (Enwezor, 11). The building is meant to become an internal extension of the sidewalk, and the sidewalk an extension of the building.

To counter the potential limit on informal interaction caused by entering to the interior of the building, Adjaye attempted to instill in the Idea Store a "multiplicity of access" (Adjaye, 124). He conceived the Idea Store not as a single building with multiple spaces, but as several buildings collected in a superstructure and accessed by an internal street. At the center of the building, a bifurcated stairwell prevents the movement between levels from becoming strictly regimented (A+U, 74). Thus, Adjaye argues, people are able to discover their "own personal journey" through space: no two trips to the Idea Store were ever supposed to be identical (Adjaye, 124). Thus, the very organizational layout of the building is saturated with the informal qualities of everyday life.

However, unlike the community centers discussed previously, Adjaye does not leave space unprogrammed to be interpreted and given meaning at a later date. Rather, he actively attempts to instill the spaces of the Idea Store with public meaning. What separates this notion from becoming an authoritarian definition of community is Adjaye's willingness to provide the context for human interaction without trying to define the specific characteristics or outcome of that interaction. With the Whitechapel Idea Store, David Adjaye attempted to create a public building capable of eliciting a "wide range of possible responses", allowing the community to engage and access the building in ways best suited to their own needs and desires.

ANALYSIS

As Deborah Burke argues in an essay entitled "Thoughts on the Everyday", "the difference between an 'architecture of the everyday' and everyday buildings lies precisely in the consciousness of the act of making architecture" (226). The point is, of course, very clear: despite the best of intentions of an architect, their singular vision can never match the type of built space rooted to community that we saw at the agora and medieval market square. Adjaye seems to understand and embrace this contradiction. As he explains:

> There is a certain amount of investigation that I make personally about a project, almost, as it were, in silence. Later, when I gather more information, it is a real test of the resilience of that silent perception...I am not interested in reinforcing my own conceit about something. I am more interested in seeing how clos it can come to satisfying the complete scenario (126-7).

This movement between individual thought and collective reality may explain the focus on a "multiplicity of access" exhibited by all three of these projects. Without knowing exactly how the community will respond to a building, imbue it with as many possibilities as possible and allow the user to distill their own meaning. Despite this move toward informality, however, materiality, spatial and programmatic arrangement, and access all remain decisions of the singular designer: under the best conditions, an approximation of reality.

The question also remains: can public space truly exist in the interiors of privately owned buildings? As Okwui Enwezor argues, "Public space is never an open space. It is constantly

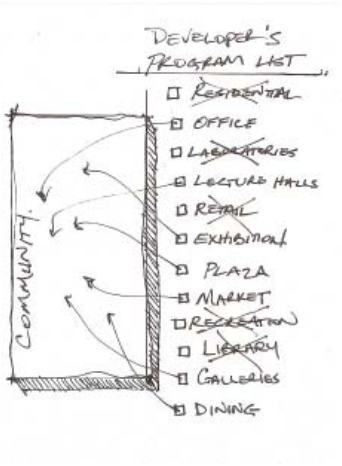


Figure 4.8. Programmatic Punch-List

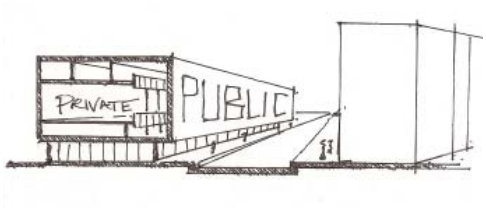


Figure 4.9. Illusion of "Publicness"

legislated, monitored, and reconnoitered by official institutions" (9). This is, of course, the case at all three projects presented, though Koolhaas' project does include a public park. Given this reality, one must question the ability for communities to informally and spontaneously gather in such spaces. Moreover, unlike at the agora and medieval market, these buildings do not allow the general public to influence or shape the programmatic features and functions of the buildings. Rather, those decisions are left up to the developer. Depending on the priorities of that developer, such projects may be more or less successful in approximating the needs of communities, but nonetheless, they remain approximations.

CONCLUSION

There is no perfect way to translate the informality and spontaneity of the agora and medieval market square to the interior spaces of privately owned buildings. The way buildings are designed and constructed has drastically changed in the wake of the Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution. However, that should never stop us from searching for an "architecture of the everyday" capable of supporting and engaging communities.

Despite the collective limitations of the final three projects presented in this chapter, they bring several key elements together in ways that community centers and cultural centers cannot. For instance, they provide a definitive program, overlapped to encourage informal human interaction. There are obvious reasons, unlike the community center, to inhabit these spaces (work, education, etc.). Secondly, they provide multiple ways of moving through and understanding the building. Most importantly, there is a focus in all three projects on providing the kinds of spaces that can be adapted, or co-opted once the building has been opened to the public; there is a focus on designing for spontaneity. This focus is also clearly articulated in the community center examples, but the existence of a definitive program is what actually gets people to the buildings defined by imbrication. Informal congregation can only occur if people are operating in close proximity to one another.

We may never be able to recreate the agora. However, that is not necessarily the point. The agora is not the only type of space capable of supporting *civitas*, as long as people are able to assemble and define the character of their communities. Architecture that is

actively designed to be co-opted and reinterpreted by the intended user group might well be capable of fulfilling these requirements. It is in this way that the mixed-use projects have separated themselves from the strict dogma of the Modernist agenda. There is an act of refocusing on the people. And, as Michel de Certeau argues, "the everyday has never had its own space, and has always required an act of co-optation" (xii). Even at the agora, the individual buildings would have been designed and erected by a handful of individuals, not the whole of society. As long as the focus remains on the needs of the people—allowing the people to interpret and make the space their own, instilling it with their own rites and rituals—*civitas* can be a possible outcome.

V

The Everyday Community: Programming the L.A.gora

> The history of architecture has demonstrated that the formal has been at the forefront in terms of articulating the aesthetics of architecture but that the informal has always played a powerful role within society. I think that the formal has always been about a way of viewing an ideal whereas the informal is about everyday reality. Behind this question is the fact that we know how to deliver formal buildings but we are not so good at making informal those buildings that are about how human beings interact (Adjaye, 122).
>
> -David Adjaye

INTRODUCTION

The base needs of modern society—common across cultures—include access to food, exercise, adequate housing, education, employment, and some kind of public gathering space (whether religious or secular). In the Chicago School core-periphery model of urbanism, defined by the zoning of functions, these elements of everyday life are separated in several different locations in the city, requiring populations to commute great distances around the city. In Los Angeles, the shift of the city's basic structure from polycentrism to a core-periphery model has created a social divide between those with the means of commuting in and out of Downtown and those who do not. In an effort to ultimately combat this trend and prevent the future eruption of violence similar to the riots of 1992, this study seeks to identify strategic areas within Los Angeles where the base needs of society might once again be coalesced into holistic and self-sustaining cores, ultimately providing the ability for Angelenos to access civic society at the local, pedestrian-oriented scale.

To achieve an entirely "walkable" city, civic cores would ultimately have to occur at concentric intervals of no more than one and a half miles, to ensure that every point in the city is no more than a 15 to 20 minute walk from one of these civic cores. Whether or not this ideal goal is possible, or even desirable, however, is not the aim of this study. Rather, the aim of the L.A.gora is the definition of a prototypical methodology that provides a framework for combating the social fractures that have developed over the past thirty years as a result of Los Angeles' "Downtown Renaissance".

If polycentrism is to be re-established in Los Angeles, any proposed core must be capable of supporting the entire range of everyday societal needs. If nodal development includes only a portion of these needs, inhabitants will still be forced to commute to other parts of the city in the living of their everyday lives, ultimately breaking down the initiative of the

overall system. However, if the fulfillment of basic needs becomes the only driving force in the development of new civic cores, there is a risk of replicating the alienation caused by Modernist projects such as Pruitt-Igoe and Morningside Heights. As Henri Lefebvre argued in a 1987 essay entitled "The Everyday and Everydayness", while there is indeed a monotony to everyday life that allows for the definition and replication of society's basic characteristics, the everyday is not a static construct; as he states, "the days follow one after the other and resemble one another, and yet—here lies the contradiction at the heart of everydayness—everything changes" (Lefebvre, 10).

Modernism's failure to establish a new civic typology in the wake of the Industrial Revolution stemmed from an over-simplification of human society and generic reliance on universalism as a methodology. Thus, while new development must begin with base human needs, universalism, as a tactic, inherently denies the eccentricities of particular places and the societies that inhabit them, as well as Lefebvre's notion that the everyday is in a constant state of evolution. To counteract these perceived limitations of universalism, the methodology for the L.A.gora will attempt to customize the base everyday programmatic elements by overlapping them with programmatic elements directly influenced by the *genius loci* of a particular site. Given the presence of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA), for instance, the base elements of a new core in the Miracle Mile district would be infused with a focus on the visual arts. A core development in the Culver City area of Los Angeles, with a film studio serving as a programmatic anchor and modifier—while similarly providing for the basic everyday needs of the local population—would thus differ from the Miracle Mile core in ways connected to the specificity of a local micro-culture. In this way, the L.A.gora establishes, rather than a prototypical built form, a prototypical methodology for developing alternative customized civic cores for a polycentric Los Angeles.

This section outlines a process of micro-culture programmatic customization for a proposed alternative civic core in the Miracle Mile district of Los Angeles. The four facilities of the following program were developed in critical response to perceived problems uncovered through the analysis of both the public realm, generally, and urbanism in Los Angeles, specifically, at three different socio-spatial scales: the universal, the city, and the neighborhood. In addition to describing the rationale behind the inclusion of each separate facility, this section will also describe the ways in which individual programmatic elements, such as a market or library, will be utilized to ensure that the four separate facilities operate as a singular whole while stimulating the type of informal, spontaneous interaction between the Miracle Mile's inhabitants—residents, employees, and visitors—that has been a historic hallmark in the development of *civitas*.

AN ARCHITECTURE OF FOUR FACILITIES

The program for the L.A.gora is divided into four individual facilities that, while separate in typological function, are nonetheless meant to operate as a singular whole. This programmatic methodology was derived through the analysis of several contemporary architecture projects, as described in the preceding section of this study. The four facilities to be described in this section are as follows: civic facility, representation facility, housing facility, and arts facility. For an itemized description of the entire program, see Appendix B.

CIVIC FACILITY

The civic facility represents the programmatic and typological elements of the L.A.gora universally associated with the public realm: library, market, exhibition hall, and theater. While each of these programs serves specific societal functions, each has also become

associated with the act of public gathering. The library, as a typology, has often been referred to as the "living room of the community". Since the development of the modern typology in nineteenth century Paris, the theater has been the place to "see and be seen". Each of these four programs serves very specific societal functions that, once brought together with LACMA, will represent a holistic civic facility for the Miracle Mile district.

REPRESENTATION FACILITY

The centralization of Los Angeles' local government and capital base in the Downtown core was the primary facilitating factor in the initiation of the "Downtown Renaissance" that has fractured the city's social contract. Polycentrism, as a strategy, requires the diffusion of government and local representation throughout the Los Angeles Basin, to ensure that the specific needs of localized communities are accounted for. The inclusion of a representational facility at the L.A.gora is an attempt to stimulate that diffusion. Office space will be provided to accommodate the local presence of the 3 city council members that represent the Miracle Mile. Residents, on an everyday basis, will therefore be able to come into contact and voice their desires and complaints to their local representatives.

Additionally, the Miracle Mile is represented locally by two disparate residential associations and its own chamber of commerce. Currently, these associations do not have their own facilities. The provision of a facility to bring these three entities together in one place will provide the twofold benefit of uniting the district's residents and employees in a common forum and re-enforcing the role that these associations might play in defining the community by providing a set location for monthly meetings.

HOUSING FACILITY

On the city-wide scale, increasing displacement of the homeless and retirees has been identified in this study as two of the major developments in the wake of the "Downtown Renaissance". A transitional housing facility for the recently unemployed and a more permanent housing facility for retirees have been included in the L.A.gora program in an attempt to keep people in the neighborhoods that they associate with their civic identity;

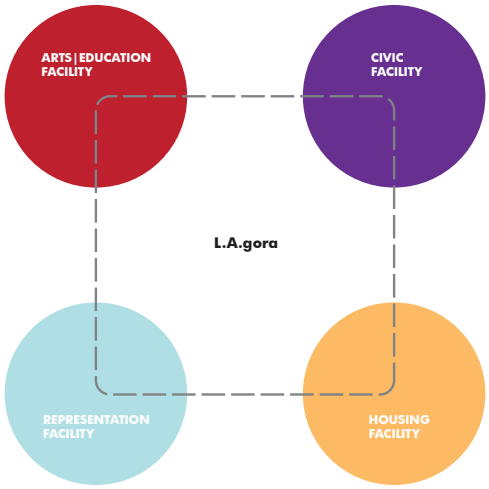
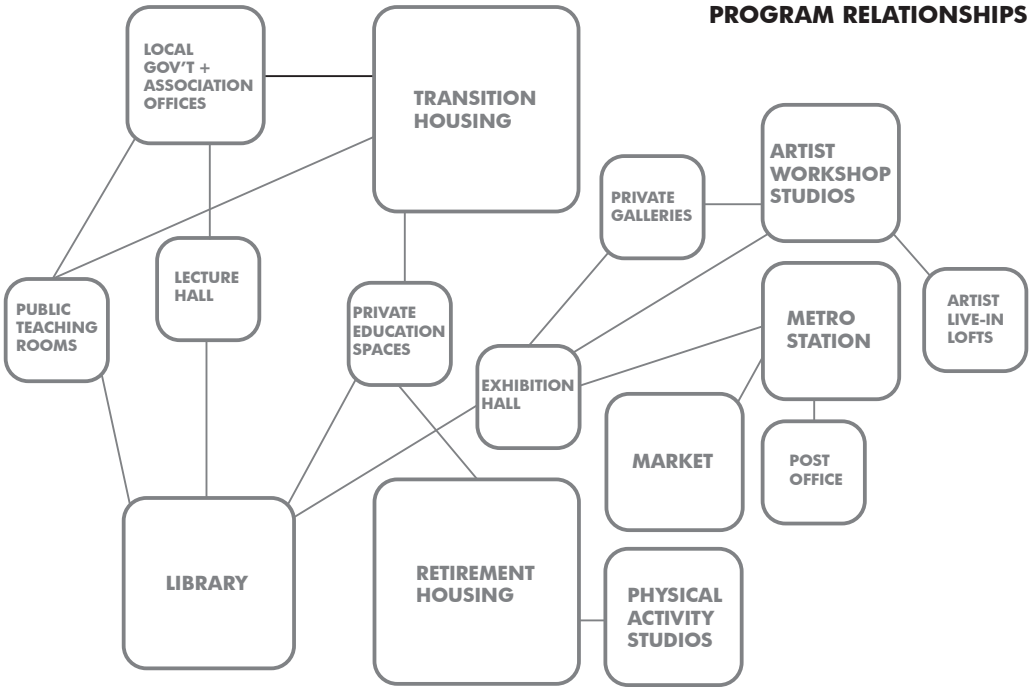


Figure 5.1. Four Facilities of the L.A.gora



L.A.gora PROGRAM **465,000 Square Feet** *For Detailed Description, See Appendix B

ARTS|EDUCATION FACILITY	Number	Square Feet	Total
Physical Activity Studios	8	4,000	35,000
Public Teaching Rooms	6	400-2,000	4,000
Artist Workshop Studios	5	1,250-4,000	20,000
Private Education Spaces	4	1,500	6,000
Private Galleries	2	1,500	3,000
CIVIC FACILITY			
Library	1	45,000	45,000
Market	1	20,000	20,000
Exhibition Hall	1	7,500	7,500
Lecture Hall	1	6,000	6,000
Post Office	1	10,000	10,000
Metro Station	1	27,500	27,500
REPRESENTATION FACILITY			
City Council Offices	3	500	1,500
Miracle Mile Chamber of Commerce Office	1	500	500
Miracle Mile Residential Association Office	1	750	750
Miracle Mile Career Center	1	1,250	1,250
Common Workspace	1	1,000	1,000
HOUSING FACILITY			
Retirement Housing	1	150,000	150,000
Transition Housing	1	125,000	125,000
Live-in Artist Lofts	10	1,500	15,000

Figure 5.2. Program

these facilities will help provide continuity of community membership through the shifts of dramatic changes in lifestyle. These facilities would be owned by the Miracle Mile community and rented out on the basis of need.

ARTS FACILITY

The arts and education facility is programmatically defined to root the L.A.gora in the *genius loci* of the Miracle Mile. The Miracle Mile, with the presence of LACMA and several smaller museums, is the "Arts District" of Los Angeles. In visiting the district, however, it quickly becomes clear that the Miracle Mile is an arts district without artists. While there are a few small privately own galleries along Wilshire, there are no artist studios or art supply shops in the Miracle Mile. The lack of street life along Wilshire Boulevard also prevents the congregation of artists or the definition of a local artist culture. The arts facility will combine communal art studios with live-work artist lofts to bring the vitality of the making of art to the Miracle Mile district, combining with LACMA to further re-enforce the Miracle Mile's role as the arts district of Los Angeles.

MANAGEMENT + OPERATION

The four facilities of the L.A.gora will be owned and operated through a newly established community cooperative, helping to establish a new local economy and ensuring that the Miracle Mile's residents have a tangible stake in the development and maintenance of the new civic facilities. Artists will be brought into the arts facility on community sponsored grants, developing a link between the arts produced in the Miracle Mile and the community residing in the district. This arrangement will also assure that the lofts designated as artist housing do not become redefined through the processes of the open market.

PROGRAMMATIC IMBRICATION

The individual programmatic elements that comprise the four facilities of the L.A.gora are not meant to operate independently of one another, but rather overlap to encourage the spontaneous and informal interaction between the different social groups that make up

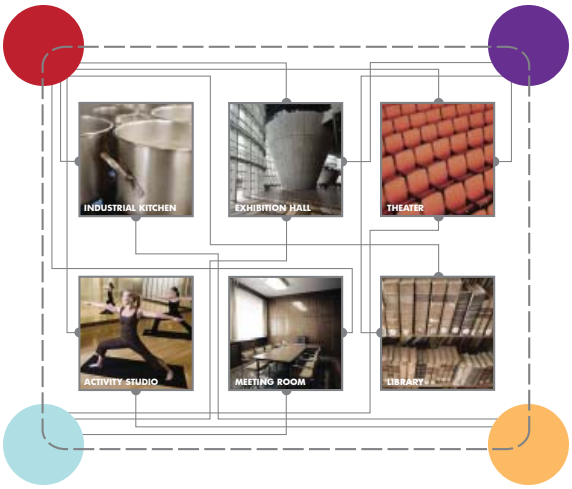


Figure 5.3. Hybrid Program

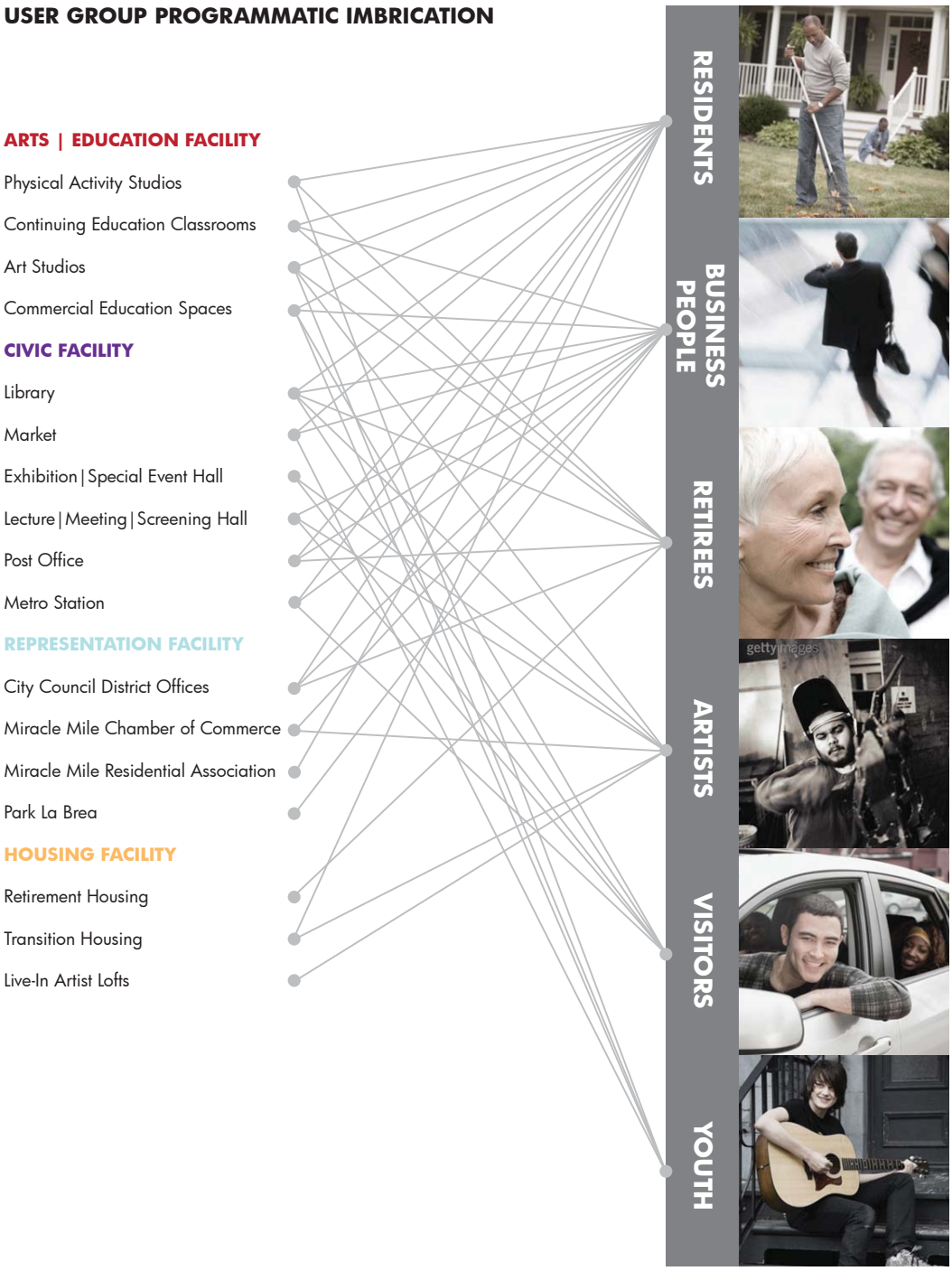


Figure 5.4. Social Overlap of User Groups

the Miracle Mile community. Several of the programmatic pieces, for instance, should be considered to belong to several of the individual facilities of the L.A.gora. The theater, for instance, can simultaneously serve as a lecture hall, meeting space for the chamber of commerce, and cinema, each of which might belong to a separate facility. Adapted from the standard typology to a more specific visual arts library, the library now serves both the arts and civic facilities. This type of hybrid functionality is established throughout the program of the L.A.gora.

In defining a hybrid program for the L.A.gora, flexibility is built into the resulting built project. The individual spaces of the final project must provide function and appeal to every member of the Miracle Mile community if *civitas* is to be achieved. In providing program that simultaneously serves both the residents and employees of the Miracle Mile, the resulting project becomes inhabitable throughout the 24 hour cycle. In this way, the L.A.gora becomes, in function, an informal public meeting place similar to the ancient Greek agora and medieval market square.

CONCLUSION

The L.A.gora, to successfully promote community engagement, must simultaneously function as a site for the provision of universal everyday human needs and as a site for the development and expression of a specific micro-culture. Thus, the L.A.gora program has been defined to adapt universal typologies to a localized *genius loci* centered on the presence of LACMA. In adapting generic typologies to the needs of an artist community, they become integrally tied to the Miracle Mile as a place. Through this process of adaptation, the individual elements of the holistic program become hybrids, serving several functions simultaneously, and ultimately providing access for the many different groups that make up the Miracle Mile community. Using this methodology, the program of the L.A.gora establishes opportunities for the development of informal social engagement that may not have otherwise occurred.

VI

Methodological Execution: Design for an Artist Commune

INTRODUCTION

The architectural methodology developed in the preceding sections of this study outlines a process for the re-establishment of polycentric urbanism in city of Los Angeles. Several new civic cores are to be developed throughout the Los Angeles Basin through the identification of existing "civic potentials". The design presented in this section represents a singular execution of this process. Thus, to design a civic core in Miracle Mile, we must first identify the district's potential as a site of *civitas*.

The Miracle Mile is the "arts district" of Los Angeles. In addition to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art—one of the most important art collections in the United States—the Miracle Mile is home to several smaller museums and art galleries, gathered along the Wilshire Boulevard corridor. Yet, there are no artists in the Miracle Mile. There is no tangible sense that art is being made, no creative energy or vitality. Rather, the art is imported to the Miracle Mile. Thus, while LACMA should serve as one of Los Angeles' most important civic buildings, there is no perceivable connection between the museum complex and the surrounding inhabitants of the Miracle Mile. In the current context, they are mutually exclusive.

While this fracture is currently hampering the development of civic discourse in the Miracle Mile, it also represents the site's main potential, providing a starting point for the development of a complete civic core. The disparity between LACMA and its surrounding community defines the *genius loci* of the Miracle Mile. To bridge this divide, L.A.gora, as a city-wide typology, is here adapted to the Miracle Mile, taking the form of an artist community. A civic core defined by the everyday "making" of art will provide a constant reminder to the district's inhabitants that they reside in Los Angeles' "arts district". Unlike the formal entrance to LACMA, the proposed artist community is designed to allow for the informal, spontaneous interaction between the district's inhabitants and the art that defines the Miracle Mile as a particular place in the broader urban fabric of Los Angeles.

ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES

The L.A.gora, as an artist community, must necessarily respond to the needs of the artists that will inhabit it. To perform as a civic core, however, the L.A.gora must also respond to the everyday needs of the Miracle Mile's existing population. The program for the L.A.gora,

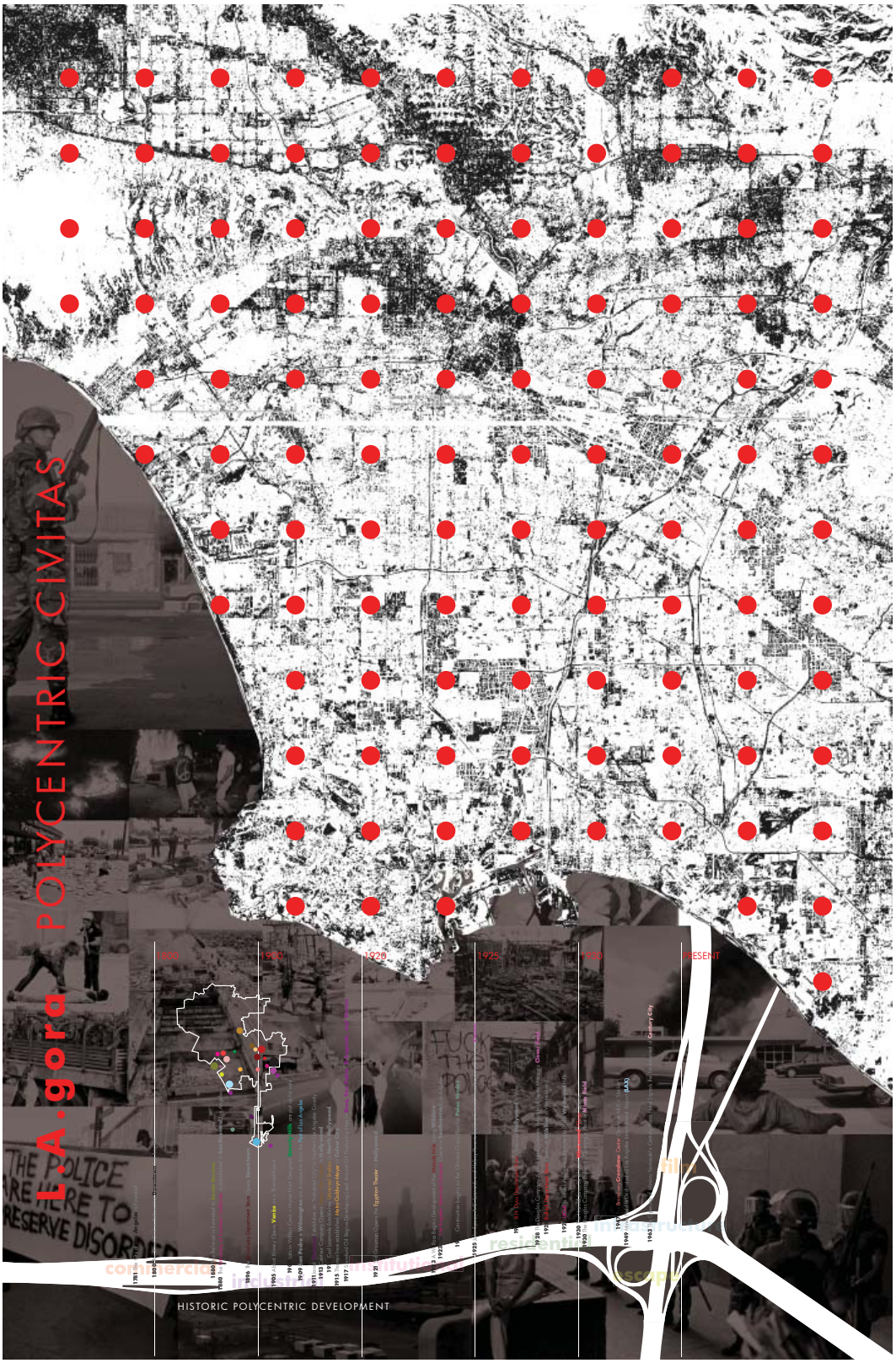


Figure 6.1. Polycentric Civitas

outlined in the preceding section, was developed to accommodate this hybridism. To spatially facilitate this cohabitation, an architectural system, consisting of a universal grid, points, surfaces, and anchors, was defined.

GRID

The L.A.gora, in the specific context of the Miracle Mile, is principally meant to operate as a unifying force between the currently disparate elements of the Miracle Mile. A single enclosed space or building—like those examined in section IV of this study—would become lost or rendered inaccessible to much of the district's inhabitants, given the linear composition of the dominant Wilshire Boulevard corridor. Additionally, an enclosed building would necessarily internalize the creative energy that the artist community is meant to inspire; definitive entrances and circulation paths—even if imbued with the "multiplicity of access" that characterizes David Adjaye's Whitechapel Idea Store—ultimately limit the informal, spontaneous interaction between user groups. To combat this architectural limitation, the building was "exploded" or "deconstructed" across three separate locations, situated throughout the fabric of the Miracle Mile.

A 25' by 25' grid was laid across the three sites to serve as a unifying element, combining the three separate sites of the L.A.gora into single cohesive whole. As the L.A.gora is meant to serve a compliment, or extension, of the existing museum complex, the dimension of the grid was established as an extension of the grid developed by Renzo Piano in his LACMA expansion. Having established this initial system, the grid then served to locate the individual elements of the "deconstructed" building in space.

POINTS

Individual points, dimensionally defined by the enclosed spaces of the established grid matrix, were extruded to provide the architectural framework for the housing facilities outlined in the established program. Singular grid pixels were extruded to a height of 63 feet creating an architectural container for the individual live-work lofts. To increase the live-in density of the artist community, as well as accommodate the transitional and retirement

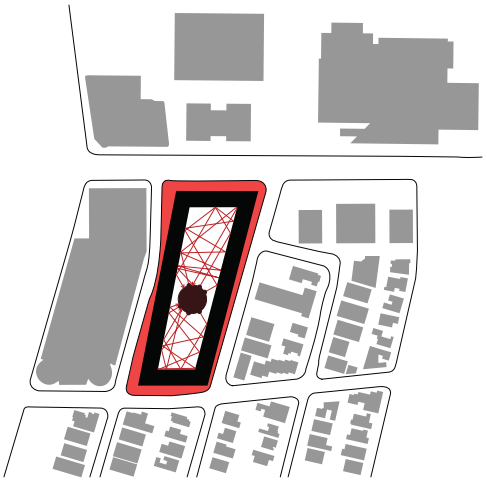


Figure 6.2. Internalized Building

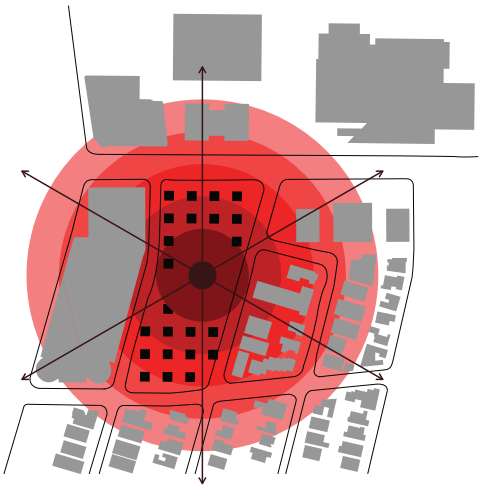


Figure 6.3. "Deconstructed" Building

housing called for in the broader program for the L.A.gora, larger points, defined by the grouping of four grid pixels (or 50' by 50' square footprints) were extruded to varying heights. These points are designated as housing towers, with three units per floor, and each tower accommodating between 20 and 30 inhabitants/households.

SURFACES

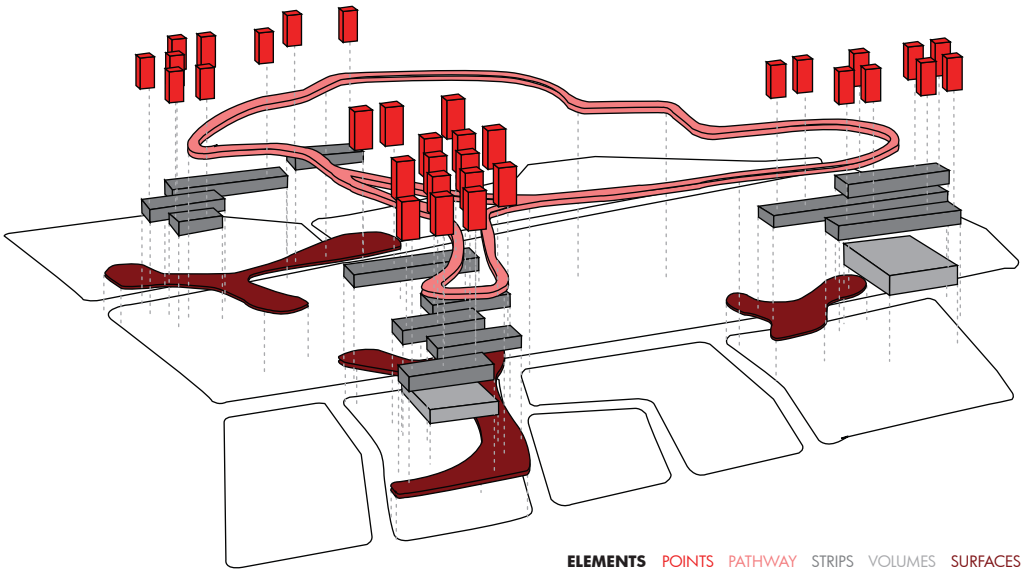
Points were situated within the larger framework of the grid to facilitate the formation of a continuous, unifying landscape on the ground plane of each site. A pattern of solid and void was established to maintain diagonal visual site lines through each site, while maintaining a perceivable sense of enclosure and continuity between the points when a viewed in orientation to the underlying grid structure. In this way the ground plane may be understood as a continuous landscape, promoting the ability for each individual user to define their own path through the deconstructed building, and as a collection of smaller courtyard spaces, providing the intimate spaces needed to facilitate the spontaneous gathering of disparate social groups.

While Los Angeles is characterized by a mild Mediterranean climate (see Appendix A), inherently making the landscape of the L.A.gora inhabitable year round regardless of access to direct sunlight, the positioning of the points within the grid was also established to allow natural sunlight to reach the ground plane throughout the year. For, as William H. Whyte established in his film, *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces,* access to sunlight is a defining characteristic of successful public space. To mediate between the slight climatic changes in season, the open ground plane is planted with small deciduous shade trees, providing shade in the summer months, while allowing light to penetrate during the winter months.

The underlying grid of the L.A.gora is expressed on the ground plane using stone pavers. The enclosed spaces of the grid are covered with fine gravel. Combined with the presence of the shade trees and movable street furniture, the surface of the L.A.gora becomes a low-maintenance landscape (similar to the Jardin des Tuileries in Paris), serving the Miracle Mile as a continuous outdoor "living room".

ANCHORS

The three sites, described in Section III of this study, were each chosen given their potential to perform specific civic functions within the broader fabric of the Miracle Mile. The grid, points, and surfaces are, however, continuous organizational elements, unmodified in relationship to the prescribed goals of the three separate sites. In response to each of these individual contexts, linear, horizontal strip buildings—in contrast to the verticality of the points—were established on each site to anchor the "universally" defined grid, points, and surfaces of the organizational system to the existing fabric of the Miracle Mile. These anchor buildings are programmed to perform the major civic functions of the L.A.gora: library, exhibition hall, cinema, studio, etc. The specific function of each anchor strip is customized to the contextual needs of the specific site on which it is situated, with orientation (i.e. North-South, East-West) responding to the architectural qualities and characteristics of the built spaces surrounding each site. In this way, these anchor buildings modify/customize the broader organizational system to establish and express the specific characteristics and functions of the individual sites that compose the L.A.gora.



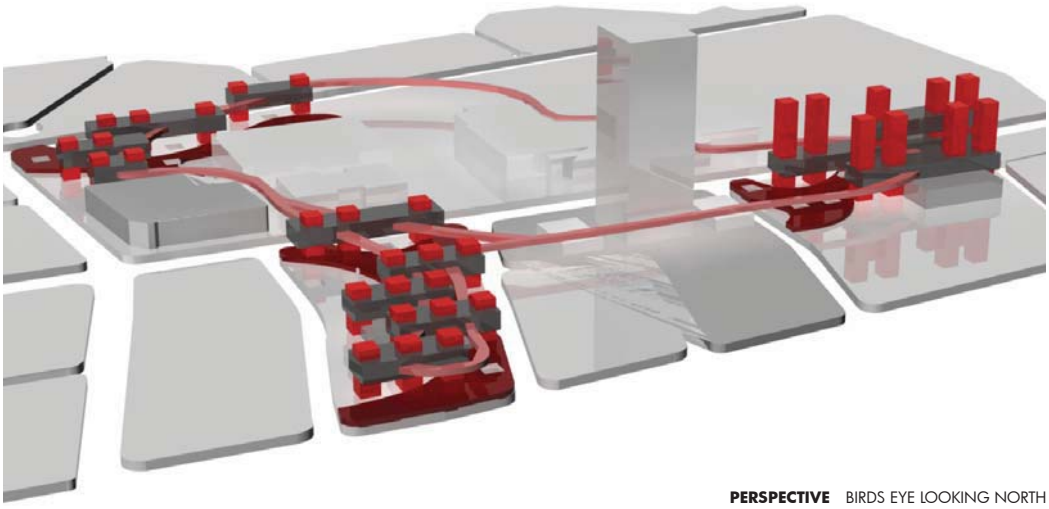


Figure 6.4. Organizational System

Figure 6.5. Master Plan

Figure 6.6. Site Model

ARTIST COMMUNE

For the purposes of this study, all three sites were architecturally developed to through a master planning stage. This master plan was designed in order to show how the overall organizational system could be adapted to different sites. Given the scope of this study, two of the sites were left at the resolution of the master plan—heretofore to be considered part of a theoretical secondary phase of development of the L.A.gora. Parts of the complete program not addressed by the following design were considered to be part of this secondary development.

Of the three, a single site, directly south of Renzo Piano's Broad Contemporary Art Museum (BCAM) in the LACMA complex, was chosen for a higher resolution development of the proposed design methodology. This site was chosen because it offered the most potent opportunity to address the larger goals of the comprehensive L.A.gora: connection to LACMA, interweaving of the disparate spatial elements of the Miracle Mile, and development of an active street life along the Wilshire Boulevard corridor. Given these contextual relationships, this site was chosen as the location for the development of the proposed artist commune. The organizational system was adapted to the particular site, as well as the particular programmatic needs of the artist commune, while maintaining the socio-spatial goals defined by the organizational system.

HYBRID PROGRAM

The program, developed for the L.A.gora, was adapted to the character of the artist commune. The generic civic elements—library, exhibition space, theater—were therefore slightly altered in their function to serve both the artists living in the commune and the surrounding inhabitants of the Miracle Mile.

The library was defined as a specialty branch of the Los Angeles Public Library system, dedicated to the visual arts. The library consists of three parts: a collection of spaces dedicated to the viewing of film, the main stacks—divided categorically between historical analysis and monograph into two stacks—and reading room, and an archive for the holding and dissemination of rare items related to the visual arts in Los Angeles.

The exhibition space was defined as a gallery space for the display and sale of pieces created on site by the artists of the commune. The gallery would be open to the public, without fee (given the proposed management structure discussed in Section V). This space

Figure 6.7. Artist Commune Elements

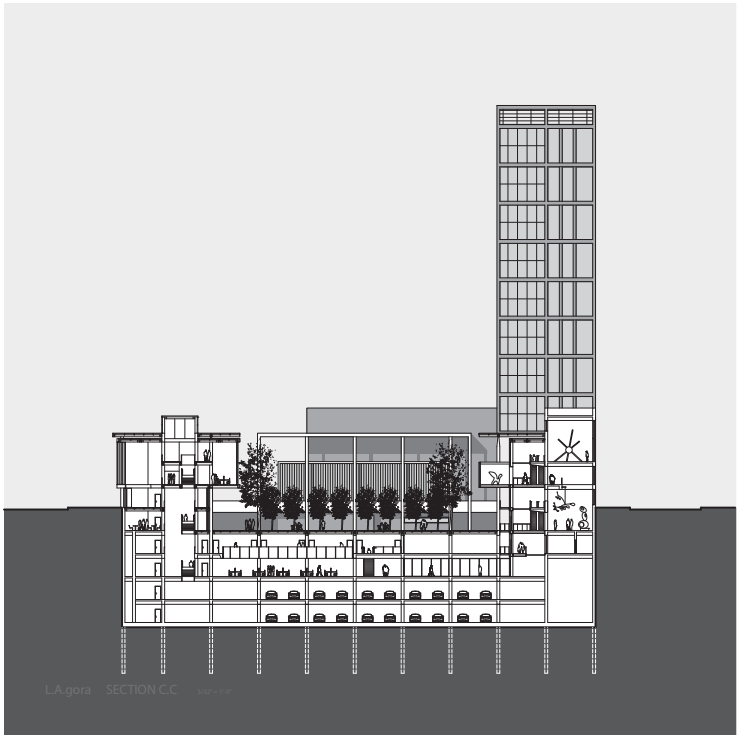


Figure 6.8. Cross Section Through Plaza, Looking Toward Cinema

allows the surrounding community of the Miracle Mile to access, on a passive level, the vitality of the commune, while also providing a local counterpart to the worldwide collection imported into the LACMA complex.

The theater was defined as an art-house cinema. The cinema is composed of two theaters of equal size and a large lobby space. During regular operation, the cinema would show both contemporary and historic films based on themes developed by the commune. The cinema serves the secondary function of providing space for lectures presented by the artists of the commune, as well as the large space needed for community gatherings related to local government, the chamber of commerce, and the residential associations of the Miracle Mile.

The goal of for each of these elements is the development of architectural space capable of serving the needs of both the artists living in the commune and the surrounding inhabitants of the Miracle Mile district. The social overlap provided by the hybridism is meant to facilitate the kind of informal social interaction and gathering that has characterized the development of *civitas* in historical contexts.

HOUSING + COMMUNAL STUDIO

The make-up of the housing at the artist commune is divided into two categories. Sixteen live-work lofts were placed on the south end of the site (i.e. the smaller 25' by 25' "points" defined by the organizational system). Each loft has three levels, the upper two of which are dedicated to a single artist: providing a lower level dwelling, and an upper level

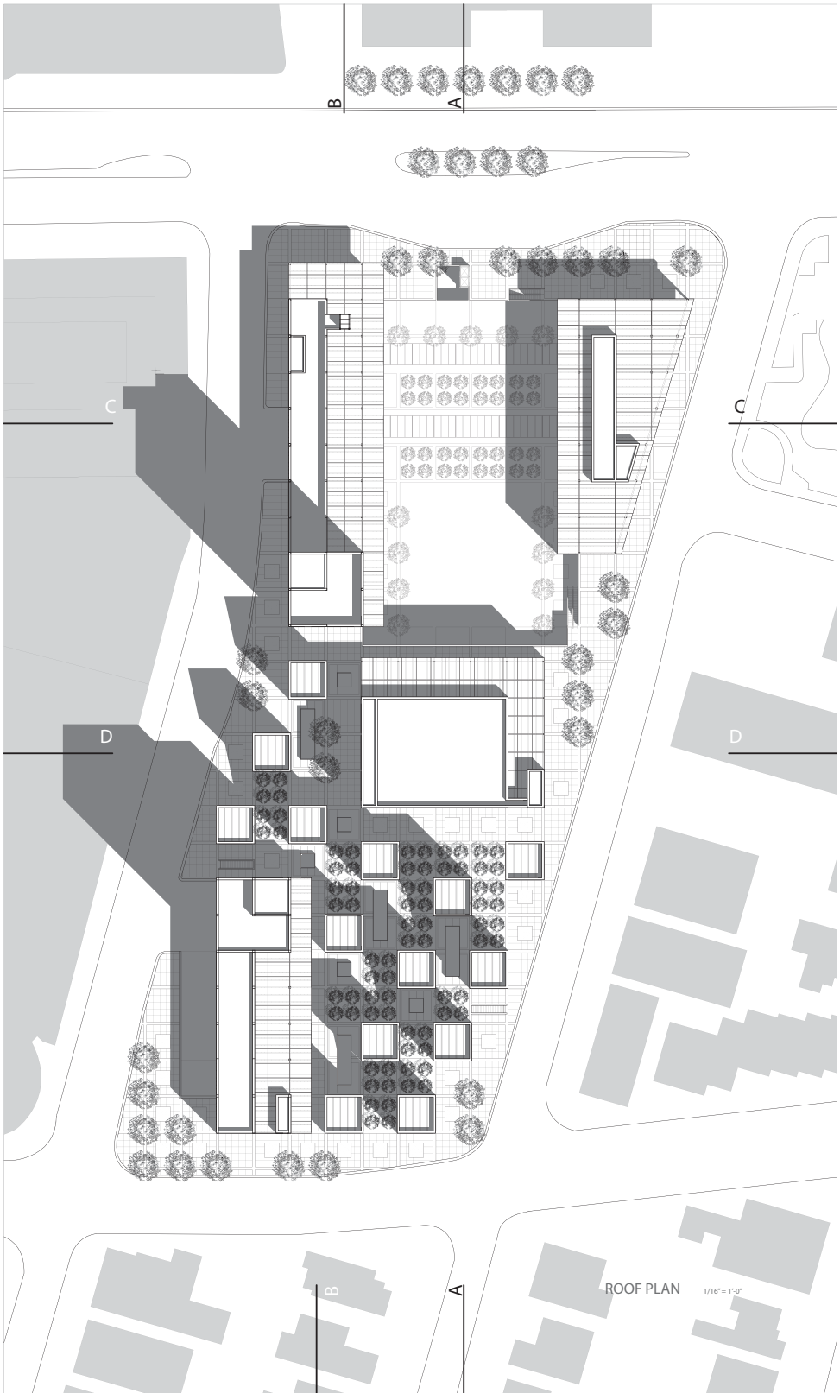


Figure 6.9. Roof Plan

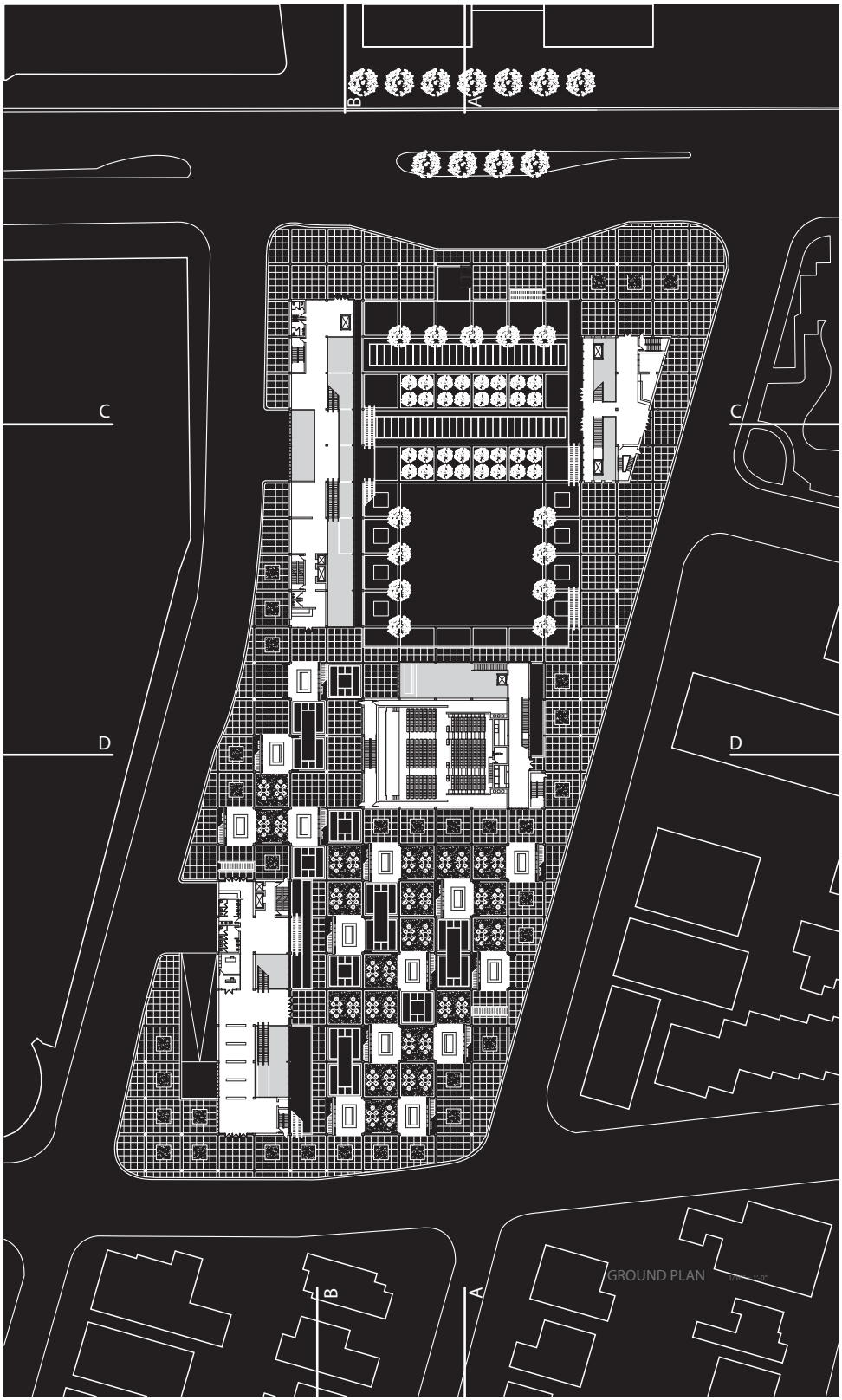


Figure 6.10. Ground Level Plan

private studio. The studio space is double-height with a canted roof sloping up from south to north. The north elevation is entirely composed of a large daylight aperture to bring as much soft, indirect north-light into the studio as possible. The south elevation is a multi-layered façade consisting of external horizontal louvers, a layer of double-pane glazing, and internal layer of translucent monopan that acts as a daylight diffuser. This system, completed on the east and west elevations by facades composed of an opaque aluminum paneling system, brings the maximum of amount of diffuse light into the artists' work spaces.

The ground level of the live-works lofts are designed as market kiosks. They are designed to as retail space to accommodate the sales of a broad range of goods, including: food items (both raw and prepared), textiles, art, etc. The kiosk envelope is composed of a system of glazed nana-walls, capable of fully opening the interior space of the kiosks to the surface landscape defined by the organizational system. This merging on interior and exterior space, made possible by Los Angeles' Mediterranean climate, encourages the free movement of people throughout the site. The interior space of the kiosks is a loosely-defined open plan to allow the individual retailer to adapt the space for their own needs. This "deconstructed" market facility has no formal entrance or circulation path; the individual users are free to access and interpret the space for themselves. Additionally, the deconstructed market provides yet another hybrid program, encouraging the interweaving of the artists at the commune and the existing inhabitants of the Miracle Mile.

The second type of artist housing consists of two towers (the 50' by 50' "points"). Each floor of the towers is composed of three double-height artist lofts (similar in nature to the private live-work lofts), 625 square feet in size. The remaining 25' by 25' "pixel" of each floor plate serves the vertical circulation spine of each tower. Each tower accommodates between 21 and 24 live-in artists. Combined with the 16 private live-work lofts, the artist commune is capable of housing 61 artists at maximum capacity.

To encourage the communal congregation of the artists living on-site, a common studio, with space for 61 works stations, two computer labs, a fabrication shop, and administration offices was designed for the south end of the site, adjacent to the live-work lofts. This studio,

Figure 6.11. View of Lofts + Tower

Figure 6.12. Landscape Between Market Kiosks

similar to the library and gallery spaces, serves as one of the horizontal strip buildings that anchor the broader organizational system to the specific site. One of the two housing towers rises out of the northern most end of the communal studio. The second tower rises out of the southern most end of the gallery strip building.

CONTEXT

To respond to the presence of LACMA across Wilshire Boulevard, the gallery, visual arts library, and art-house cinema are composed on the north end of the site to provide a large outdoor plaza between the three buildings. The plaza opens to the north, with the paving system continuing across Wilshire Boulevard, symbolically and spatially bridging Wilshire Boulevard, providing the main pedestrian crossing of Wilshire, and serving as the southern terminus of Renzo Piano's pedestrian axis. The east-west dimensional opening of the plaza responds to Piano's BCAM building. In this way, BCAM serves as the fourth enclosing façade of the plaza, identifying the artist commune as a civic extension of the LACMA complex.

The plaza is sunken one level below grade, where the primary entrances to the gallery, visual arts library, and art-house cinema are located. The main stacks and viewing rooms of the library are located beneath the plaza, with natural light provided by two strips of glazing, which are structurally integrated into the paving surface of the plaza. The stacks provide a sub-terrain connection between the surface library strip and gallery strip. The plaza level of the library strip is programmed as a café, opening onto the main lawn of the plaza, ensuring continuous inhabitation and social activation of the plaza.

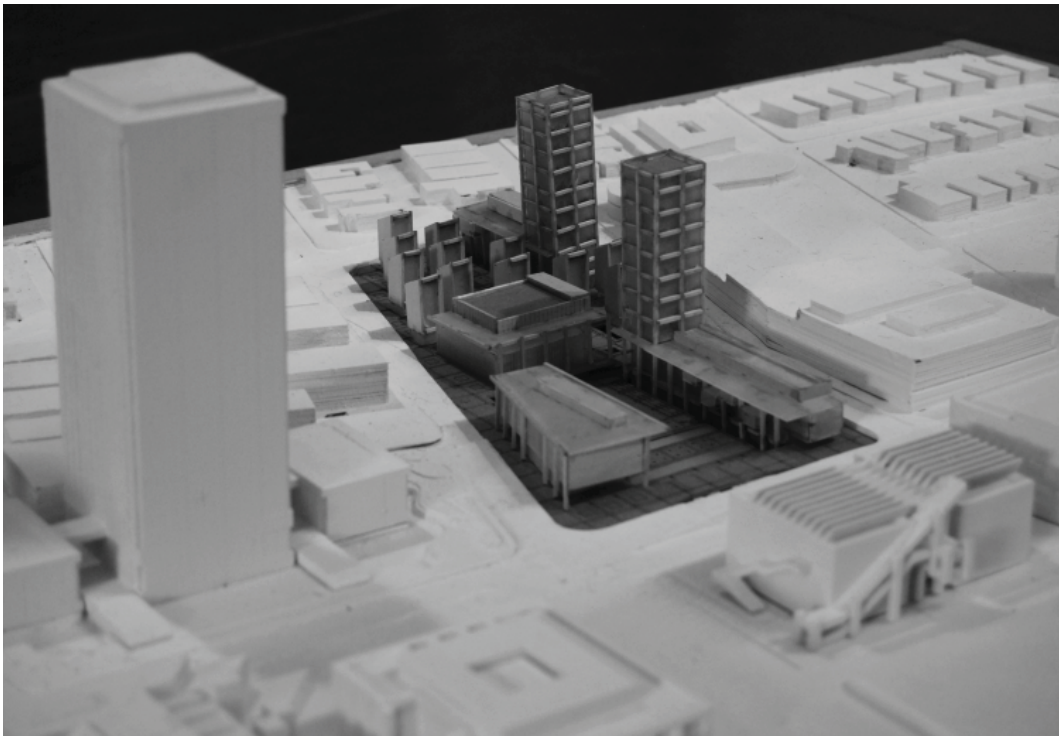


Figure 6.13. View of Plaza, BCAM in Foreground

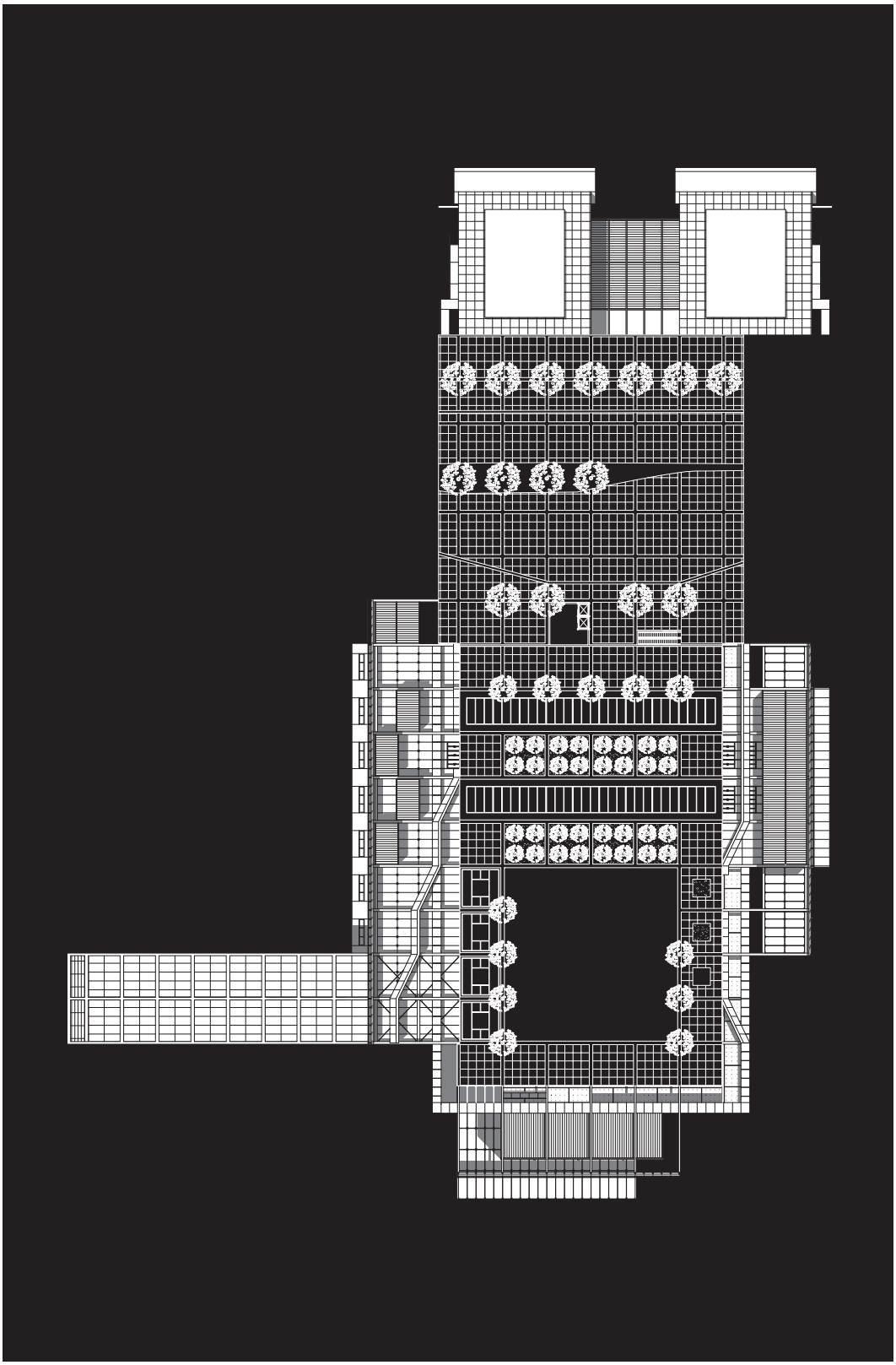


Figure 6.14. Plaza Plan + Elevations

TRANSIT-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT

The plaza was sunken one level below grade to facilitate the secondary use of the artist commune as a regional transit center. The purple line of the Los Angeles Metro system is currently slated for expansion from Koreatown, to the east of the Miracle Mile, to a western terminus in the beach city of Santa Monica. As part of this expansion, a metro stop has been proposed in the Miracle Mile. The proposed stop is integrated into the artist commune, with the station located directly beneath Wilshire Boulevard, between LACMA and the artist commune. The plaza therefore serves as the main entry way to the metro station. In support of this new metro station, sub-level parking for 500 vehicles was provided in the design of the artist commune. The plaza is on grade with the upper-most level of the parking structure. The plaza therefore serves as a mediator between the three means of access into the site: grade-level pedestrian traffic, sub-level automobile parking, and regional subway traffic. The sunken plaza also serves to "thicken" the site. Located on grade with the plaza, beneath the artist live-work lofts, large retail was designed to further facilitate the use of the artist commune by the surrounding community. Light wells are "cut" into the above landscape to provide natural light to the sub-level retail.

CIRCULATION

Given the scale and multi-level design of the site, vertical circulation between the different levels of the artist commune is conspicuously located: escalators cascade through both the interior spaces of the library, gallery, and studio strips, and along the exterior facades of those buildings. To ensure the visibility of the internal circulation routes, the primary public

Figure 6.15. Vertical Circulation, Communal Studio

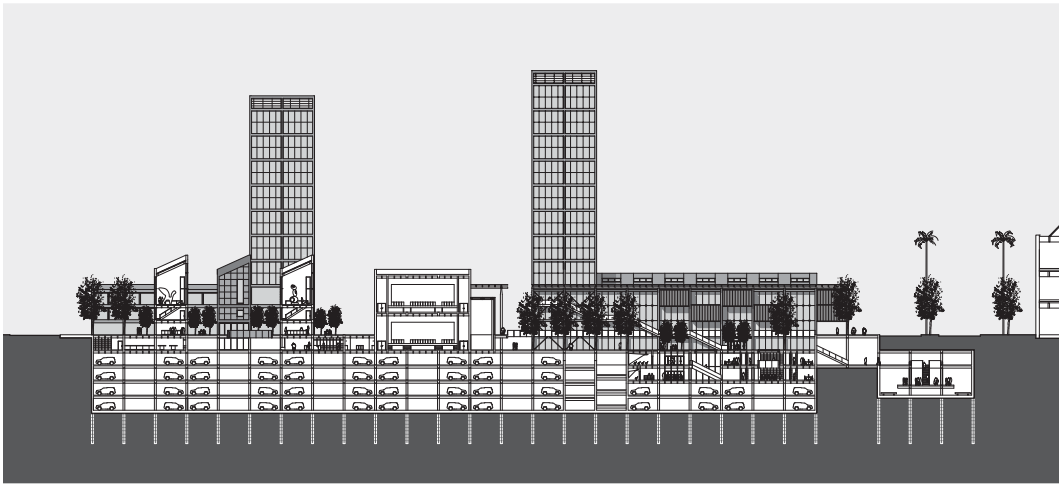


Figure 6.16. Longitudinal Section Through Plaza, Library, + Cinema

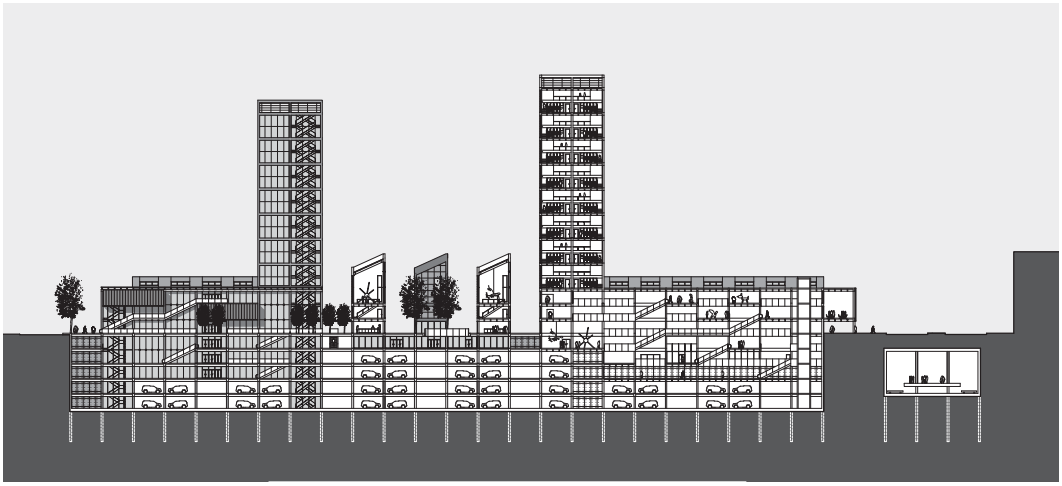


Figure 6.17. Longitudinal Section Through Gallery + Housing Tower

facades of each strip are entirely glazed using a spider-clip system. During the nighttime hours, this glazing system will allow the library, gallery, and studio buildings to provide illumination for both the plaza and the landscape surrounding the live-work lofts at the southern end of the site. The internal and external escalators provide 24-hour access to the many levels of the artist commune.

CONCLUSION

In providing a new civic space for the Miracle Mile district, the artist commune was designed as an extension of the LACMA complex. The orientation of the individual buildings and provision of a new public plaza serve to symbolically link the commune to the existing context. The "deconstruction" of the L.A.gora, as a complete system, is facilitated by the holistic organizational system to provide a multiplicity of access and interpretation of the new civic core. This continuous landscape allows the inhabitants of the Miracle Mile to define how they use the L.A.gora for themselves. The artist commune expands on the Miracle Mile's status as the arts district of Los Angeles, adapting civic space to the *genius loci* of the district. The commune will provide the vitality that stems from creative process of art creation, stimulating the development of a vibrant street culture along the Wilshire Boulevard corridor, and completing the pedestrian-oriented development begun by Renzo Piano with the BP Grand Entrance to the LACMA complex and Hancock Park.

Lastly, it should stressed again that the specific architectural design for the artist commune should not been seen as a prototype for the development of the broader polycentric urban system proposed in this study. It is a single execution, or "test", of a prototypical design methodology prescribed for the (re)discovery of *civitas* in the City of Los Angeles. Each new civic core must be adapted to the specific contexts and social conditions provided by "civic potentials" identified with the urban fabric of the Los Angeles Basin. This is the ultimate aim of the L.A.gora.

REFERENCES

Alexander, Christopher. "The City is Not a Tree (Part Two)", in Ockman, Joan, ed. *Architecture Culture, 1943-1968.* New York: Columbia Books, 1993, pp. 380-8.

Alexander, Christopher. *A Pattern Language.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Allison, Peter and Adjaye, David. "Omitting the Void: An Architecture of Engagement", in Allison, Peter, ed. *David Adjaye: Making Public Buildings.* New York: Thames & Hudson, 2006, pp.120-129.

Banham, Reyner. *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies.* London: The Penguin Press, 1971.

Banham, Reyner. *Megastructure: Urban Futures of the Recent Past.* New York: Harper and Row, 1976.

Burke, Deborah. "Thoughts on the Everyday", in Harris, Steven and Berke, Deborah, ed. *Architecture of the Everyday.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997.

"Bryghusprojektet". *Office for Metropolitan Architecture*. Office for Metropolitan Architecture, Inc. Oct 2009. <http://www.oma.eu/>.

Chaaya, A. "Broad Contemporary Art Museum: LACMA Expansion, Phase I". *Renzo Piano Building Workshop.* Renzo Piano Building Workshop. 2008. Sep 2009. <http://rpbw.r.ui-pro.com/>.

Chaaya, A. "Jean-Marie Tjibaou Cultural Center". *Renzo Piano Building Workshop.* Renzo Piano Building Workshop. 1998. Oct 2009. <http://rpbw.r.ui-pro.com/>.

City of Los Angeles. "Annexation and Detachment Map". *LACity.* 2005. 14 Sep 2009. <http://navigatela.lacity.org/common/mapgallery/pdf/annex34x44.pdf>.

"Civitas." *Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.*. Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.. 20 Oct 2009. <Dictionary.com http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/civitas>.

Cullen, Gordon. "Introduction to Townscape" from *Townscape* (1961), in Watson, Donald, and Plattus, Allan, and Shibley, Robert, ed. *Time Saver Standards for Urban Design.* McGraw-Hill, 2003, pp. 3.1-1-3.1-8.

Davis, Mike. *Dead Cities.* New York: The New Press, 2002.

Davis, T.K. "New York" (Lecture). University of Tennessee, Knoxville, September 23, 2009.

de Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Engels, Friedrich. "The Great Towns", from *The Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844* (1845) in LeGates, Richard and Stout, Frederic, ed. *The City Reader.* London: Routledge, 1996, pp. 58-66.

Enwezor, Okwui. "Popular Sovereignty and Public Space: David Adjaye's Architecture of Immanence", in Allison, Peter, ed. *David Adjaye: Making Public Buildings.* New York: Thames & Hudson, 2006, pp. 8-12.

Feiss, Carl. "Early American Public Squares", in Zucker, Paul. *Town and Square: From the Agora to the Village Green.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

Frampton, Kenneth. "Towards a Critical Regionalism", in Foster, Hal, ed. *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture.* New York: The New Press, 1998, pp. 17-33.

Futagawa, Yukio, ed. "Experience Music Project". *Global Architecture Document.* No. 63 (2000): pp. 10-23.

"Gleneagles Community Center". *Patkau Architects.* Patkau Architects, Inc. 2009. Oct 2009. <http://www.patkau.ca/>.

Hays, K. Michael. Quoting from Habermas, Jurgen. "Modernity–An Incomplete Project", in *Architecture Theory Since 1968.* New York: Columbia Books, 1998, pg. 413.

Hise, Greg. "Nature's Workshop: Industry and Urban Expansion in Southern California, 1900-1950" in Lewis, Robert, ed. *Manufacturing Suburbs.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004, pp. 186-90.

Hise, Greg, Schockman, H. Eric, and Dear, Michael J. ed. *Rethinking Los Angeles.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1996.

"History". *Park La Brea.* Apartments 24-7.com, Prime Group. Oct 2009. <http://www.parklabrea.com/history.htm>.

Howard, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of To-morrow.* London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1902.

H-Sang, Seung. "Culturescape of the Commune by the Great Wall", in Jian, Shi, ed. *Commune by the Great Wall.* Beijing: The Tianjin Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2002, pp. 178-180.

Isidore of Seville, quoted in, Kostof, Spiro. *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History.* Boston: Bulfinch Press, pg. 37.

Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* New York: Random House, 1961.

Kempinski. "About the Commune". *Commune by the Great Wall.* SOHO China, Ltd. Oct 2009. <http://www.communebythegreatwall.com/en/about/about01.shtml>.

Koolhaas, Rem. *Delirious New York.* New York: The Monacelli Press, 1994.

Kostof, Spiro. *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History.* Boston: Bulfinch Press, 1991.

Kramer, Stephen W. "About Us". *Miracle Mile Chamber.* Miracle Mile Chamber of Commerce. 2005. Oct 2009. <http://www.miraclemilechamber.org/aboutus.htm>.

Krier, Leon. *Houses, Palaces, Cities.* Berlin: Belvedere, 1980.

Le Corbusier. *The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning.* New York: Payson & Clarke, 1929.

Le Corbusier. "A Contemporary City" from *The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning* (1929), in LeGates, Richard and Stout, Frederic, ed. *The City Reader.* London: Routledge, 1996, pp. 317-324.

Lefebvre, Henri. "The Everyday and Everydayness", in *Yale French Studies*, No. 73, New Haven: 1987.

Liebs, Chester. "Foreword", in Longstreth, Richard. *The Buildings of Main Street.* Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1987.

Longstreth, Richard. *The Buildings of Main Street.* Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1987.

Longstreth, Richard. *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920-1950.* Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997.

"Los Angeles (city), California". *State and County Quick Facts.* United States Census Bereau. Oct 2009. < http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06/0644000.html>.

"Los Angeles (county), California". *State and County Quick Facts.* United States Census Bereau. Oct 2009. < http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06/0644000.html>.

"Los Angeles City Council". *Miracle Mile Chamber.* Miracle Mile Chamber of Commerce. 2005. Oct 2009. <http://www.miraclemilechamber.org/localgovernment.htm>.

Mumford, Lewis. *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects.* San Diego: Harcourt, 1961.

"Oakdale Community Centre". *Patkau Architects.* Patkau Architects, Inc. 2009. Oct 2009. <http://www.patkau.ca/>.

O'Sullivan, James. "About MMRA". *Miracle Mile Residential Association.* Miracle Mile Residential Association. 2007. Oct 2009. <http://www.miraclemilela.com/about>.

Perry, Clarence. "The Neighborhood Unit" (1929) in LeGates, Richard and Stout, Frederic. *The City Reader.* London: Routledge, 1996, pp. 54-65.

Ricoeur, Paul. "Universal Civilization and National Cultures" (1961), in *History and Truth.* Trans. Chas. A. Kelbley. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965, pg. 167.

Schmiechen, James and Carls, Kenneth. *The British Market Hall: A Social and Architectural History.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Use All Five. "41 Cooper Square". *Morphosis Architects.* Morphosis Architects, Inc. 2009. Oct 2009. < http://www.morphosis.com/>.

Venturi, Robert, Scott Brown, Denise and Izenour, Steven. *Learning From Las Vegas.* Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1977.

Whyte, William H. *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces* (Film). New York : Municipal Art Society of New York : Cinelab distributor, 1984.

Wikipedia contributors. "Atlanta." *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, 24 May. 2010. Web. 25 May. 2010. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atlanta>.

Wikipedia contributors. "Chicago." *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, 25 May. 2010. Web. 25 May. 2010. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chicago>.

Wikipedia contributors. "Los Angeles." *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, 24 May. 2010. Web. 25 May. 2010. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Los_angeles>.

Wikipedia contributors. "Miracle Mile, Los Angeles." *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, 15 May. 2010. Web. 25 May. 2010. <http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Special:Cite&page=Miracle_Mile,_Los_Angeles&id=362289762>.

Wikipedia contributors. "New York City." *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, 23 May. 2010. Web. 25 May. 2010. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_york_city>.

Wright, Frank Lloyd. "Broadacre City: A New Community Plan" (1935), in LeGates, Richard and Stout, Frederic. *The City Reader.* London: Routledge, 1996, pp. 325-330.

Yoshida, Noboyuki, ed. "Cultural Center Jean Marie Tjibaou". *Architecture + Urbanism.* No. 315 (1996): pp. 92-103.

Yoshida, Noboyuki, ed."Idea Store Whitechapel". *Architecture + Urbanism.* No. 446 (2007): pp. 72-81.

Zucker, Paul. *Town and Square: From the Agora to the Village Green.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

APPENDIX A

Area Growth

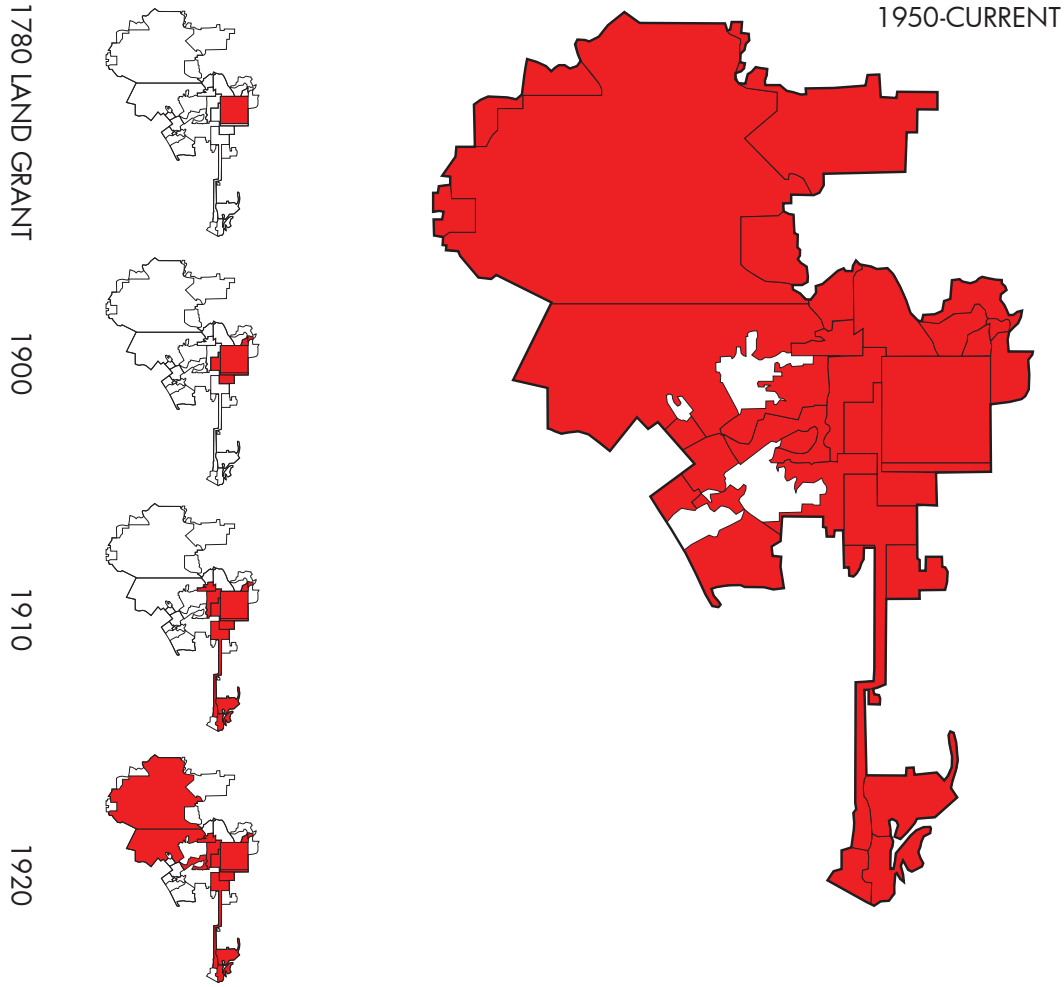


Figure A.1. History of Land Annexation by Decade.

The City of Los Angeles, 468 square miles in size, is the largest city, by area, in the United States. Initially founded on a land grant from the Spanish government in 1781, the city consisted of only 28 square miles (City of Los Angeles, Annexation Map). For over one hundred years, the city grew very little. However, in the context of the first population explosion in the first two decades of the twentieth century that saw nearly a million people migrate to Los Angeles, the city's boundaries quickly grew. With the securing of a water supply in Owen's Valley by William Mulholland in 1913, land speculation became the generating economic force for growth. And thus, by 1920, the city had assumed, for the most part, its current limit. The characteristic shape is due to the city's desire for a major port given the 1903 decision to build the Panama Canal. Thus, the Shoestring Annexation occurred in 1906, a long narrow stip of land connecting Downtown to a desirable port location to the South of the city.

Population Growth

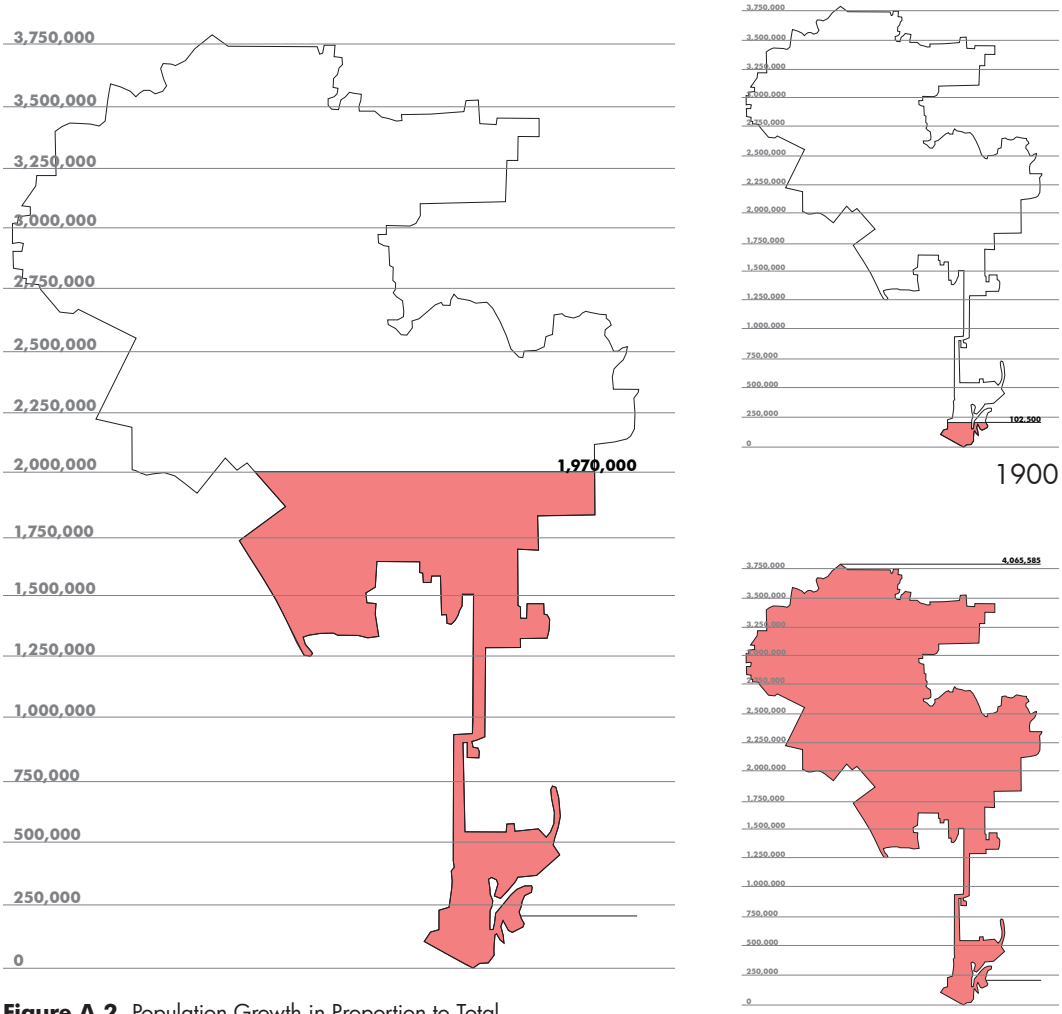


Figure A.2. Population Growth in Proportion to Total Land Area.

With over four million citizens, Los Angeles is the second largest city in the United States. With only one hundred thousand people in 1900, the city's population grew at a nearly incomprehensible rate, reaching over one million by 1930, and nearly two million by 1950. Amazingly, in the first half of the twentieth century, Los Angeles' land growth still managed to outpace the population growth. This points toward a conclusion that the city of Los Angeles was actively envisioned as a new kind of megalopolis. Thus, to read the city as an accident in suburban sprawl is a mistake. From a very early point, the city envisioned the vibrancy of city life spreading throughout the Los Angeles Basin. With its four million people, and an additional eight million in the metropolitan area, Los Angeles can actually be read as a planned experiment of social conglomeration: the Los Angeles metropolitan area is actually now the densest in the country.

Population Density

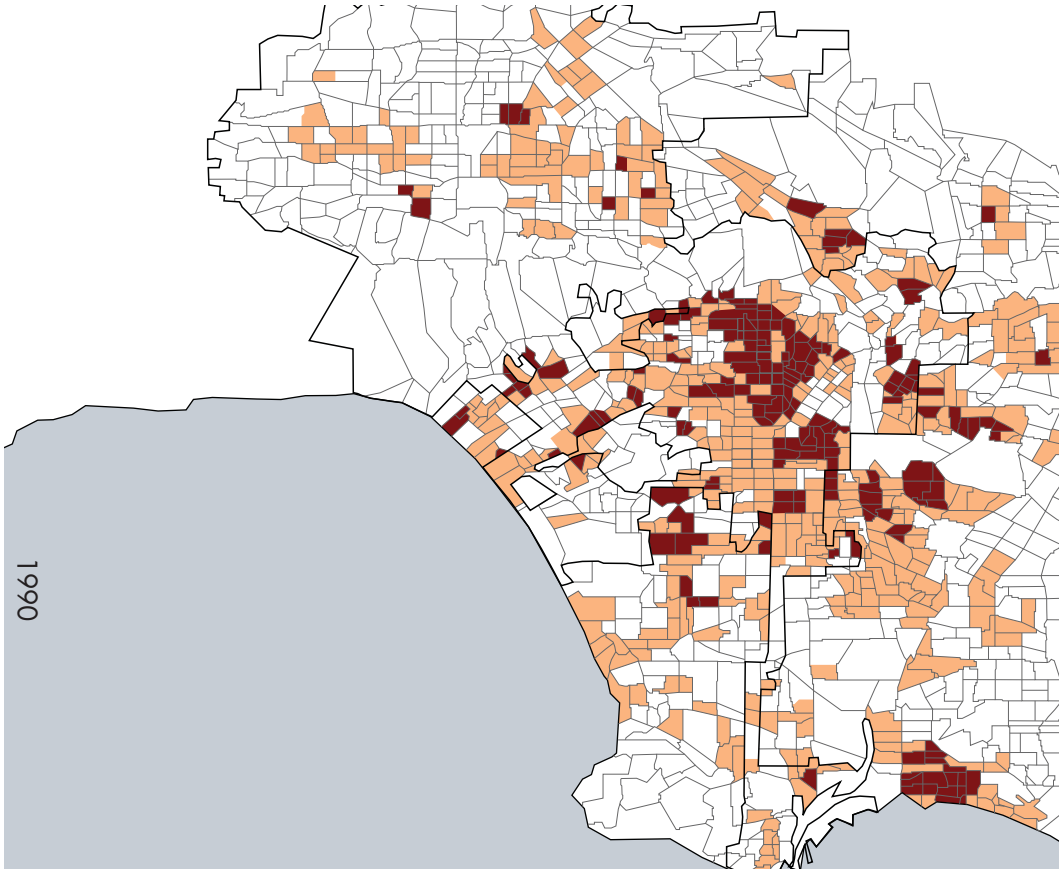
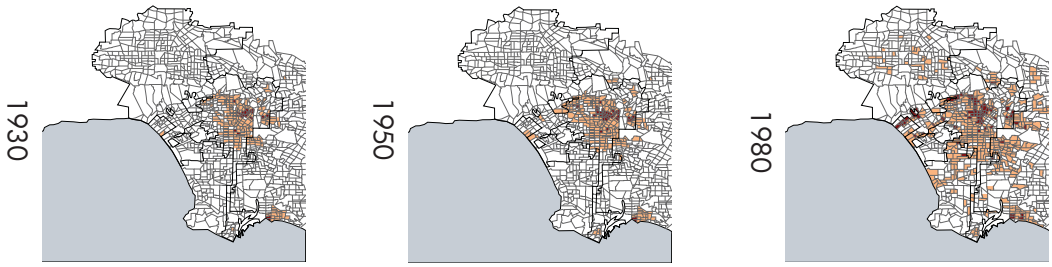


Figure A.3. The Los Angeles Fabric: Polycentrism as a Product of Population Density Dispersal.



Population density mapping over tiime is the key in understanding Los Angeles as a polycentric city. As even the 1930 map shows, at no point since the initial population boom of the early twentieth century, has the area been dominated by a single population center. Where the Chicago School core-periphery model suggests a population density map characterized by a single center of high population density ringed by areas of successively lense dense populations, Angelenos have congregated in several points throughout the city. While at certain points in its history, as the 1940 and 1950 maps show, Downtown has played a critically important role, the present map shows a city with several autonomous centers.

Climate

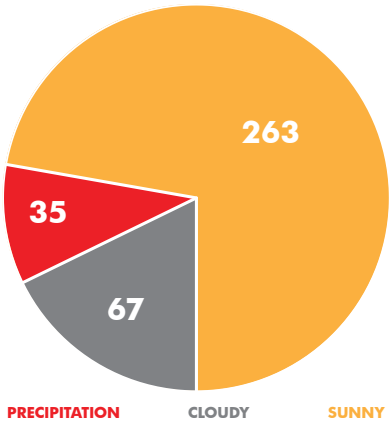


Figure A.4. A Sunny Climate.

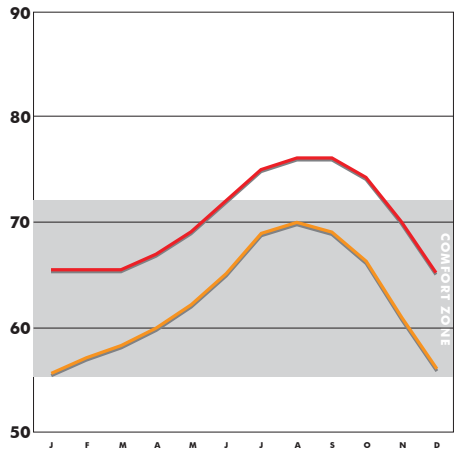


Figure A.5. Average Annual Temperature, Farenheit.

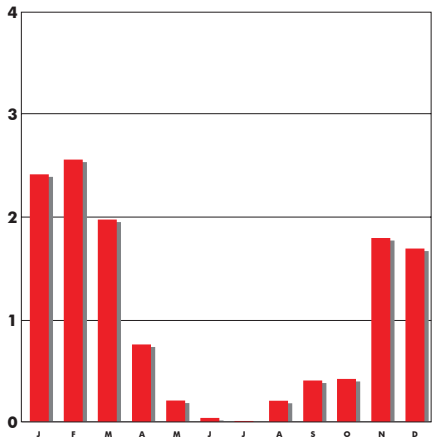


Figure A.6. Average Annual Rainfall, Inches.

Figure A.7. Pressure System Causing Santa Ana Winds.

During the 1880s, the image of Los Angeles was sold to the American public as a new kind of paradise. Though other factors, such as an abundance of open land, lack of crowding, and absence of crime and poverty were also cited as reasons to locate to Los Angeles, the climate was the most highly touted. As Richard Longstreth explains, when people began migrating from places like Ohio, Illinois, and Iowa in the early twentieth century, it was because, "the climate, principally, permitted them to live more fully the life they already had" (Longstreth, 7-9). With nearly three quarters of the year consisting of sunny days and temperatures rarely reaching above 80 degrees in the basin, Los Angeles has an ideal climate. However, even paradise has its downsides. The warm, dry climate, coupled with the Santa Ana winds that annually blow down through the San Gabriel Mountain Range, cause frequent wildfires that are a constant threat to the way of life in Los Angeles.

Private Transportation

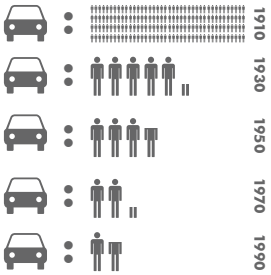


Figure A.8. Persons per Registered Vehicle in Los Angeles County.

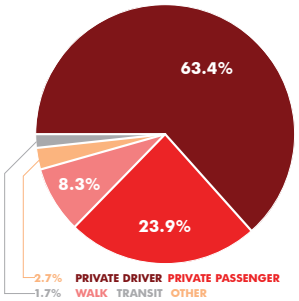


Figure A.9. Total Transportation by Type.

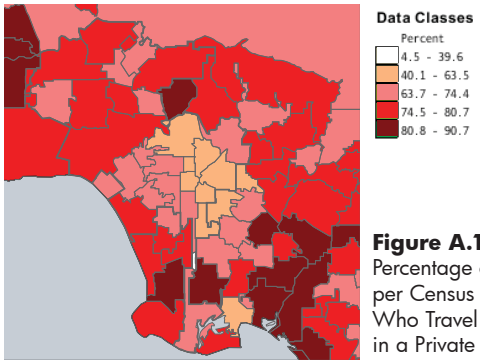


Figure A.10. Percentage of People per Census District Who Travel to Work in a Private Vehicle.

As Reyner Banham postulates in his book, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies*, the automobile has become so important to Los Angeles that the entire city can be understood as an "Autotopia". As he explains, "a domestic or sociable journey in Los Angeles does not end so much at the door of one's destination as at the off-ramp of the freeway". This describes a context where the freeway system is now a "single comprehensible place, a coherent state of mind, a complete way of life" (Banham, 213). Indeed, as the figures below show, nearly ninety percent of all trips taken within Los Angeles are done in private vehicles. Close to Downtown and in Southcentral Los Angeles, this figure is lower, but still at the upward end more than sixty percent of all travel. Furthermore, in no area of the city does public transit outpace the automobile.

Banham's "Autotopia", as Richard Longstreth explains, is based on "Southern California's early acceptance of motor vehicles" as the primary way of traversing the city. Though once defined by an extensive streetcar line, many Angeleno came to see mass-transit, by the 1920s, as a "nuisance more than a transportation lifeline (Longstreth, 12). This city wide shift in mindset can be seen in the number of cars registered in Los Angeles by decade. Whereas in 1910, there was only one car per every 200 citizens, by 1930, there was a car for every 5.3 people. That trend has continued to the point where there is now a car for every 1.7 people. This "way of life", to use Banham's phrase, has produced one of the most extensive freeway systems in the United States. While it is possible to drive on surface streets, Angelenos fundamentally turn to the freeway.

Public Transportation

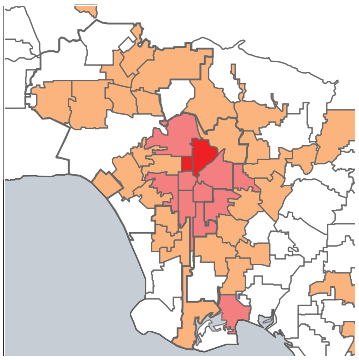


Figure A.11. Percentage of People per Census District Who Travel to Work Using Public Transportation.

Public transportation is a little-used commodity in the Los Angeles region. This is, of course, is in direct correspondence to Longstreths's belief in "Southern California's early acceptance of motor vehicles" (12). However, despite its low use rates throughout most of the city, that does not mean that public transit has been completely neglected or forgotten about in Los Angeles. For instance, as part of the 1980s re-centering crusade, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) proposed a 400-mile subway and light-rail lines at a cost of $183 billion (Davis, 184). However, as this system is centered on Downtown, with the goal of moving people in and out of Downtown and then back to the residential periphery along the coast and foothill regions, Mike Davis makes the argument that these transit schemes neglect the very people in Los Angeles who actually rely on public transportation for the living of their everyday lives. In pushing the subway agenda, MTA has reduced bus service. This has resulted in the extreme overcrowding of the city's buses, with black passengers now refering to them as "slave ships" (Davis, 186). Moreover, in June of 1995, shoddy engineering led to the collapse of the below-grade structural walls of the, then under construction, Red Line connecting Downtown to Hollywood, resulting in a massive sink hole along Hollywood Boulevard. At the time of the collapse, the Red Line was costing $290 million per mile to complete. This type of discrepancy between real-world need and political will led to the 1994 suit, brought by the Bus Riders Union, charging MTA with violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964, "intentionally imposing...extreme hardships on minority poor bus riders" (Davis, 187). As can be gleened from this story, access and use of public transportation is a major problem for Los Angeles.

Population by Race

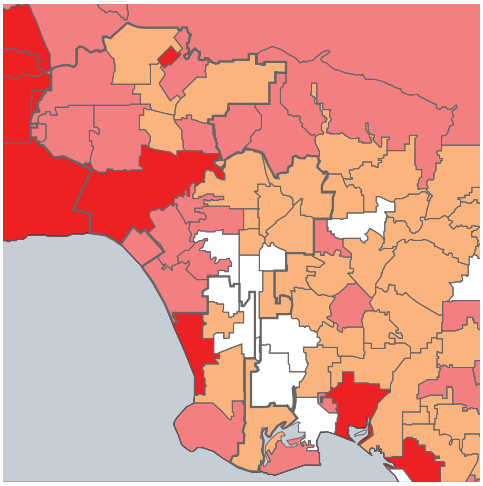


Figure A.12. White Population Concentration.

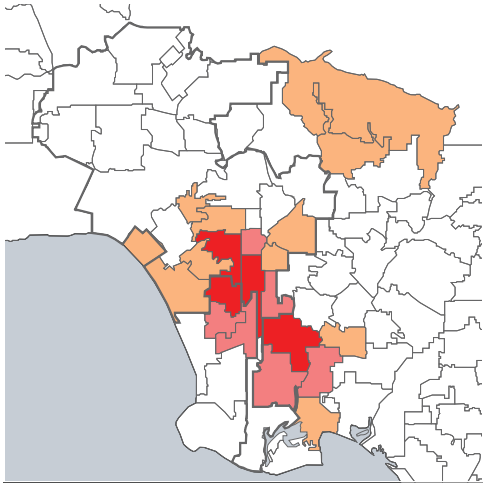


Figure A.13. Black Population Concentration.

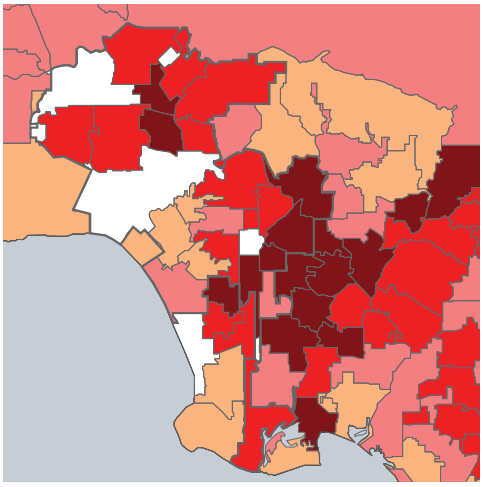


Figure A.14. Latino Population Concentration.

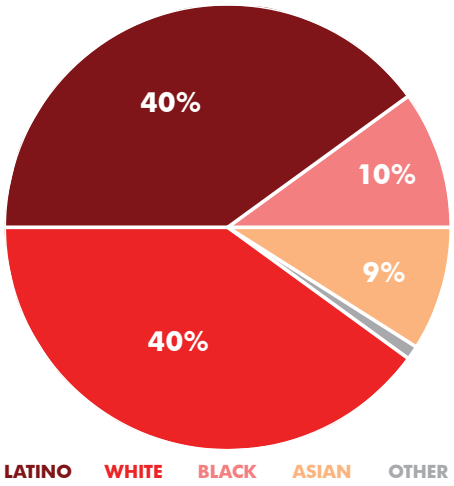


Figure A.15. Racial Composition of Los Angeles.

Los Angeles is fundamentally a multi-ethnic city, with whites and latinos equally making up the majority of the population. This is generally viewed as an asset. However, in looking at the population concentration maps, based on race, it quickly becomes clear that Los Angeles is also a largely segregated city. The white population clings to the coast and outer periphery, while the latino population is concentrated on the East side of the city, and the black population is almost entirely centered in the Southcentral neighborhood of the city.

Economics

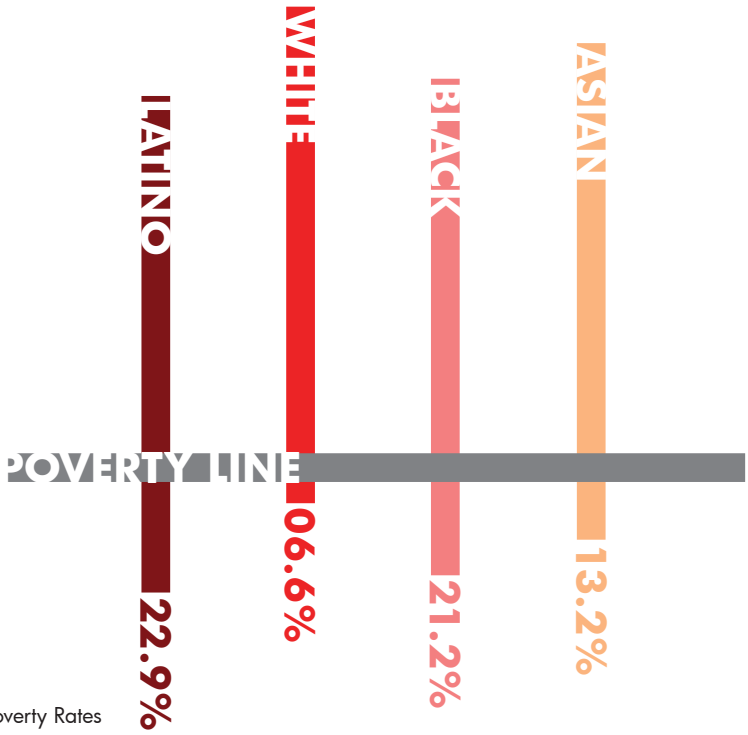


Figure A.16. Poverty Rates as Related to Race.

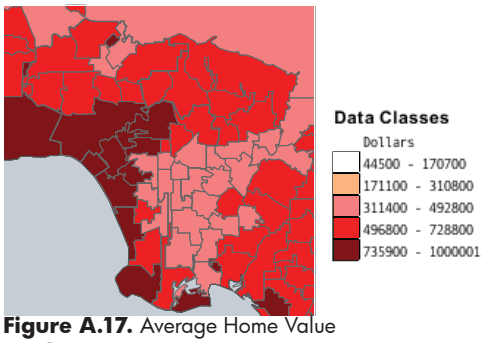


Figure A.17. Average Home Value per Census District.

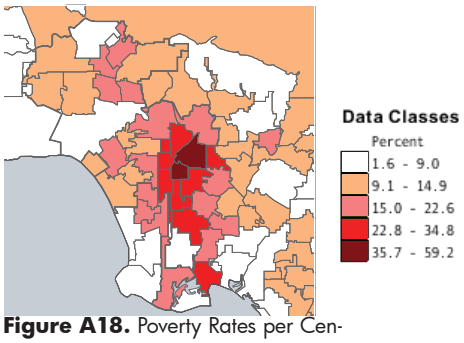
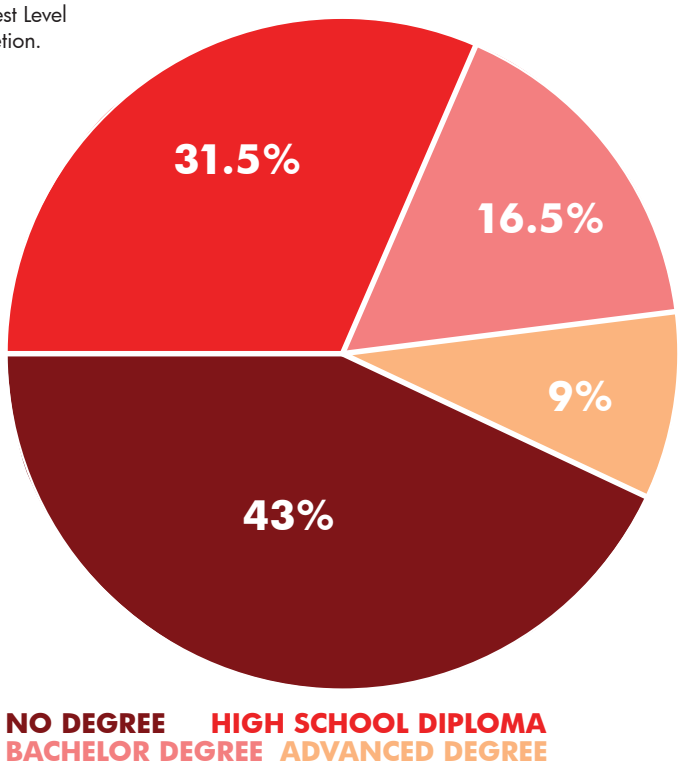


Figure A18. Poverty Rates per Census District.

Wealth, as measured by average housing value, is concentrated in the same regions of the city as the white population. The map measuring poverty levels throughout the city is almost the exact inverse from the housing value map, and is a near approximation of the map on the previous page detailing the concentration of Los Angeles' black population. Thus, we see general levels of poverty in the city that are nearly four times higher for the black and latino populations than for the corresponding white population. Thus, we can begin to see the location and ratial make-up of the "Third World" underclass identified by Hise, Schockman, and Dear.

Education

Figure A.19. Highest Level of Education Completion.



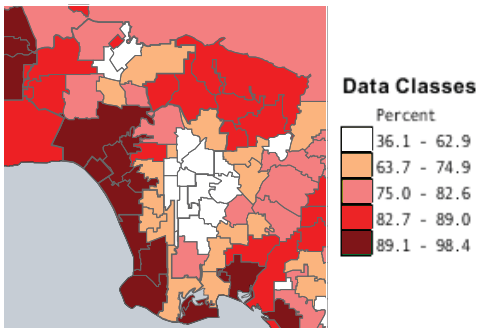


Figure A.20. High School Completion Rates.

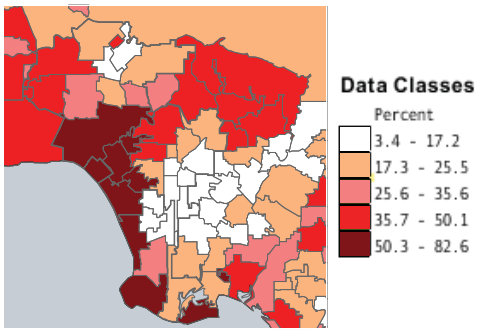
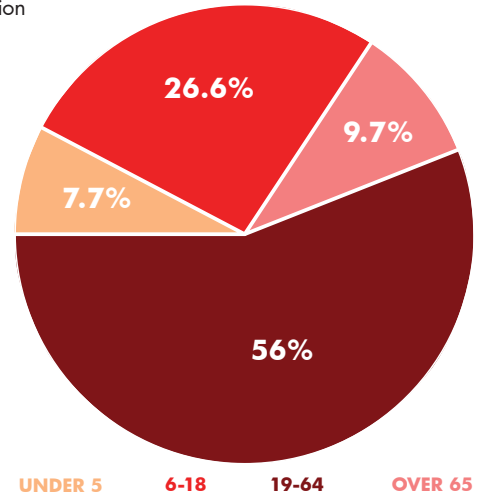


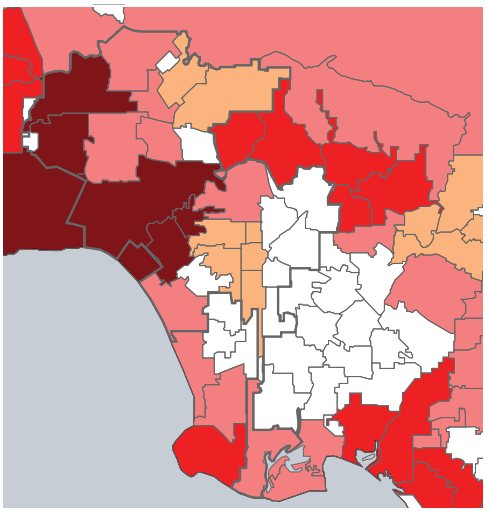
Figure A.21. Bachelor Degree Completion Rates.

As Hise, Schockman, and Dear pointed out, Los Angeles' "public schools are in a shambles" (11). Forty-three percent of the city has not finished any kind of degree. More over, when degrees are finished, the location of the people who finish them, in the city, reflects the previous census maps discussing racial concentration, wealth, and poverty. The very parts of the city most in need of access to quality education facilities, are the very parts of the city where education appears to be in the most neglect. To at least a certain degree, as Hise, Schockman, and Dear argue, this devaluation stems from a lack of investment and the corresponding lack of employment opportunities in this part of the city (ibid).

Population by Age

Figure A.22. Age Composition of Los Angeles.





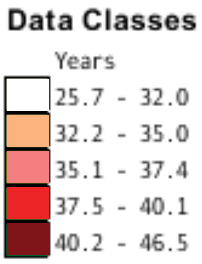


Figure A.25=3. Average Age per Census District.

Los Angeles, in general, is a young city; in no part of the city is the average age over 45, and this occurs only in the wealthiest parts of the city, along the coast stretching into Malibu, and along the foothills of the Santa Monica Hountains in places like Beverly Hills. More importantly, the parts of the city most affected by lack of education, and poverty, represent the youngest--as a reflection of average age--parts of the city. There are two possible explanations for this. Either, cross-generational co-habitation within communities and neighborhoods exists to a lesser degree in these parts of the city, with older people moving out given the chance. Or, there are simply many more young people in these areas that there are old. This could be a reflection of lower life expectancies based on the type of violence in these parts of the city described by Hise, Schockman, and Dear, and the higher poverty levels. Either way, once again, we find a city divided in the wake of the re-centering crusade of the 1980s.

APPENDIX B

Program

ARTS | EDUCATION FACILITY
70,000 square feet

PHYSICAL ACTIVITY STUDIOS

35,000 sf
(4-8, with common entry, locker rooms, etc.)
300 person limit (30 person per class * 8 classes + additional)

Activity Space (Accomodates Martial Arts, Yoga, Dance, etc.): 2500 sf/space
Vestibule: 150 sf
Male Restroom: 200 sf (6 WC, 3 urinals)
Female Restroom: 250 sf (8 WC)
Male Showers (for 10 people, 15 sf per shower): 200 sf
Female Showers (for 10 people): 200 sf
Male Locker Rooms: 750 sf
Female Locker Rooms: 750 sf

26-30 Employees (Teachers, Administration, Janitorial)
Adminstrative Office: 100-150 sf/office
Lobby/Entrance: 1000 sf
Storage/Janitor Closet: 80 sf
Laundry: 80 sf (industrial washer + dryer from Unimac)

Height: 3.5m min.=12 feet

CLASSROOMS

4,000 sf approx.
15-20 sf per person/class sizes of 15-20 including teacher

Teaching Room x 4: 400 sf per room
Conference Room: 600 sf
Computer Teaching Lab: 2000 sf

ART STUDIOS

Wood Shop: 4000 sf (with expanded work bench area)
Print Making: 3000 sf (6 machines: 3 lithography, 2 screen printing, prep machine)
Painting: 1250 sf
Sculpture: 2000 sf
Ceramics: 2000 sf
Personal Storage/Lockers: 1000 sf
Supply Store: 2000 sf
Bathrooms:
Administrative Offices (5-10 employees): 750 sf

CIVIC FACILITY
90,000 sf

LIBRARY

45,000 sf approx.

Collection Space: 140,000 volumes / 10 (library design guideline) = 15,000 sf
Patron Sitting Areas:500 seats x 30 sf/seat = 15,000 sf
Reference/Sorting/Employee Areas (10 employees): 1,500-2,000 sf
Administration Offices: 400 sf
Electronic Work Areas: 50 stations x 75 sf/station = 3750 sf
Microfilm and Special Collections: 5 stations x 35 sf/station = 175 sf

MARKET

20,000 sf approx.

Vendor Stalls: 800 sf/stall x 12 stalls = 9600 sf
Administration Offices: 250 sf
Employee Area (60 employees): lockers + restroom + break area =1000 sf
Delivery/Loading Dock/Staging Area: 1800 sf
Common Dining/Bar/Tasting Space: 50-100 people x 25 sf/person = 1800 sf
Café: 25-50 people x 15 sf/person = 750 sf

EXHIBITION HALL

7500 sf

Main Entry Hall: 2500 sf
Galleries: 800 sf x 3 galleries = 2400 sf
Private Galleries: 1,500 sf/gallery x 2 = 3,000 sf
Administration Offices (5 employees) : 500 sf
Loading Dock/Staging Area: 1200 sf

THEATER
6,000 sf approx.

Theater: 2,500 sf
Storage/Media Room: 250 sf
Foyer/Lobby: 2,000 sf

METRO STATION

Ticketing/Information
Administration Offices
Platform
Bicycle Storage

GOVERNMENT | REPRESENTATION FACILITY

City Council Offices (3 districts, 3-4 employees/office)
Miracle Mile Chamber of Commerce (4 full time employees, 1 meeting per month)
Miracle Mile Residential Association (6 full time employees, 1 meeting per month)
Park La Brea Representation (2 employees)

HOUSING | RESIDENTIAL FACILITY
300,000 sf approx.

RETIREMENT HOUSING

150,000 sf approx.

Efficiency Units: 750 sf x 20 = 15,000 sf
1 Bedroom Units: 1,000 sf x 60 = 60,000 sf
2 Bedroom Units: 1,250 sf x 20 = 25,000 sf
Common Facilities:
Kitchen/Dining Hall (Combine with Transition Housing): 35 sf/person x 750 people = 26,250 sf

TRANSITIONAL HOUSING

125,000 sf approx.

Bunk Rooms (8-12 people/room): 750 sf x 10 = 7,500 sf
Studio/Efficiency Units: 250 sf x 30 = 12,500 sf
1 Bedroom Units: 500 sf x 50 = 25,000 sf
2 Bedroom Units: 750 sf x 60 = 45,000 sf
Common Facilities:
Laundry:1,250 sf
Storage: 2,500 sf (20 sf/storage space)
Common Bathrooms/Bathing Rooms: 1,000 sf x 2 = 2,000 sf

LIVE-IN ARTIST LOFTS

20,000 sf

1,250 sf/loft x 10 lofts = 15,000 sf + circulation

VITA

Douglas Russ Newby was born to parents, Richard Stradley Newby and Barbara Ann Newby, in Phoenix, Arizona on November 17, 1983. He was raised in Scottsdale, Arizona, graduating from Desert Mountain High School in 2002. He attended the University of California, Berkeley, receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree, with a major in architecture in 2006. He was employed by Gibson Architects, LLC in Telluride, Colorado and Quick-Deck, Inc. in Charlotte, North Carolina before returning to academia in 2008. He received a Master of Architecture degree from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in 2010.

Douglas currently resides in Los Angeles, California with his fiancée, Sarah Beth Moseley.