

CZEŚĆ I PART I

PRZESTRZEŃ SPACE

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POLITICS AND URBAN ARTIFACTS IN CITIES: WHAT ARE THEY AND HOW ARE THEY INTERCONNECTED?

Summary

This research, analyses the effect of politics on a city and its image, via their control over the formation or changes on urban artifacts. It analyses the concepts introduced in Aldo Rossi's architectural monograph, *The Architecture of the City*, in the chapter titled 'Politics as Choice', and his idea that a city's image is a reflection of its political institutions and the choices people in authority make. Monuments and architecture of various cities world over are taken into consideration, and in the authors opinion it becomes evident that over the ages, irrespective of the location, architecture and urban planning are used as tools in achieving or furthering political goals and agendas. These choices made by people in authoritative positions can have long lasting effects on the shape, identity or image of the city.

Qualitative analysis based on review of existing literature and urban plans has been done, along with semi-directed interview with experts in the urban history of Rome, Bilbao and Sydney. This approach was adopted as the study analyses concepts which are more analytical and a qualitative methodology is more appropriate for use. Lastly, this study is preliminary research in better understanding the urban artifacts of the 20th century and researches one of the factors that influence their formation, that is politics. Other aspects of socio-economic, historical and cultural factors will be researched in future studies.

Keywords: Aldo Rossi, Cities, Politics, Urban Artifacts, Monuments.



POLITYKA I ARTEFAKTY MIEJSKIE: CZYM SĄ I JAK SĄ ZE SOBĄ POWIĄZANE?

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł analizuje wpływ polityki na miasto i jego wizerunek, poprzez kontrolę nad ich powstawaniem lub zmianami. Praca analizuje koncepcje wprowadzone w monografii architektonicznej Aldo Rossiego, „Architektura miasta” [tytuł oryginalny: *The Architecture of the City*], w rozdziale zatytułowanym „Polityka jako wybór” [tytuł oryginalny: *Politics as Choice*] oraz jego teorię, że wizerunek miasta jest odzwierciedleniem jego instytucji politycznych i wyborów dokonywanych przez ludzi władzy. Biorąc pod uwagę zabytki i architekturę różnych miast na całym świecie, zdaniem autora staje się oczywiste, że na przestrzeni wieków, niezależnie od miejsca, architektura i urbanistyka są wykorzystywane jako narzędzia do osiągnięcia lub wspierania celów i programów politycznych. Wybory dokonywane przez ludzi zajmujących autorytatywne stanowiska mogą mieć długotrwały wpływ na kształt miasta.

W artykule przeprowadzono analizę jakościową, opartą na przeglądzie istniejącej literatury i planów urbanistycznych, a także częściowo ukierunkowany wywiad z ekspertami w dziedzinie historii miejskiej Rzymu, Bilbao i Sydney.

Słowa kluczowe: Aldo Rossi, miasta, polityka, artefakty miejskie, zabytki.

Introduction

Society, the word, is often understood as a group of people who live together as a community, and share common customs, traditions or beliefs¹. Society comes together to form cities, which is then followed by having to make choices and decisions for the development of that city, and this is where politics come into play. This concept of politics² and its relationship with architecture and cities is discussed by Aldo Rossi in his book *The Architecture of the City*, who defines politics as a ‘problem of choices’³. It is pertinent to note that the authors are aware that development of a city or its urban artifacts do not happen based on politics alone, but also involve the influence of other factors like economics, geography, culture or history. This research is by no means exhaustive, and is a preliminary study that focuses on the aspects of politics, and also looking for further research options which can include other factors of influence.

¹ OED Online, Oxford University Press, December 2021, www.oed.com/view/Entry/183776. [Accessed: 23.12.2021].

² In this research politics is considered not just as decisions taken by a government institutions, but also a community, group of people or citizens that is in a position to exert its power of choice in making decisions.

³ Rossi A., Eisenman P., *The architecture of the city*, Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts & Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, New York 1982, pp. 162.



Furthermore, out of the two fundamental elements that compose a city, urban artifacts and housing⁴, this research focuses on the former. The reason being that urban artifact, often act as catalysts by either slowing down or accelerating the growth of their city⁵ and advertently or inadvertently make the city into what it is today⁶. Secondly, it is possible to find records of these urban artifacts dating back to many centuries, which allows us to develop an understanding of a variety of urban artifact, and analyse their formation, and effect on a city.

Also, this research looks into the political nature of the decision-making process on the basis of which urban artifacts are built or demolished, as a result of which the image of the city is formed. It is pertinent to note that a city is not built by mere individuals but by someone in authority⁷ who makes the decision to either construct or bulldoze something in the city. Although this decision is usually preceded by a multitude of choices, the core of the problem are these choices and the system on the basis of which one of them is selected as the final choice that will be implemented. This is where politics come into play, as in this choice the political will of the person or people in authority becomes visible⁸.

This is not a new concept, and politics has influenced architecture and urban design practices for centuries. Man has used it to create an image of his power, or even to hide their lack of it⁹. Like the three Great Pyramids of Giza built in the 26th Century B.C¹⁰, by the Egyptian Pharaoh Cheops. He had them constructed not because he possessed a lot of finances and resources, but because he needed to create an 'illusion of power and strength'¹¹. In this regard, Friedrich Engels writes that cities are a physical manifestation of its politics and that political institutions utilize architecture and urban planning as means of representing their visions into concrete form¹². Designer and researcher Muratovski Gjoko also discusses in his article 'The Politics of Architecture', that

⁴ Urban artifacts do not just include monuments and buildings, but can also be a 'fragment of the city', and 'Housing' implies those areas of the city that are primarily residential in nature and not the individual houses themselves. Ibidem, pp. 162.

⁵ Ibidem, pp. 162.

⁶ Ibidem, pp.138–164.

⁷ Authority means anyone who has the power to take decisions. It could be an individual like a King, or political leader, group of people living together in a community like a Municipality, or brought together by political agenda like a political institution.

⁸ Rossi A., Eisenman P., op.cit., pp.138–164.

⁹ Ibidem, pp. 45–57.

¹⁰ Gardner H., *Gardner's Art through the Ages*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, 1975, pp. 60–64.

¹¹ Gjoko M., *Urban Branding: The Politics of Architecture*, "Design Principles and Practices" 2012, Vol.6(1) pp. 45–57.

¹² <https://www.carthamagazine.com/issue/6-1/2016/09> [Access12.07.2021].

an analysis of a city's architecture and urban planning will reveal the political will and choices of the people who have built and lived in it¹³.

Rossi, also mentions that architecture and urbanism is used in politics for the erasure and formation of new memories in a city. The British or American Colonial Architectural Style, or Stalinist Architecture have many such examples. However, for the scope of this research, urban artifacts that have been constructed under colonial or communist era will not be considered, as the authors feel that these should be studied separately. The reason being that such a study should consider not just politics but also include analysis of the socio-economic set up, previous cultural heritage and history of the cities, and the changes afterwards. Since, these parameters are outside the scope of this study, we will exclude all such examples. The research also excludes those urban artifacts that were made for exhibitions or expositions, like the Eiffel Tower, or were only used as symbolic representation like the Statue of Liberty or Arc de Triomphe.

The three case studies presented in chronological order, are firstly selected on the basis of their different types of functions and political choices that have shaped them. Next, consideration was given to include case studies that represent either a famous design element, like a piazza, or that it became a 'high-value urban artifact'¹⁴ like the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao.

1. Politics and Urban Artifacts of a City: The Case Studies

The first case study is of the Piazza Della Quercia in Rome, Italy. Piazzas started as simple elements of design in Italy but then become urban artifacts and an integral part of the Renaissance city itself¹⁵. However, this case study is unique because unlike other Piazzas, that were usually entire projects and purpose built by planning authorities, the Piazza Quercia, is a result of the choices made due to a community that owned the church, Santa Maria Della Quercia in front of this space. Additionally, this community not only used their influence to create a space by changing the shape of its surrounding urban fabric, but have also fought to maintain its spatial use and quality to date. Because unlike many similar piazzas that have been converted into use as parking areas by the city administration, this piazza has remained free from use as a parking space because of the efforts by the community.

The second case study, the Sydney Opera House in Australia, is one of the most important monumental buildings of the 20th Century. However, the Sydney Opera House is selected not just on the basis of it being one of the most iconic urban artifacts of the 20th Century, but because the entire process of its design

¹³ Gjoko M., op.cit., pp. 45–57.

¹⁴ High value urban artifact, implies buildings that garnered national and international fame to the extent that they can become synonymous with the identity of the city or a country, and become its landmarks.

¹⁵ Rossi A., Eisenman P., op.cit., pp.138–164.

and development, the site selection process and the source of its funding are indicative of the democratic set up of the country. It is the choices made by the public that became an integral part for its fruitful construction. Furthermore, the changes in the use of the site, are indicative of the growth of the city, as well as, the political will of the municipality. It transformed from a strategic defence point, to an important hub for administrative purpose as a tram depot, and then into a site of touristic, cultural and recreational importance for the country.

The last case study, the Guggenheim Museum of Bilbao, is firstly selected because it is the famous example of the revitalization of a city's tourism and economy by the construction of an iconic urban architect by a world-famous architect. This phenomenon is internationally recognized as the Bilbao Effect. Furthermore, it is studied not just because of its famous design or the Bilbao Effect but because of the decision by the Municipality to build the museum despite the high costs of construction and great risks of financial loss if the scheme were to fail.

In all the case studies selected either an authority or a group of people made conscious choices that led towards the development of the particular urban artifact, that had long lasting effects or changes for its urban context at a local, national or international level.

1.1. Piazza Della Quercia, Rome, Italy

In the unplanned organic cities of Medieval Europe, an unplanned residual space was sometimes left in front of a church or palace. This would be used for people to gather, hear announcements, and later, even as market places. However, in the Renaissance era, the formation of a piazza happened with intent. Usually square or rectangular in shape, and with consideration given to the façade of the buildings around it in view of principles of designs like symmetry, scale, balance, and proportion¹⁶. It is seen that the Piazza, an element of the Renaissance city, eventually became the urban artifact of the Renaissance city¹⁷.

In this regard, the Piazza Della Quercia is unique. It is neither of a defined geometry, nor was its construction an actual project. This Piazza came about by the decisions taken by the community who owned the church S. Maria Della Quercia in front of it. The small chapel's origins are visible even in the 1668 map of Rome (see fig.1, year 1668). After it was opened to the public and frequently visited by butcher community the Pope gifted the church to the guild of Butchers known as *Macellai*. In the 18th Century the church was reconstructed by Filippo Raguzzini, and became bigger in size and of more defined geometric shape (see fig.1, year 1784), and then in 1938, during the *Diradimento*¹⁸ movement, the *Macellai* community considered it as an opportunity to have

¹⁶ Strappa G., interview, December, 3 2021.

¹⁷ Rossi A., Eisenman. P., op.cit., pp. 162.

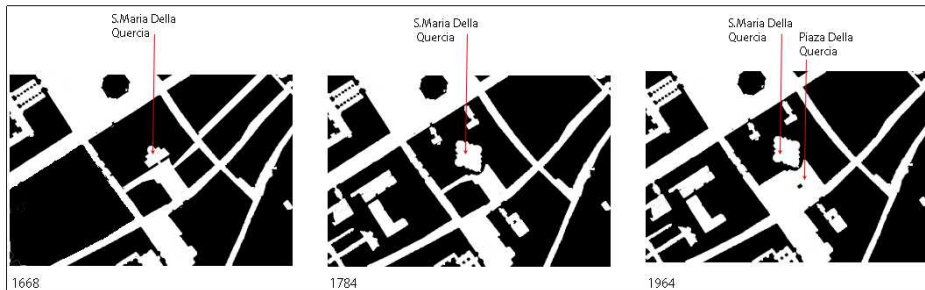
¹⁸ Diradimento, the thinning (demolition) of the urban fabric around urban artifacts. The movement happened during Musolini's era in Italy and aimed to 'Free the Monu-



a block of residential buildings in front of the church demolished to enlarge the square outside the church (see fig.1, year 1964). An oak tree, which is called as Quercia in Italian was planted in the middle of the square. This open space became an important part of the spatial configuration outside the church, and the blank façade of the building across it even had a fake façade painted on it to create an environment of visual balance and harmony.

The second aspect that makes this Piazza unique is that it had remained an open public space free from use as a car parking or café seating until 2020. This is noteworthy, because many similar piazzas in Rome, are being used for parking or commercial activities, but the *Macellai* community was actively involved in talking to the municipalities and fought for the right to the space to keep it clear. However, in July 2020 the government passed a Decree¹⁹, explicitly allowing use of public land for food and beverage or other administration activities, to fight against the Covid-19 pandemic. Owing to this, half of the space is in use now, while the remaining area is still being kept free by the community²⁰. In conclusion it can be seen that the Piazza della Quercia is unlike typical piazzas. It is a result of the organic growth, decisions taken by a community, as well as, political transformation of the space²¹.

Figure 1. Expansion of the Church S. Maria Della Quercia from 1668 to 1964 and formation process of Piazza Della Quercia.



Source: Own study using Maps of De Rossi 1668, Nolli 1784 and Muratori 1964.

ments'. It resulted in the transformation of cities with extensive demolition of the city with little concern for their rich history or heritage. Strappa G., op. cit.

¹⁹ Art.181 of Legislative Decree no. 34/2020. www.comune.roma.it [Access: 29.11.2021].

²⁰ Strappa G.,op. cit.

²¹ Ibidem.

1.2. Sydney Opera House, Australia

The Sydney Opera house, built in 1959, whose form is evocative of sea-shells or the sails of a ship (see fig.2), is considered as one of the most iconic landmarks of the 20th Century. Its design was selected via an international design competition, and the winner was the design entry by Jorn Utzon.

The site where the building stands today, known as Bennelong Point has a complex history. In recent years identified as a sacred site²² for the aboriginal tribes in Australia, the area was then acquired by the Britishers in 1780's for cattle grazing. In the 1790's the land is recorded to have initially belonged to a man named Bennelong, after whom this site is named as 'Bennelong Point'. In 1820s, as the British colony grew the Fort Macquarie was built here for defence purpose and fortification of the area. This fort is visible in a historic map from 1855 (see fig.3). By the early 20th century, the fort was demolished to make space for the main depot of the new tram system of Sydney. The site became an important hub of the tram transportation system. It is due to this reason the Minister of Transport showed concern at the loss of such an important transportation site, and advised that another site be selected for the construction of the Opera House. However, with the building concept gaining public and political support, as well as, international attention, the tram depot was relocated to a new site in 1958. In the maps from 1972 to 2012, it can be observed that although the construction of the Opera House changed the land use of the site itself from an administrative function, to a recreation and cultural activity, the immediate surroundings have remained for the most part unaltered since the 1850's (see fig.3).

According to the Sydney Local Environmental Cadastre Plan of 2012 the site of the Opera House is identified as a Neighbourhood Centre, and the green area, along with the Government House, as Recreation Area. Hence, it can be seen that the form of the city itself did not change because of the construction of the Opera House, nevertheless, its construction has caused significant changes in the image and identity of the city, as a result of which the tourism and commerce sector has thrived in the area. Furthermore, it can be noted that the Sydney harbour area had developed with construction of new piers, buildings, as well as, the Sydney Harbour Bridge (see fig.4) that allowed improve connectivity with the new city developing towards the north. After the construction of the Sydney Opera House the only significant change would be the addition of the viewing deck atop the Sydney Harbour Bridge with improved

²² Sydney Opera House official website. <https://www.sydneyoperahouse.com/our-story/sydney-opera-house-history/tubowgule.html> [Accessed: 22.12.2021].



pedestrian access to the bridge to provide panoramic views towards the iconic building²³.

Lastly, is the matter of the cost of construction and funding for this iconic building. Due to poor cost estimation and management in the initial stages of design and development, it soon became apparent that the actual cost of construction would be ten times more than the estimated cost. Fortunately, the building's design had gained great public support and popularity, and the Government announced a State Lottery the proceeds of which would be used for funding the cost of construction²⁴. The public participated in this state lottery not just with the hope of winning a cash prize, but also for participating in the cost of construction of the monument that would put their city on the world map. In the end, a large part of the cost of construction was actually funded via this State Lottery. Hence, the Sydney Opera House is a unique example of an urban artifact coming into existence based on the choices made by the government and general public together.

Figure 2. Exterior View of the Sydney Opera House.



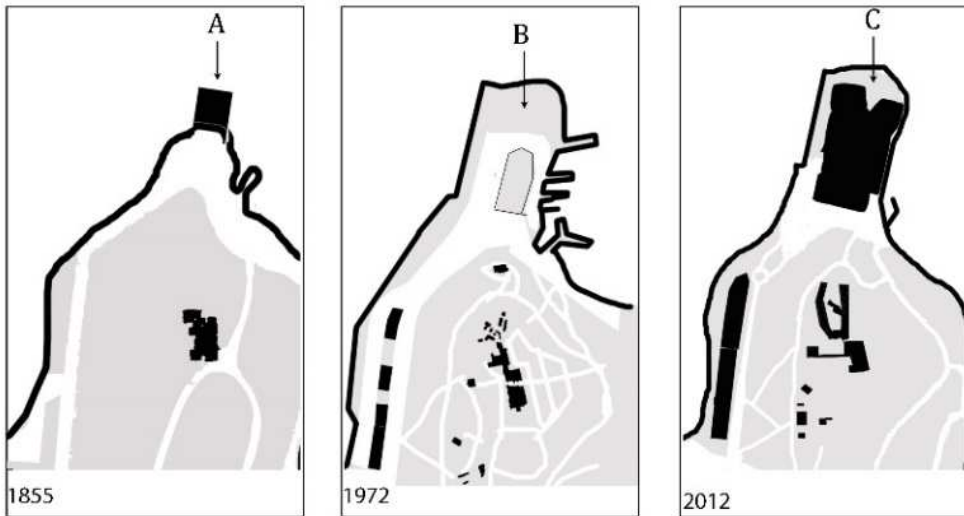
Source: Department of Environment, Government of Australia²⁵.

²³ Carter A., Tyrrell R., *The Sydney Opera House: Politics in the creation of an icon*, [in:] E. Duyan, & C. Ozturkcan (Eds.), *Politics in the history of architecture as cause and consequence: Proceedings of AARCHIST*, Istanbul 2013, pp. 39–61.

²⁴ Ibidem, pp. 39–61.

²⁵ Australian Government: Department of Agriculture, Water and the Environment. <https://www.awe.gov.au/parks-heritage/heritage/places/national/sydney-opera-house> [Access: 02.12.2021].

Figure 3. Change in land use and development around the site of Sydney Opera House from 1857 to 2012. A is the Fort Macquarie, B is the site for main tram depot, and C is the Opera House.

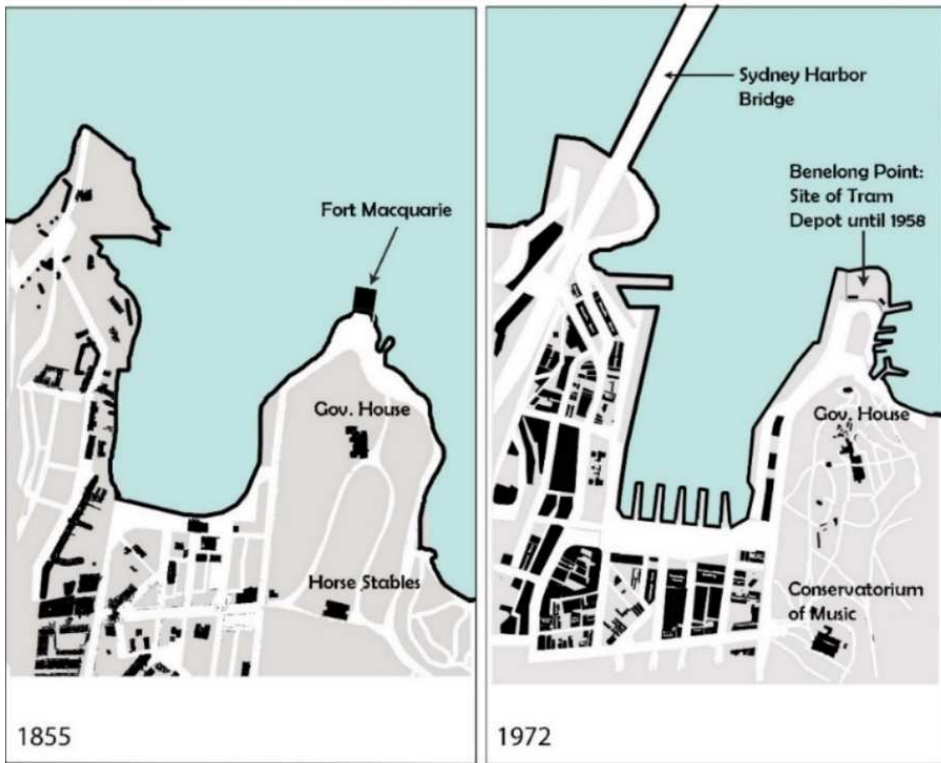


Source: Own study based on archives²⁶ and cadastral maps²⁷ from NSW Government website.

²⁶ <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/1709399>
[Access: 07.12.2021].

²⁷ NWS Government website <https://pp.planningportal.nsw.gov.au/publications/environmental-planning-instruments/sydney-local-environmental-plan-2012?page=0>
[Access: 26.12.2021].

Figure 4. Overview of the development around the site of Sydney Opera House Area and Harbor from 1857 to 2012.



Sources: Own study based on archives²⁸ and cadastral maps²⁹ from NSW Government website.

²⁸ <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/1709399>

[Access:12.07.2021].

²⁹ NWS Government website <https://pp.planningportal.nsw.gov.au/publications/environmental-planning-instruments/sydney-local-environmental-plan-2012?page=0>

[Access : 12.26.2021].

Figure 4. Overview of the development around the site of Sydney Opera House Area and Harbor from 1857 to 2012.



Sources: Own study based on archives³⁰ and cadastral maps³¹ from NSW Government website.

1.3. Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, Spain

In 1990 the Guggenheim Museum, in Bilbao designed by Frank Gehry was constructed to revitalize the city of Bilbao which was suffering from a high unemployment rate, and the only venue for generating income was to create an iconic landmark that would attract tourism and commerce³².

³⁰ <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/1709399>, [Access: 12.07.2021].

³¹ NWS Government website <https://pp.planningportal.nsw.gov.au/publications/environmental-planning-instruments/sydney-local-environmental-plan-2012?page=0> [Access: 12.26.2021]

³² Plaza B., *The Bilbao Effect (Guggenheim Museum Bilbao)*, "MRPA" 2007, vol. 86.

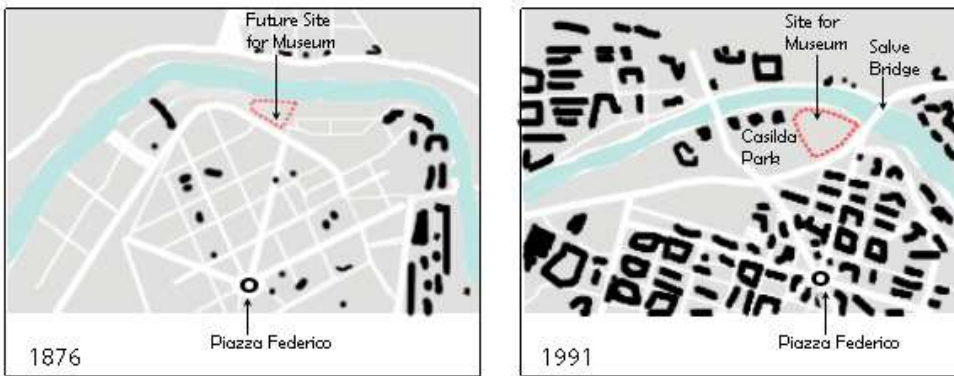
The site of the Guggenheim Museum itself has no interesting history, as it can be identified from historic maps dating from 1876 that the site was an open land, with little development around it, and a river running parallel to it (see fig.5). As the suburban areas of Bilbao grew, the municipality-built bridges over the river to connect the city center with the suburbs. The Salve Bridge, built in 1970 in close proximity to the museum used to be a vehicular bridge primarily, was fitted with elevators to improve its pedestrian accessibility. In addition to this, the open areas have been developed into public parks and recreational spaces, public educational facilities and libraries. The existing Casilda Park has also been expanded and maintained. Furthermore, the Pedro Arrupe, a pedestrian only bridge (see fig.6) was also built in 2004 to improve the connectivity on the area. This development has transformed the river and the unused space around it into areas for various activities.

Next, it is important to note the funding of the design and construction of the building. The entirety of it was paid by the Municipality, and it is pertinent to mention that the Municipality took a big risk in not only paying the designing fees of a famous architect, but also took up the high cost of construction of the building. Had the project been a failure, the municipality would have suffered a big financial loss. The government made the choice of taking this risk in a bid that the influx of tourists attracted to see a building designed by the famous architect Frank Gehry, would help them recover the money spent. Fortunately, the scheme was a success and to date millions of tourists visited the museum, giving a boom to the hospitality and commerce sector of the city. Hence, it can be seen that this urban artifact helped generate a lot of economic activity and revenue for the city³³.

The museum served as a catalyst for the development of green areas, spaces for recreational and cultural activities, and improved connectivity. This has enabled to revitalize not just the immediate neighborhood but has also had a positive impact on the city itself.

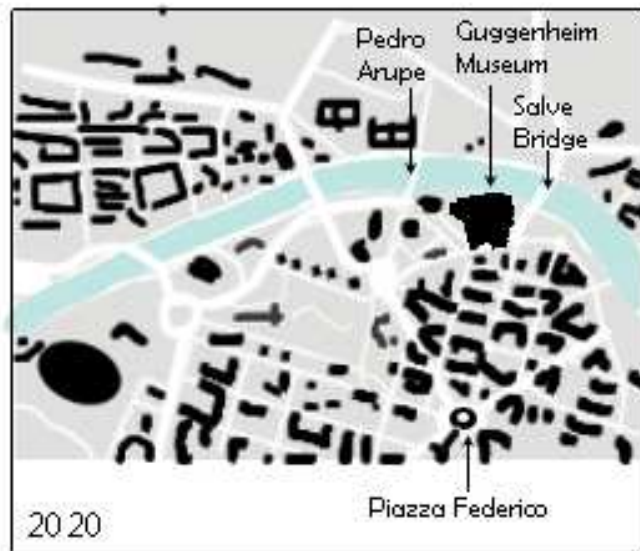
³³ Plaza B., *The return on the investment of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao*, "International Journal of Urban and Regional Research", 2006, vol. 30 (2), pp. 452–467.

Figure 5. Study of the area from 1876 to 1991 before the construction of the Guggenheim Museum with area in red dotted line indicating the future site for Guggenheim Museum.



Source: Own study using Archives from City of Bilbao Council website³⁴.

Figure 6. Study of area after the construction of the Guggenheim Museum.



Source: Own study using Archives from City of Bilbao Council website³⁵.

³⁴ Bilbao's council website. <https://www.bilbao.eus>. [Access: 04.12.2021].

³⁵ Bilbao's council website. <https://www.bilbao.eus>. [Access: 04.12.2021].

2. Discussion

This research notes two main points, that modern urban artifacts like the Sydney Opera House (SOH) and Guggenheim Museum of Bilbao (GMB) are a reflection of the democratic political approach of today. The Opera House is constructed via state and public support, while the Guggenheim Museum is constructed by the state for the benefit of the public and revitalization of the city. The first is a bi-directional approach, while the second is a top-down approach.

Furthermore, the immediate surroundings around the Sydney Opera House see no significant transformation, as the urban fabric of the rest of the city was already developing even before its construction. Hence the opera house has not been a catalyst in the development of the city, but has been a catalyst in the economic development of it via its hospitality and trade sectors. The Sydney Opera House is an example of a bi-directional, that is top down and bottom-up approach by the city, that resulted in the construction of a single building that acted as a catalyst in changing the image and identity of the city of Sydney. This image of the city that gained international attention, resulted in increased touristic and commercial activities for the city.

On the other hand, the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, is an example of a top-down approach that appears to act as a catalyst for rapid change and growth for the city, as well as, its commerce and tourist sector. The site, previously unoccupied by any buildings, has quickly grown to accommodate many public and administrative buildings and spaces. It has also allowed for the expansion of the urban fabric around it, as well as, new transportation routes to connect with the new developing city. It is interesting to note though, that other cities like Toronto, Denver, Helsinki or Abu Dhabi have also tried to replicate the Bilbao Effect by constructing iconic buildings designed by famous architects. However, none have been as successful³⁶ as the city of Bilbao.

It would be beneficial to study the other aspects of the city of Bilbao like its history, culture and heritage, along with, socio-economic set up to deepen our understanding of this phenomena and its success. The decision of its design and cost of construction was entirely born by the Municipality, despite a high risk of financial loss, and has proven to be beneficial for the city and its people. The case study of the Guggenheim Bilbao Museum, is an example of an urban artifact that has become a high-value urban artifact, and an identity at a city level.

The study on the Piazza, shows us two main findings, firstly that a design element of urban planning, can become a primary element of a city design. This later begins to be replicated in all shapes and sizes in the urban fabric. It manifests itself either by political will of the state or of a community that owns a particular area. This sense of ownership and the political influence of the

³⁶ Santamaria G., *The fading away of the Bilbao Effect: Bilbao, Denver, Helsinki, Abu Dhabi*, "Athens Journal of Architecture", 2020, vol.6 (1), pp. 25–52.

owners can have lasting effects on the urban space. Secondly, it is an example of a bottom-up approach, as the small community of the Macellai were able to influence decisions taken at municipal level with respect to the public space outside their church. It can be said that the form of the Piazza Della Quercia is the physical a representation of the aspirations of the Macellai community, and their desire to convert not just their church but also the space outside it into a 'special' space by converting it into a Piazza.

Each case study also identifies to us a different approach for the construction of a urban artifacts, and also highlights the role of the public or community in the politics of space.

Conclusions

It can be seen that the urban artifacts are not only about preserving the heritage or urban form of a city, but are used as a means for the revitalization or economic prosperity of a city by the government. However, it is not just the political party governing a country or the municipality of a city that makes the vital choices for the formation or demolition of an urban artifact, but also the citizens or community.

The case studies revealed that the public and the community can play an integral role in the politics of cities and its urban artifacts. Research on this public-participatory role and community involvement could prove to be beneficial in understanding the formation process of urban artifacts in cities and the shape of city, and also to develop a framework in identifying how new urban artifacts that prove beneficial to city growth and development can be constructed in the future. However, it would be important to find a balance, and a multi-faceted approach towards the formation and preservation of the heritage and culture of a city or space, while keeping in mind that these cities need to be lived in today by the current inhabitants, and form new cultures and cultural landmarks like the Sydney Opera House or Guggenheim Museum. In conclusion to this, it is important to note that political bodies should increase community and public involvement of the public in the choices made for the formation or changes in an urban artifact. The active reuse and co-creation of new urban heritage and artifacts can be critical driving forces for the development of the city.

Furthermore, it is important to note the development of a city is not just of its urban artifacts and housing, but also the lifestyle and cultures of the communities who inhabit the city. It could be of interest to conduct further studies on the effects of politics, political affiliations and communities on the urban artifacts and fabric of cities, and deepen our understanding of these affects.

Lastly, understanding can be developed of the factors at play with the formation of urban artifacts and their impact on the city form, by conducting research and comparing other buildings similar to the Sydney Opera House or Guggenheim Museum of Bilbao. This should include an analyse of their success



or failure ratio, and identification of similar and differential factors. Furthermore, it would be beneficial to study the other aspects of the city of Bilbao like its history, culture and heritage, along with, socio-economic set up to deepen our understanding of the success of the Bilbao effect.

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