52ND
ISOCARP CONGRESS

12 - 16 SEPTEMBER 2016
DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

"CITIES WE HAVE VS. CITIES WE NEED"

Proceedings

#ISOCARP2016

International Society of City and Regional Planners
Association Internatonale des Urbanistes
Internationale Gesellschaft der Stadt- und Regionalplaner
Asociación International de Urbanistas

The International Society of City and Regional Planners (ISOCARP) is a global association of experienced professional planners. It was founded in 1965 in a bid to bring together recognised and highly-qualified planners in an international network. The ISOCARP network brings together individual and institutional members from more than 80 countries worldwide.
The wealth and diversity of professional expertise, knowledge, and experience in the ISOCARP membership is unmatched in the planning field. Although ISOCARP members work in many different fields they share a common interest in the spatial and environmental dimensions of urbanisation. They advise key decision makers, proposing and supporting projects for intervention in a spatial context through general or specific actions.
ISOCARP encourages the exchange of professional knowledge between planners, promotes the planning profession in all its forms, stimulates and improves planning research, training and education and enhances public awareness and understanding of major planning issues at a global level.

ISOCARP
Knowledge for better Cities

Heterotopia and Equilibrium of Contested Urban Space:
An Investigation of an Accommodation-Assimilation Mechanism

Jingyi ZHU   Ming TONG
College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Tongji University, China

Abstract

The cities in our generation are marked by the presence of discontinuous, highly contested urban spaces and extremely mixed population. Growing urban heterogeneity brings new urban materials for future development, as well as the question of how we can understand the space produced in this changing scenario and how the space itself adapts to multiple urban changes. In this article, we propose that the concept of heterotopia can be applied to understand such unsettling space produced within shifting urban paradigms, and through a mechanism of accommodation-assimilation, heterotopia has the ability to adapt to turmoils and changes. We use Milan Chinatown as an example to show how heterotopia can be used as an analytical tool to understand the transformation of urban space and the possibility this point of view offers to future planning practice.

1. The problem of heterogeneity

Traditional urban space has been transformed from continuity to fragments, and the new space created is often self-centred without a clear overall logic, due to the transformation of production paradigm from a massive production system to a more flexible and customised one as well as the new development aspirations. At the same time, the massive population flows in recent decades further add to the social heterogeneity of space. Different populations make use of space in their own ways, creating a variety of urban landscapes that either coexist or conflict with each other. The idea of this changing spatial and social configurations is further expressed in the changing conceptual urban models, from the concentric zone model and sector model put forward by Burgess and Hoyt that respectively represent the city as formed by centre and edge, to the different expressions such as postmodern global metropolis, cosmopolis, post-metropolis and so on,used by Soja to describe the fact that cities are becoming entities that are physically and socially fragmented instead of those with single centres (Knox and Pinch 2006). These shifting paradigms suggest, on the one hand, the ever-growing presence of heterogeneity, and on the other hand, the fact that contemporary urban space is more prone to changes due to its unstable structure. An interesting inquiry is how urban space is produced through multiple transformations and how space survives various changes but still maintains a certain level of consistency. In this article, we propose we could apply the concept of heterotopia that has been developed by many scholars in different fields as an analytical tool to understand the mechanism of adaptive urban space.Before entering the discussion of the idea of heterotopia and the adaptation mechanism, we will first look at Chinatown in Milan as an example of an urban space that emerges within shifting physical environment and social relations and constantly adapts itself to new urban elements. The choice of case study might suggest an attention to ethnical issues, but this is by no means the focus of this article. We primarily look at the area as a space of constant changes and adaptations which has been given little

attention. Therefore in the case study, the immigration issues will not be dealt with in depth. Alternatively, we will try to provide a detailed but selective account of its history to have an idea of the entire development process of the district and how it has adapted itself to many changes throughout its history. With an idea of the case in mind, we will look into the discourse of heterotopia in changing contexts, and examine how this analytical to can be used to explain particular aspects of urban development.

2. Milan Chinatown: a case of contested urban space

The so-called Chinatown in Milan, also known as Canonica-Sarpi district, is located north-west to the historic centre of Milan, close to Sempione Park (Figure 1). Unlike many other Chinatowns in cities around the world that have become famous tourist attractions, Milan Chinatown lacks this publicity, and indeed it lacks genuinely ethnic features, except for the prevalence of shop signs in Chinese and the presence of more Asian, especially Chinese people compared to other parts of the city. The entire area is composed of typical Milanese multi-storey buildings, with more than ninety percent of the residents here being Italian.

Figure 1 Milan Chinatown as indicated on Google map
Source: https://www.google.it/maps/place/Chinatown

Today the Canonica-Sarpi district centres around the main road, Via Paolo Sarpi, where most of the activities are concentrated today, but the district originally sprang from its west border, Via Luigi Canonica, which was once called Borgo degli Ortolani, literally meaning Village of Green Grocers. The road had a long history, and had served as a major passage for trade and commerce within the rural setting until the eighteenth century (Figure 2). Since the second half of the nineteenth century the city of Milan experienced a series of urbanisation outside the city wall, and already at the beginning of the twentieth century, the district had become part of the dense urban fabric with service networks and industrial production facilities (Figure 3). With regard to building typology, since the Middle Ages the buildings here had been arranged to face the street and the rectangular plots for agricultural production had been put at the back (Figure 4). The upper floors of the buildings were used as residences, while the ground floor housed small workshops for handicrafts and trades related to cultivation (Bricocoli and Savoldi 2010). In the twentieth, the area had been established as a major business district, and a new housing typology, "house to rent" (casa a pigione) was developed. This typology was characterised by multi-storey buildings with facade facing the street and inner courtyards (Figure 5). Similar to the traditional type of housing, the ground floor was used for shops and other commercial activities, while the upper floors housed residents of various social classes (ibid).
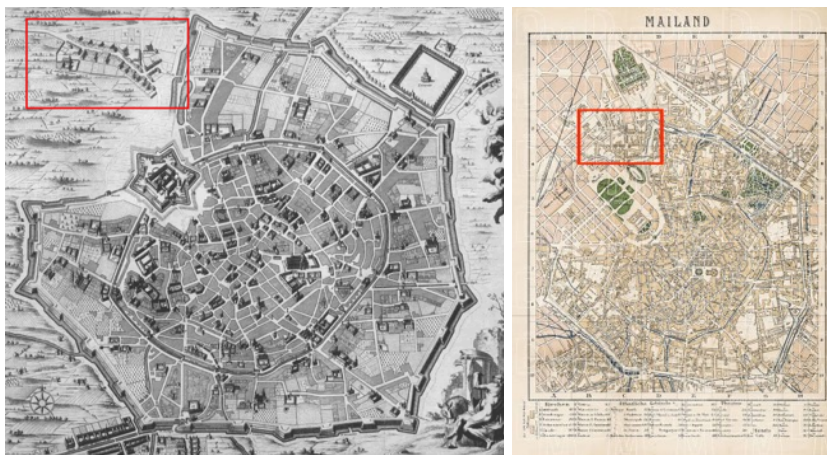
Figure 2 (left) The origin of Via Canonica, 18th century
Source: http://www.storiadimilano.it/citta/mappe/mappe.htm
Figure 3 (right): Canonica-Sarpi District, early 20th century
Source: http://www.discusmedia.com/maps/milan_city_maps/3680/
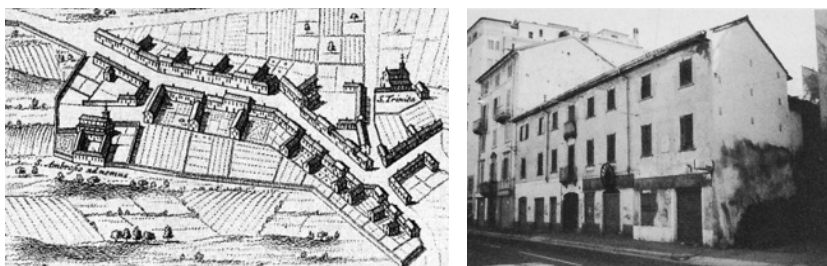
Figure 4 (left) Early building typology
Source: left http://www.hortus2015.org/?p=265
Figure 5 (right) one of the buildings that overlook Via Canonica in which the first groups of Chinese immigrants in Milan settled in the twenties
Source: Farina, P. etc. (1997)."Cina a Milano. Famiglie, ambienti e lavori della popolazione cinese a Milano"
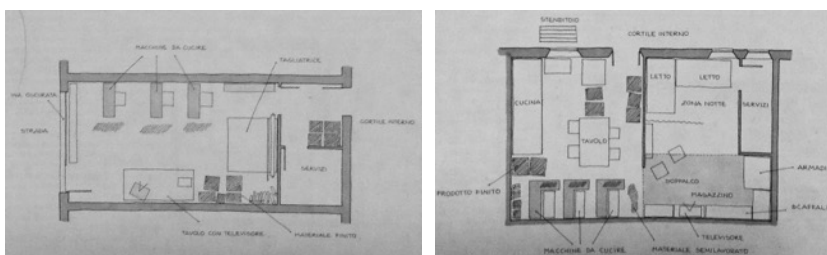

Figure 6 examples of how Chinese people adapted original buildings to workplaces and residence
Source: Farina, P. etc. (1997)."Cina a Milano. Famiglie, ambienti e lavori della popolazione cinese a Milano"

According to Wang (2014), the Chinese immigration to Milan can be divided into three phases. The first phase, staring from the 1920s, lasted roughly thirty years and during this period, the Chinese immigrants rented shops as laboratories of leather and silk to cater for the great need for these goods during the wars. The second phase started after the Second World War, when new Chinese immigrants directly coming from China arrived to join their families, who started to run small enterprises like supermarkets and restaurants serving both

Chinese people and the local Italian residents. The presence of the Chinese community, quite unexpectedly, helped preserve the original socio-economic organisation of the district, which was characterised by the coexistence of workplaces and residences, during post-war real estate boom (Bricocoli and Savoldi 2010)(Figure 6). Since the late 1980s, the third phase started. The feature of this period is the fast growing of wholesale activities, although the immigrants are also engaged in other activities. The explosion of wholesale activities was closely connected to the expansion of Chinese foreign trades, as well as an industrial decline in the Italian context. Wholesale stores, especially those of clothing, boomed in Canonica-Sarpi district.

Before this boom of wholesale business, the district has always remained peaceful for the Chinese are known as being quiet neighbours. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, huge spatial and functional impact of wholesale business started to disturb the neighbourhood (Figure 7). Because the interior spaces of Chinese shops are limited for wholesale business, Chinese business people sometimes directly put the stocks on the streets that are old and narrow, and more garbage like cardboards for wrapping, have appeared. Besides, the logistic requirements of the wholesale business bring more trucks and vans than usual to the Canonica-Sarpi district and the surrounding neighbourhoods, which is considered as a serious degradation of the local environment by Italian residents. The new but more influential type of trade quickly expands unstoppably, occupying the public space, the sidewalks and intersections. The wholesale stores keep replacing the existing trades, reducing the diversity of the neighbourhood. These conflicts, fuelled by the political notion of a "Chinese invasion", has been used by the public authorities to control the Chinese trades in this area. The trucks and vans used for delivering, loading and unloading were strictly monitored and sanctioned if they did not abide by some strict rules. The Chinese traders, to deal with the situation, started using trolleys and bicycles with luggage rack to deliver goods from the surrounding neighbourhoods to their shops (Figure 8). When these activities became also closely monitored, they even started to carry the packages to the shops on their backs.

Figure 7 (left) The distribution of wholesale business, 2001
Source: adapted from Cologna, D. (2002). (ed) "La Cina sotto casa. Convivenza e conflitti tra cinesi e italiani in due quartieri di Milano"
Figure 8 (right) Chinese merchants and their trolleys
Source: Farina, P. etc. (1997)."Cina a Milano. Famiglie, ambienti e lavori della popolazione cinese a Milano"

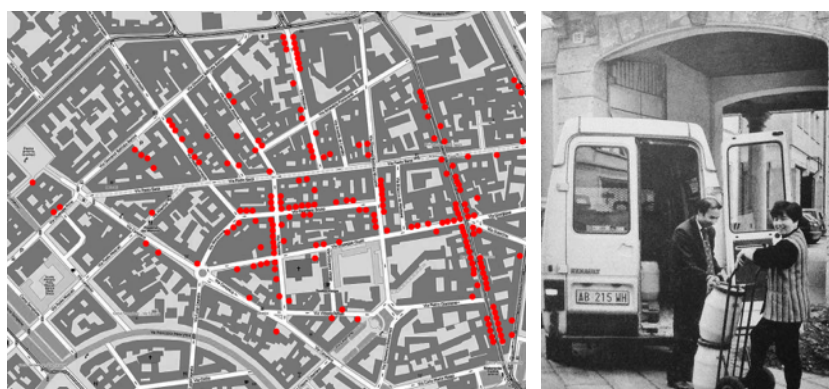Tensions kept accumulating and finally broke out in the form of a riot in April 2007. According to the news reports, hundreds of Chinese people demonstrated in the streets, overturning cars. The incident started form a parking fine given by the policemen to a Chinese trader, and during this event, other businessmen joined to support their countryman. The dispute soon turned into a big turmoil. Following the riot, in November 2008, the district became one of the few Limited Traffic Zone (ZTL) in Milan. Under the regulations of ZTL the district was only open to residents' cars, excluding taxis and motorcycles, and limiting the time allowed to transport goods. Then, starting from January 2010, a regeneration project aimed to pedestrianise and beautify the area by redesigning the roads and facilities (Figure 9). The redevelopment project was designed to create new space for pedestrians, commerce and communities, using materials, greenery, street furniture and lighting. The roads have been redesigned into three sections, green space has been increased by planting more trees and a system of "green margins" clearly demarcated authorised traffic and pedestrian activities.
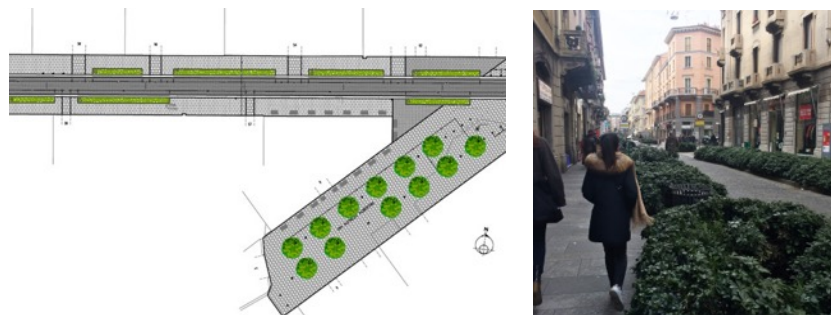

Figure 9 Plan of the redevelopment and the current streetscape
Source: http://www.metropolitanamilanese.it/; photo by author

The transformation of Chinatown in recent year, including the establishment of ZTL and the pedestrianisation of the street has greatly changed the lives of both the traders and the residents, the Italian people and the Chinese people alike. Despite the efforts form the municipality to regulate even eliminate the wholesale businesses, trolleys and bikes for delivering goods are everywhere to be seen, and piles of goods are still piling up on the pedestrian walks (Figure 10). For most of the Chinese traders, these regeneration schemes that target at the loading and unloading of goods cause great inconvenience for their business. Local Italian population, on the other hand, are divided into two groups with regard to their opinions on the establishment of ZTL and the pedestrianisation. The residents welcome the ideas, embracing them as a step to regenerating a more liveable environment. But the Italian traders have reservations about these decisions, because for them, the regulations also create difficulties in goods delivering.

Figure 10 bicycles, trolleys and goods
Source: photo by author

3. Heterotopia: a space of adaptation

In the case above, we try to bring to light an urban space that is seldom noticed but nonetheless has gone through many transformations throughout the history. In the following sections, we will analyse how it adapts to various changes through the lens of heterotopia. But first we will briefly trace the development of the concept of heterotopia itself, before developing it as a dual mechanism of assimilation and accommodation.

3.1 Heterotopia revisited

"Heterotopia" combines "hetero", meaning another and different, with "topo", meaning place. The concept was originally used in medical contexts, meaning "misplacement or displacement, as of an organ" or "the formation of tissue in a part where its presence is abnormal", indicating the condition of a normal tissue growing in an unexpected way in unexpected places. This displacement, however, does not influence the functional performance and development of the entire organism (Sohn 2008). Foucault brought this term to the attention of architecture and urban studies but it has remained a source of confusion and debate since. In his elaboration, the concept indicated institutions and spaces that interrupt and contradict the continuity and normality of ordinary everyday space (Dehaene and Cauter 2008).The idea became well-known through the essay "Of Other Spaces", in which Foucault (1986) summarised the six characteristics of a heterotopia: the presence of heterotopias in almost every culture; different functions of heterotopia throughout time in a given society; the capability of heterotopia to juxtapose several incompatible spaces in a single place; linkage to slices in time; possession of a system of opening and closing that isolate and make them penetrable at the same time; and a function in relation to all the space that remains. For him, heterotopias are sites that are in relation with all the other sides,which has a curious property as to "suspect, neutralise, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror or reflect" (Foucault 1986). He further identified two types of heterotopias: heterotopias of crisis, which are forbidden places reserved for individuals going into a state of "crisis" from the point of view of society because they can no longer undertake their original social rules but are yet prepared to assume new roles, and heterotopias of deviance, where individuals whose behaviours are considered deviant compared to the social norms or requirements are kept, and these heterotopias on the one hand underline the normality of the society and on the other hand exhibit how certain behaviours are incompatible with the perfectly normal society at the same time.

Based on this classification of heterotopias, there have been conceptualisations of other types of heterotopias that are more relevant to contemporary urban and social situations. Shane (2005) considers heterotopia as one of the three basic urban elements (the other two being enclave and armature) in which the other two elements are kept in constantly changing balance, and with the function of maintaining the stability of the city as a self-organising entity. He proposes heterotopias of illusion as the new development of the other two types of heterotopias, and the primary distinction between heterotopias of deviation and heterotopias of illusion lies in that the latter type enables the urban actors to adjust to changes in urban system using images and symbolic icons. During the shift from heterotopias of crisis to heterotopias of deviance then to heterotopias of illusion, urban actors use changing ways of accommodating changes, first picking out those who are undergoing periods of crisis and confining them to a cell that is neatly woven into the urban fabric, then throwing them into powerful machines isolated from the social norm and ordinary urban fabric and applying

logical and rigid rules to establish order to reform the deviant, and finally allowing them to adjust to the urban system by manipulating images within new communication systems, at the same time making it once more possible for heterotopias to stay in everyday urban fabric.

At the same time, Cenzatti (2008) proposes heterotopias of difference as a new type of heterotopias produced by social shifts. Since "change" is the key word for recent urban development, heterotopias have been evolving from heterotopias of crisis that created fixed space for changing population, to heterotopias of deviance in which fixed population were kept in fixed places, to the contemporary heterotopias of difference, characterised by a multiplicity of changing spaces and changing population (ibid). The basic rules still apply in this new type of heterotopias, while in contemporary situations, neither space nor population are fixed, but on the contrary, in constant change and contradiction. Faced with this level of multiplicity, it's no longer possible to cut a clear line between "normal" and "deviant", and each voice could not be easily controlled or oppressed, but should be treated as differences that coexist and interact. Heterotopias are not "other space" simply because it is deviant, compared to certain kinds of an urban environment or conventional societal codes; it's all the different spaces it embodies, the characteristics of these differences compared to those in other situations, and the overall effect they produce that constitute the otherness of heterotopias. "Otherness", then, is not intrinsic, but is "a combination of materialism, social practices, events and characteristics that represent contradictions with other sites" (Shoshana 2014).

Many authors associate heterotopia with concepts such as power and resistance, since, from the post-structuralist point of view, power and resistance are often juxtaposed in the same site (Kong 2012) and the postmodern perspectives tend to consider heterotopias as highly inclusive places that are related to the empowerment of marginalised and minority groups (Sohn 2008). Heterotopia is seen as where the voices from the marginal and powerless urban actors demonstrate their own identities. It is a kind of "counter-hegemonic representations" of resistance used to represent certain social and cultural image (Cangià 2013). Heterotopias tend to include a multiplicity of different groups of populations, with their respective social and spatial practices, therefore becomes places where different voices especially those from the relatively marginalised groups can be heard. Heterotopia is also seen as where unconventional social practices take place within the mainstream society and urban space, or an affiliated space created outside the primary space. Related to this idea is concepts like "loose space", where people recognise new potentialities within an established space, and create new possibilities by using existing elements or bringing new ones (Franck 2006). These uses are not necessarily marginal but nonetheless demonstrate new social and spatial orders. In other words, it results from a certain kind of spontaneity that creates new activities and uses other than the intended and established activities. The separations of these alternative social and spatial from the ordinary space and the existing form of power create new space with alternative ordering, contrasting with the environment it emerges out of through different forms of built environment and social events (Helten 2015).

3.2 Heterotopia and dual mechanism of assimilation and accommodation

For further discussion, a summary of some key points is given here. First of all, heterotopia is not a site that has intrinsic characteristics that make it appear different from other places. Its otherness only exists in relation to other sites. Secondly, heterotopia has a layered quality. It is composed of a variety of different, sometimes incompatible layers of social relations and

corresponding spatial representations. These layers are open and dynamic, in that they are related to other sites and therefore subject to changes. Heterotopias today, compared to the "classical" ones, are tied together with much broader global contexts. Thirdly, heterotopia is not about established sets of orders but about the processes of ordering (Hetherington 1997). Ordering is not only making things fixed; ordering creates ways to arrange and distribute social activities (Law 1994). Last but not least, contemporary heterotopias, unlike heterotopias of crisis and heterotopias of deviance in which rigid codes are enforced, have more diverse ways of controlling and manipulating rules, from elements of the physical environment to images and relations.

The concept of heterotopia has significance in relation to understanding urban development in that, on the one hand, it points out once more the growing tendency in contemporary city that within a single site there could be a juxtaposition of multiple economic, cultural and social forces that overlap and sometimes have conflicting effects and that there is no longer a centre that exerts strong control, and on the other hand, it suggests that heterotopia could be applied as an analytical tool since it deals with the ordering of conflicting elements, and therefore has the power to construct a mechanism of adapting to changes. Urban development is constituted by many different layers of physical environment and social life. These layers are related to both the local context and the global trend, the latter gaining more and more relevance in contemporary times. In usual situations spaces are at a state of relative equilibrium. When a new layer with all its elements is added to the existing space, and when the new elements are in one way or another incompatible with the original system, a series of reactions are triggered to act on the new elements. Heterotopia can be applied here to explain these reactions.

In constructing a working mechanism for heretotopia, we first turn to two concepts used in psychology and cognitive studies in order to explain the relationship between the mechanism of heterotopia and a broader urban setting. The concepts are assimilation and accommodation, which are two ways of internalising the knowledge from the outside world. According to Piaget (1952), the cognitive process of a young child's intellectual growth is essentially a process of adaptation, which is further divided into three interrelated states: assimilation, accommodation and equilibrium. Assimilation is the process of using the existing cognitive schema when faced with new information and knowledge, while accommodation happens when the existing schema is no longer able to work, and has to be revised so that the new information could then be processed (ibid). Schema here denotes the pattern of thought or behaviour that organises information and the relationships between them (DiMaggio 1997). A state of equilibrium is considered to be achieved when the schema is able to process most of the new information through the mechanism of assimilation, but when the existing schema cannot incorporate new information, a state of disequilibrium occurs, and the existing schema has to be changed through accommodation so that a new balance could be achieved, until the next time changes are needed to adjust the new schema.

These concepts are undoubtedly helpful in studying urban questions, especially when we consider a city as a living organism that has to constantly adapt to stimulations and changes. Taking the analogy, we propose that heterotopia is a space of adaption, and therefore part of the mechanism that gives a city the ability to adapt to changes. This could generalise the different heterotopias described by different authors, be it a heterotopia that is used to regulate deviant behaviours or a heterotopia where differences coexist. Within the complex

process of adaptation, otherness emerges that make the space a heterotopia. Adaption happens both in physical space and social space. Adopting an actor-network point of view, a social network is not only formed by the interactions of human beings, but also the interactions of human beings and other materials (Law 1992). Series of social associations define and constitute physical space, and at the same time, space is so arranged that it is programmed for certain types of actions to be conducted (Murdoch 1998). Any urban space is in a state of dynamic equilibrium composed of the external physical environment and the internal social networks. When new social and spatial logics enter the urban space, and if they could be fit into the existing order, they will be assimilated without greatly disturbing the established social relations and spatial configurations. However, if the existing system is unable to sustain the changes made to it, the equilibrium will turn into disequilibrium, and the existing system has to be changed to accommodate the changes and the new paradigms. At the same time the new elements are also being modified to fit into the system. After this process, a new equilibrium with its spatial and social orders replace the old system. Heterotopia exists in the whole adaption process, and even more pronounced in the stages of assimilation and adaptation. It is not about the established order but about ordering, where new ways of ordering emerge in response to the fact that the order that already exists can no longer cope with changes and new ideas.

Through the process of adaptation, otherness is established, which is the main feature of a heterotopia. Otherness can be constructed both spatially and socially. Any features of the built form is controlled by certain urban agents (specific persons, and local or even trans-local forces of various force), and the built environment as a whole is a multi-layered system, with different players on many levels (Habraken 2000). The levels of control of different actors are manifest in the properties of the built form. The agents communicate and negotiate with each other, and spatial configurations remain in stasis when agent relations are stable, the space perceived as a consensus. When the balance is broken, either because of the changing power balance of existing agents or the entrance of new agents, new spatial configurations emerge as other than the consensual space, while the otherness can be detected in various spatial arrangements and representation. Otherness can also be constructed socially. This usually happens when different social groups are "forced" into the space and have to find a way to coexist. As Koch (2016) points out, we depend on codes of behaviours and expressions to establish knowledge of each other. While we tend to consider ourselves as diverse, differentiated and complex, we tend to think of those with whom we are not familiar as generic others or types of others, either because we depend on limited knowledge of them during our limited encounters, or because we directly assume what they are from what we have heard about them without direct contact. Therefore there is the social process of othering: individuals and groups are defined as others based on a selective reading of codes and behaviours (ibid). Differences are magnified and strengthened, while similarities are sometimes overlooked. In this way, heterotopia answers the question of how a city adapts to changes. Through "othering" and "ordering" both spatially and socially, new elements are accommodated or assimilated to the existing system, while the old system might also change its original structure in the same process to once again reach the state of equilibrium.

3.3 Milan Chinatown: a heterotopia

It's clear from the chronological account of the historical development of Canonica-Sarpi district that the so-called Chinatown only started to develop its character in recent decades,

and it only turned into a heterotopia since the expansion of the wholesale activities since fifteen years ago, if we adopt the idea that heterotopia is essentially a site of adaptation. From the very beginning of its history, the district has been subject to constant changes, resulting from the evolving socio-economic structure. But the new elements had always been successfully assimilated into the old urban system, be it a new type of trade or a building typology or a new group of immigrants. For example, when the Chinese people first settled in the area, their presence and activities did not create great problems, since the handicraft businesses they were engaged in did not differ essentially from the traditional activities carried out there, and their workshops were successfully integrated into the urban fabric using the existing courtyard housing typology. In this sense, the original equilibrium of the district had not been disturbed, with all the changes gradually assimilated. It was only when the wholesale business started to boom in the district that the existing spatial and social structures became unable to adapt to the new changes. The rise of this type of business was not only a local development but also connected to the growing economic power of China and a huge circulation of cheap Chinese goods ever since. From the spatial point of view, the ways that Chinese traders use the space conflict with the local residents' established spatial perceptions. The conflicts in appropriation and use of space constitute otherness in spatial terms, compared to both the typical Italian spatial configuration. On the other hand, the Chinese traders have also been socially constructed as others. This, ostensibly, is due to their ethnic identity but more importantly is due to the habits and activities that initially and even until today are not well comprehended by local Italian residents. They are judged on the basis of a series of behavioural codes that are considered a nuisance. For the local context, nuisances are primarily connected with the businesses: the loud noises of logistic activities, the irresponsible use of streets and public space, they work excessively and the fact that Chinese businessmen tend to sell cheap products from China which becomes their competitive advantages. But there are more deeply and culturally rooted judgements. For example, the Chinese community has always been constructed as closed with restrictive entrance to their social circle and unwilling to integrate into the local society. This stereotype may hold true for the first generation of immigrants because they relied heavily on kinship and close social ties to survive in the new environment. But the second and the third generation of immigrants are obviously more integrated into the local environment. Nevertheless they are still constructed as other by many local Italian residents.

To adapt to changes that cannot be assimilated, the original social and spatial structure have to be transformed themselves. In the case study, new regulations and regeneration projects have greatly changed the character of the district, only after which the changes could be accommodated. The change of the neighbourhood into a limited traffic zone is not only restrictive to the traffic caused by the unwanted Chinese business, but also to the needs of other local businesses. This traffic regulation, together with the subsequent pedestrianisation, greatly alters the ways in which the activities have been organised originally, which from an urban point of view greatly alters the original urban structure, both spatially and functionally. On the other hand, the disturbing elements themselves have also undergone changes themselves. The use of trolleys and bikes for delivery of goods was a way for the disturbance, that is, the need of wholesale business, to accommodate itself to the existing system at an early stage. Even today, because of the pedestrianisation, these delivering methods are still used, although the public authority has always wanted to eliminate such practices. The layout of the shops are further modified so that goods could fit properly in the internal space, without damaging the streetscape. Furthermore, with regard to social integration, further efforts, such as the establishment of Chinese associations and publicising

Chinese culture, have been made so that the Chinese community could participate more in local affairs. These are all efforts of disturbing elements to adapt itself to the established struture.

4. Conclusion: Heterotopia and future planning

In the above discussions, we trace back to the core of the concept of heterotopia and argue that heterotopia today is a space of adaptation. It is a mechanism that the city uses to adapt to changes resulting from evolving socio-economic and cultural contexts on various scales and to maintain the state of dynamic equilibrium by way of assimilating and accommodating the conflicting element. There are at least two implications of heterotopia for the future of urban development and planning. First of all, it once again proves the fact that it's impossible to control every detail of a complex system, and the most prevailing planning practices centred around land use plan are gradually losing credibility. Planning and regulations should take into consideration of a level of uncertainty. Second, in the face of spontaneity existent throughout the history of urban development, it's interesting to underscore how planning could give more space to the self-organising quality of urban development.

A city is composed of a multiplicity of autonomous systems with their respective logics (Sudradjat 2012). These logics may coexist or cooperate, while sometimes they could run into conflicts. This indicates that it is not possible to have a central organisation that is able to control everything. The different systems cannot be forced into a pre-decided set of order, but have to be coordinated through a process of ordering, so that the mechanism of adaption can work effectively to cope with new changes and variations. Spatial organisations and social interactions cannot be rigidly managed through a set of anachronistic images of how they ought to happen; instead, they happen when there are true needs. Arguably, given the absence of overall control, a singular system based on established codes will give way to multi-centred, more flexible and heterogeneous systems that can more easily coordinate multiple layers and actors and could better adapt to changes. A master plan that sets the rules of the game at a specific time without considering much the actual working process of the city is losing both credibility and effectiveness. In view of this, it would be meaningful if future planning practice could take into account the uncertainty and indetermination inherent in urban spatial and social transformations.

From a reversed point of view, the city always has an intrinsic logic of self-organising that is sometimes beyond any human control. The diverse interactions among people and the interconnections of urban elements create what Jacobs terms "organised complexity". Then it would be interesting to see and discuss if cities could be left to develop by themselves, or a higher level of control must be placed on the self-organising system. The mechanism of an adaptive heterotopia suggests that for most of the time, the urban system itself is able to accommodate changes to keep itself intact, and structural changes that are strong interventions through planning and regulations only have to be in place when changes are too drastic to be accommodated and the system itself has to be transformed to assimilate the disturbance. So it would be beneficial to test if urban development could be mediated through minimal top-down control.

References

Bricocoli, M. and Savoldi, P. (2010). Milano Downtown. Adozione Pubblica e Luoghi Dell' Abitare

Cangià, F. (2013). From Heterotopias to Cultural Landscapes: On Reconstructing Buraku Leather Towns into 'Japanese National Spaces'. Urbanities, 3(1): 42-60

Cenzatti,M(2008). 'Heterotopias of Difference', in M. Dehaene and L. De Cauter (eds.), Heterotopia and the City, London and New York: Routledge, 75-85

Cologna, D. (2002). (ed) La Cina sotto casa. Convivenza e conflitti tra cinesi e italiani in due quartieri di Milano, Milan: Franco Angeli

Dehaene, M and De Cauter, L. (2008). "The space of play. Towards a general theory of heterotopia", in M.Dehaene and L.De Cauter (eds.), Heterotopia and the City, Pubcli space in a postcivil society, Abingdon: Routledge, 87-102

DiMaggio, P. (1997). Culture and cognition. Annual Review of Sociology, 23: 263-287

Farina, P. etc. (1997). Cina a Milano. Famiglie, ambienti e lavori della popolazione cinese a Milano, Milan: Abitare Segesta Catalogues

Foucault, M (1986).Of Other Spaces. Diacritics, Vol.16, No.1, pp.22-27

Franck, K.A. (2006). Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life. Abington: Routledge

Gallan, B. (2015). Night lives: Heterotopia, youth transitions and cultural infrastructure in the urban night. Urban Studies, 52(3): 555-570

Habraken, N.J. (2000). The Structure of the Ordinary. Cambridge: MIT Press

Helten, M. (2015). Heterotopia and cultural activism - the case of Hamburg's Gängerviertel. Die Erde, 146(2-3): 165-174

Hetherington,K(1997).The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering.London: Routledge

Knox, P. and Pinch, S. (2006). Urban Social Geography (5th edition), Harlow: Pearson

Kong, T.SK. (2012). A Fading Tongzhi heterotopia: Hong Kong older gay men's use of spaces. Sexualities, 15(8): 896-916

Koch, D. (2016). On Avoidance: Reflections on Processes of Socio0spatial Structuring. Civil Engineering and Architecture, 4(2): 67-78

Law, J. (1992). Notes on the Theory of the Actor -Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity. System Practice, 5(4): 379-393

Law, J. (1994). Organising Modernity. Oxford: Blackwell

Murdoch, J. (1998). The Space of Actor-Network Theory. Geoforum, 29(4): 357-374

Piaget, J. (1952). The origins of intelligence in children. New York, NY: International University Press

Shane, D.G. (2005). Recombinant Urbanism: Conceptual Modelling in Architecture, Urban Design and City Theory. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons

Shoshana, A. (2014). Space, Heterotopia, and Everyday Life: Ultra-Orthodox Heterotopia in Israel. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 43(5): 527-555

Sohn, H. (2008). "Heterotopia: anamnesis of a medical term", in M.Dehaene and L.De Cauter (eds.), Heterotopia and the City, Pubcli space in a postcivil society, Abingdon: Routledge, 41-50

Sudradjat, I (2012). Foucault, the Other Spaces and Human Behaviour. Social and Behavioural Sciences, 36: 28-34

Wang, Y. (2014). Canonica-Sarpi Neighbourhood: Transformation Spaces, Existing Conflicts Between Chinese Traders and Local Residents. Master thesis for Politecnico di Milano

Tessa Joubert , A focus on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services redefines urban planning and design, '52nd ISOCARP Congress 2016'

Wu, J., 2008, 'Making a case for landscape ecology: an effective approach to urban sustainability', Landscape Journal, 27: 41–50.

Wu, J., 2010, 'Urban sustainability: an inevitable of landscape research', Landscape Ecology, 25: 1–4.

Moon, B., 2015, World Environmental Day, www.un.org/sg/STATEMENTS/index.asp?nid=3902

ps://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2009-06-05/secretary-generals-message-world-environment-dayhttps://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2009-06-05/secretary-generals-m   ps://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2009-06-05/secretary-generals-message-world-environment-dayessage-world-environment-dayAlthough individual decisions may seem small in the face of global threats and trends, when billions of people join forces in common purpose, we can make tremendous difference"