DESIGNING THE RURAL

A Global Countryside in Flux
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Fieldoffice Architects, Jin-Mei Parasitic Pathway, Yilan City, Taiwan, 2008

Rural Urban Framework (RUF), Smart Collection Point, Chingeltei, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, 2015

ISSN 0003-8504
ISBN 978-1118-951057
Guest-Editors Joshua Bolchover and John Lin of Rural Urban Framework (RUF), and Christiane Lange, are colleagues at the University of Hong Kong. Combining research, projects and teaching, they are interested in the fate of rural territories across the globe, and how the urban future might be intertwined with the rural.

Soon after the announcement in 2005 by the Chinese government that its 11th Five-Year Plan would shift its focus towards constructing a ‘new socialist countryside’, RUF began working in various rural villages throughout China. Its built projects are a response to the processes of rural urbanisation. Recent work has included investigations of the impact of rural migration on the city fabric of Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

Christiane Lange has collaborated with RUF since 2008, for example on an exhibition within the Hong Kong Pavilion at the Venice Biennale (2010), where building projects were set against a panorama of rural-to-urban transformation. Identifying new forms of rural transformation has led to her current research on the city of Hong Kong and its hinterlands. Together with RUF, she co-edited the book *Homecoming: Materializing, Contextualizing and Practicing the Rural in China* (Gestalten, 2013), which gathers together the work of historians, theorists, educators and practitioners to discuss the role of the rural in Chinese development over the past 30 years.

RUF is a research and design laboratory within the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Hong Kong. Conducted as a non-profit organisation providing design services to charities and NGOs, it has now constructed over 15 projects in China and Mongolia, including schools, community centres, hospitals, village houses and bridges, as well as developing incremental planning strategies. As a result of this active engagement, RUF has been able to research the links between social, economic and political processes and the physical transformation of each village. The projects integrate local and traditional construction practices with contemporary technologies.

The recipient of numerous international awards including the Curry Stone Design Prize in 2015 and the Ralph Erskine 100 Years Anniversary Award 2014, given for innovation in architecture that ‘primarily benefits the less privileged in society’, RUF’s research and built work has recently been published in the book *Rural Urban Framework: Transforming the Chinese Countryside* (Birkhäuser, 2013), which discusses not only its successful projects, but also the failures from which much can be learnt for the future.
INTRODUCTION

JOSHUA BOLCHOVER, JOHN LIN
AND CHRISTIANE LANGE
If the 20th century represented the rise of the megalopolis, could the 21st century mark a return to the countryside? Reacting to the flaunted statistic of living in an urbanised world, architects and urban thinkers are increasingly turning their attention to the rural. This territory has gained relevance beyond being a counterpoint to the urban; it is an emergent condition for innovation and exploratory research. This shift in focus underpins a fundamental question: How do we redefine the rural in a globalised urban world?

This issue of *D* tackles this subject by looking at different geographical sites where the very identity of the rural is being challenged and upended. It also brings together architects who have chosen to work in these locations, demonstrating how their approach to design practice has altered in response to the issues they have needed to address. The diversity of conditions outside the city has led to an equally distinct set of strategies and approaches.

We remain fascinated with the productive tension between the rural and urban. This threshold, on the edge of a transformation process, reveals the raw and immediate processes of urbanisation. This is not simply a question of the urban supplanting the rural; rather, the uniqueness of the rural, in terms of its social, political and economic make-up, changes and shapes how transformation takes place. The rural is the frontline of the urbanisation process.

The architects and theorists in this issue are not just rural practitioners; they are urbanists and urban architects, and through their work we can begin to understand how the dynamic conditions of the rural impact the future of our urbanised world.

*OMA, The Interlace, Singapore, 2013*

Known as the ‘vertical village’, this high-density private residential development is an idealisation of the rural as a design concept and branding strategy for urban housing.

**Where is the Rural in an Urban World?**
The Global Rural
Depending on where you are in the world today, the rural has very different attributes. In developing countries it is volatile and full of contradictions: legally designated rural areas look like dense slums; factories intersect fields and farmers no longer farm. In contrast, in developed countries the rural has become a highly controlled landscape of production and consumption, in some cases a leisure landscape for tourism, retirement, second homes or recreation. This contrast reveals the rural to be an emerging territory that requires as much innovation, strategic thinking and design experimentation as the city.

Designing within this shifting context challenges the role of architects, their actions and their methods. Some architects still claim the rural as a site of authenticity – as protected enclaves preserving traditional livelihoods, craft techniques and construction methods. Vernacular rural architecture is often considered to be the originator of truth and beauty, an ingenious exchange between craftsman, climate and local knowledge. Yet the vernacular that seemingly dominates the contemporary rural landscape of developing countries is quite the opposite: generic concrete-framed structures, driven by economic need and oblivious to any contextual factors. In this regard, the rural is not a pastoral ‘other’ to the city; it too has become sullied and tainted by human occupation, often more dense, brutal and confrontational than the city itself. The same can be said of the rural in developed countries, where vernacular architecture manifests a form of exaggerated culture, catering to the tastes and expectations of urban tourists.

Designing the Rural explores the stark differences between the developing and developed world. The specific conditions of these rural territories are described alongside projects that work within these diversified conditions, producing architectural insertions, collective actions or new strategies. Rather than portray beautiful architecture in bucolic settings, the focus is on sites where their rural identity is being challenged. The issue investigates how architects and researchers have responded to these evolving conditions and are re-engaging with the rural as an experimental field of exploration.

Rural Urban Framework
The concept for the issue emerged from the work of Rural Urban Framework (RUF), a research and design collaboration based at the University of Hong Kong under the directorship of Joshua Bolchover and John Lin, with Christiane Lange as a longstanding collaborator. Our approach, which is mirrored in the content of the issue, is a dialogue between practice and research. RUF’s design projects in rural China have demanded research into the larger stories impacting these sites. It became apparent that the era of economic reform under the Deng Xiaoping Communist Party beginning in the late 1970s had enabled the gradual dependency on and interconnection between rural and urban processes despite their continued political and social separation. The sites of RUF’s projects evidence what Neil Brenner (in his article on pp 118–27) describes
as the projection of urban processes of capital accumulation into rural areas. We became interested in recording the spatial characteristics of these flows as they touched the ground. The consequential landscape was full of contradictions and incoherencies: villages with diminishing populations building new houses; contested sites where rapid new development bordered ruinous and incomplete construction projects; new suburban enclaves in the midst of working farmland; and rural villages with populations and densities more attributable to urban areas. These paradoxes and disruptions challenged the notion of a seamless transition from the urban to the rural. Each aberration played witness to a complex interaction between rural and urban forces.

RUF’s work operates in the hinterlands and peripheral rural areas where the effects of urbanisation are beginning to take hold. Some of our projects address gaps in this process. Infrastructure is often a key driver of urbanisation, facilitating the movement of goods, raw materials and labour; however, it can also disrupt more local forms of connection, bisecting farmland and dividing villages. At Lingzidi Village in Shanxi Province, the construction of both a highway and an elevated high-speed railway resulted in the destruction of several small bridges in the district that were vital connectors allowing produce from farmland to be collected and distributed to markets. Without them, the basic economy of the village went into decline. RUF’s design for a new bridge (Lingzidi Bridge, 2012) reconnected this network and also defined a new social space within the village.

In the Mulan Primary School and Educational Landscape Project in Guangdong Province (2012 and 2014), the repository of earth created by the incision of the high-speed rail linking Guangzhou to Guilin had created an unstable mound on the site of the existing school. Rather than remove this slope or encase it in concrete, RUF saw this as an opportunity to define a programmatic landscape. Through reforming and manipulating the earth we created a reed-bed filtration system for a new toilet block that acted as a retaining wall framing a basketball court.

Both of the above projects demonstrate the need to consider the increasing number of sites that become disconnected or disrupted through infrastructural development. Although macro-infrastructure prioritises the co-option of rural territory for urban processes, tactical insertions of micro-infrastructures can facilitate local connectivity and begin to reconcile fragmented landscapes.

Other RUF projects embrace the contrasting speeds of rural development. At the Yongxin Secondary...
The construction of both a highway and an elevated high-speed railway resulted in the destruction of hundreds of small pedestrian bridges in the county. By rebuilding these links, RUF also had the opportunity to implement small-scale public spaces such as areas for washing clothes, fishing and resting.

RUF’s work in rural China demonstrates an approach that is not contingent on scale or permanence; it is likely that many of our projects will not survive the pressures of urbanisation exerted upon them.
Embracing the speed and unpredictability of the urbanisation process, this school design prototype can be implemented in either rural or urban contexts.

Rural Urban Framework (RUF), Yongxin Secondary School, Yongxin Town, Jiangxi Province, China, 2012

Rural Urban Framework (RUF), Qinmo Community Centre, Qinmo Village, Guangdong Province, China, 2009

Working within and resisting the rapid speed of development endemic to rural China, the Qinmo Village project has embraced incremental planning by carefully implementing a series of small interventions such as this community centre, a library, primary school and public spaces as part of the transformation of the entire village.

School in Jiangxi Province (2012), the project was conceived as the anchor of the development of a new town on a greenfield rural site. The school itself had roughly the same number of inhabitants – around 2,000 – as Mulan village. Our strategy engaged with the unpredictability of the urbanisation process in the design of a walled enclosure that preserves the inner, collective life of the school despite possible future changes to its context. Conversely, at Qinmo Village in Guangdong Province we deployed a series of tactical insertions, including a community centre (2009), over nearly a decade to improve educational and public spaces.

RUF’s work in rural China demonstrates an approach that is not contingent on scale or permanence; it is likely that many of our projects will not survive the pressures of urbanisation exerted upon them. Yet each asserts that the act of making architecture impacts the urban, that urbanism itself has no scale, and that each project is a result of a constant and evolving dialogue with its context. Moreover, there is no delineation between research and design – realising a project itself creates questions. Construction is only the beginning of testing our hypotheses as to how the project and its context will evolve.

Having worked primarily in China’s hinterlands, we were curious to find out how other architects and theorists were approaching the problem of rural transformation in other locations. This issue of A brings together some of the emerging ideas and strategies for a global countryside in flux.
The Real and Imagined Rural
The issue opens with Cole Roskam’s article ‘Inventing the Rural’ (pp 14–19), which reflects on the history of modern architecture with respect to the rural, and looks at the critical question of awareness when tackling the countryside, not just as a landscape requiring urban order, but with approaches that engage in its logic and specificity. The main section is then organised in three parts: ‘Transforming the Rural’, ‘Defining the Village’ and ‘Constructing the Countryside’.

The articles in the ‘Transforming the Rural’ section explore sites where the rural has been an active agent in the process of transformation. Examples include those that are being impacted by massive rural migration to the city, the interference of rural morphologies within urban contexts, territorial-scaled landscapes of production, and an examination of spaces that are neither rural nor urban, but perhaps in-between states in an ongoing process of change. In ‘Settling the Nomads: Rural Urban Framework, an Incremental Urban Strategy for Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia’ (pp 20–27), Joshua Bolchover explores the unique example of informal settlements in this independent nation and demonstrates two constructed design projects that grapple with the complexity of rural migration to the city. Sandra Parvu’s case study ‘Indefinitely Intermediate: Processes of Ruralisation in Chisinau, Moldova’ (pp 28–33) describes the intelligence of rural knowledge and rural appropriation within a city located at a geopolitical buffer between Europe and Russia.

A much more violent transformation is occurring at the edge of the Amazon rainforest in Brazil where speculative mass housing is bereft of any communal infrastructure. In ‘Cultivating the Field in the Global Hinterland’ (pp 34–41), Rainer Hehl uncovers this problem and proposes participatory design methods to instill community building through new social and ecological infrastructures. Focusing on the ramifications of contemporary production landscapes and their representation, in ‘Palm Oil: A New Ethics of Visibility for the Production Landscape’ (pp 42-7) Milica Topalovic explores this territory in Singapore’s hinterland with Malaysia.

The ‘Defining the Village’ section focuses on a diverse set of design approaches to sustain rural areas, to allow them to evolve rather than being subsumed by urbanisation. In this section, we consciously avoid beautiful buildings in villages, opting instead for strategies with the power to affect the scale of the entire village, addressing its society, livelihood or construction. The articles explore the idea of the village as an architectural (and archetypal) proposition. The section is prefaced by David Grahame Shane’s ‘Notes on Villages as a Global Condition’ (pp 48–57), which traces the history of the village as a design project and ultimately its role in the process of city building. Sheng-Yuan Huang and Yu-Hsiang Hung’s ‘Fieldoffice Architects In Situ: Reflecting on the Rural–Urban Mix in Yilan, Taiwan’ (pp 58–65) describes the work of a unique practice that for over 20 years has worked solely in a single rural county in Taiwan. As the area has rapidly urbanised, many recent projects have re-inserted rural qualities back into the urban. In northern India, Sandeep Virmani describes the work of the Hunnarshala Foundation in his article ‘In the Hands of the People: Harnessing the Collective Power of Village Life in India’ (pp 66–71). The Foundation works with rural artisans, not only rebuilding houses but focusing on the intangible aspects of rurality strengthened through the process of building rural communities. The village is defined by its rare social capital.

In ‘Designing for an Uncertain Future’ (pp 72–7), John Lin looks at a recent RUF housing project in Shichuang Village in southern China. Anticipating new government policy changes, RUF here designed a prototype as an
architectural proposition for the use of existing government subsidies, which led to a series of new scenarios for rural house construction enabling the future commercial development of the village. Finally, Anders Abraham and Christina Capetillo’s ‘The Hunstad Code: Rules for the Planning of a Rural Town’ (pp 78–83) establishes a strategy for designing a village in Sweden by first establishing a new village code. The project goes beyond formal attributes, defining the village as a set of social and spatial relationships.

The final, ‘Constructing the Countryside’ section of the issue challenges our perception of the rural. Most of us have an image of particular scenery in mind when thinking about countryside. With the increasing role of global tourism and reconstruction projects, metropolitan outposts, or high-tech infrastructures and landscapes, the contributions here explore the differences between the identity and appearance of a contemporary countryside. By further exploring estranged enclaves, in ‘The Villages, Florida: Small-town Metropolitanism and the ‘Middle of Nowhere’ (pp 86–91), Deane Simpson investigates urban outposts in the rural that reconcile the familiarity of village life and countryside by inheriting the artificial simulation of a metropolitan condition. Reflecting on the future development and governance of the countryside, in ‘New Territories: Deconstructing and Constructing the Countryside’ (pp 92–7), Christiane Lange reminds us of the consequences of top-down planning and amplifying a strong divide between the rural and urban.

In asking for the ‘Best of Both Worlds: Lamenting Our Path to the Future’ (pp 106–13), Stephan Petermann points out the effects of globalisation and mobilisation and thus the conflicts created by global foreign investors, developers and architects designing a global imaginary of the countryside within the local context. As a response to decentralisation and laissez-faire development, in ‘Durana, Albania: A Field of Possibilities’ (pp 114–17) Ambra Fabi and Giovanni Piovène suggest the articulation of a scenic countryside via the introduction of leisure infrastructures. Lastly, in a theoretical engagement entitled ‘The Hinterland, Urbanised?’ (pp 118–27), Neil Brenner calls for the recognition of the ‘hypertrophic city’ – a landscape that blurs the divide between rural and urban by recognising and developing other forms of urbanisation.

In a globalised world, our urban centres are becoming much more uniform. We have similar shops, similar experiences. The unique identity of the city is eroded, and the notion of the rural has suddenly become a source of cultural authenticity. But there is a yawning gap between the idea and the reality. And meanwhile our cities continue to grow, surpassing 10 million, then 30 million, and a newly planned urban megalopolis of 130 million in Beijing, so that we begin to question the scale of our cities. This is what makes the village so tantalising an idea: the evocation of a different scale of living, a different way of living, one based on a sense of community. Even though technology enables multiple virtual communities, we still long for the social intimacy of neighbourhood against the backdrop of rapid gentrification. Perhaps in its most basic form, interest in the rural is about another scale of living that offers alternatives to questions of work and lifestyle. Though the notion of an agricultural basis for the village is rapidly disappearing throughout much of the world, the village concept remains potent. In fact, we no longer grasp what it has become. This territory contains urgent issues, emergent conditions and new ideas. Its study has the potential to inform the urban. We need to start actively engaging, researching and designing the rural in order to shape our collective urban future.