

# LIFE IN THE GREY ZONE

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**'Life in the grey zone'** is a field guide about the intermediate area in the contemporary world. The urgencies that occur in the build environment have thus been mapped out. That is to say, things that are not clearly one thing nor the other. In this field guide you will find grey zones defined into three different categories; legal, political and out of need. These three categories represent different states of urgencies - and a need for acting in a certain direction. This action will be undertaken to overcome a condition or situation.

We define these acts in another three categories; an act by erasing, evolving or reinventing oneself, another or a situation.

The platform of grey zones circles around three different terms;

**Erasing;** to obliterate, do away with, irrelevant to the content.

**Evolving;** to undergo change

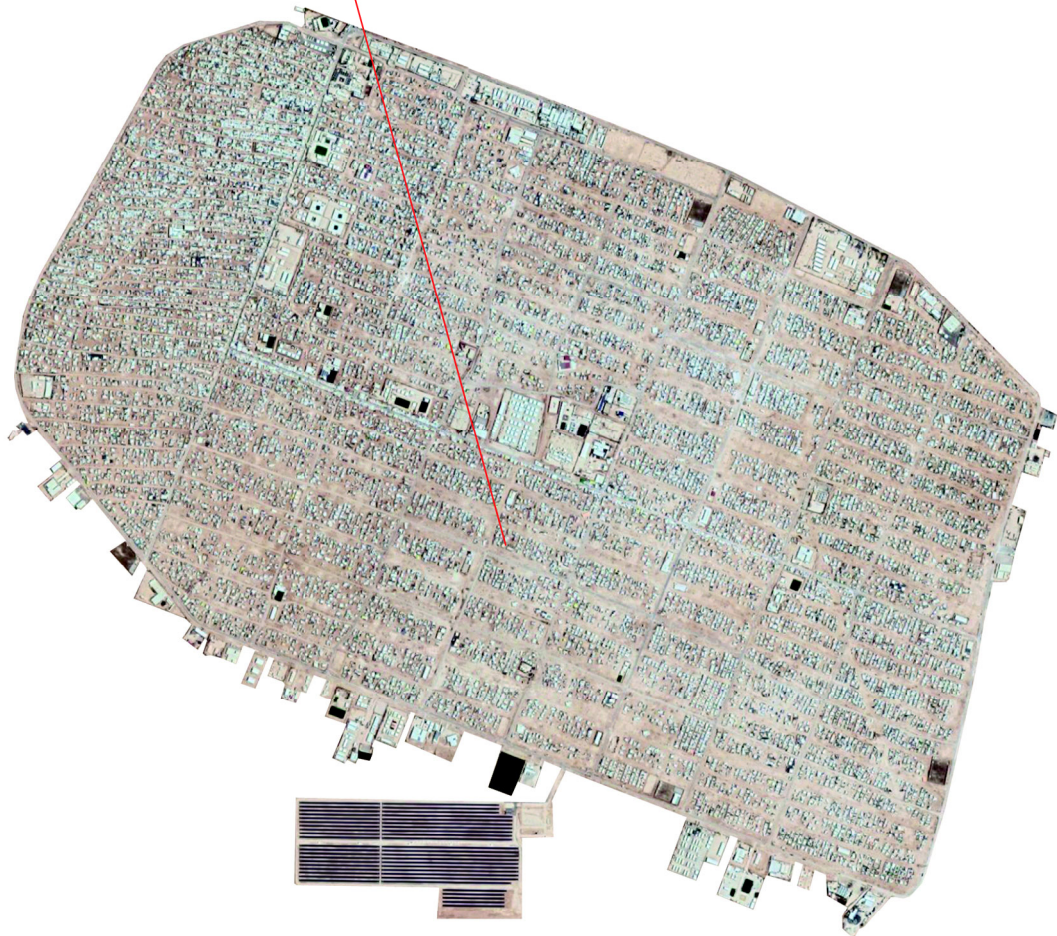
**Reinventing;** anew, remake, renew, activate in another direction.

#### **Definition of different grey zones:**

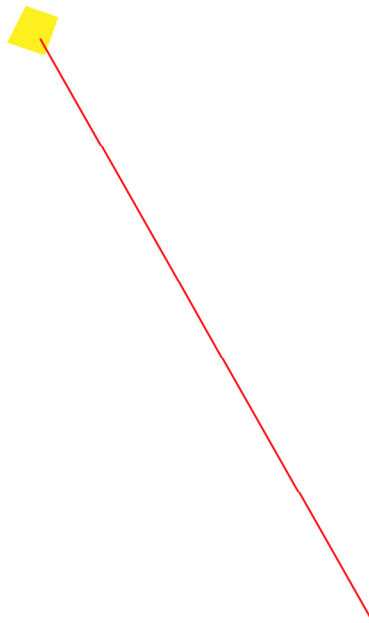
the political grey zone is achieved through acts of excluding/including; the legal grey zone is achieved through acts of appropriation; and finally the grey zone out of need is achieved through acts of necessity.

In the field guide you will find the link between big scaled case studies and a specific architectural practice, to show the connection between these more general terms and specifics in our profession. They are collected in the way on how they act or react to situations, in order to overcome them. All the case studies are brought together in a map, where they are connected by the category of the grey zone they fall into, namely: what they react to and how they react to it. The map shows how the case studies are connected to each other in one way or the other.











**ZAATARI REFUGEE CAMP - VILLAGE, JORDAN**

- AREA: 5,2km<sup>2</sup>, 32°17'44.4"N 36°19'25.5"E
- POPULATION (MARCH 2013): 156,000 . 4th largest city in Jordan
- POPULATION (OCT 2018): 78,357
  - . 20% are under five years old
  - . 19 500 children go to 32 schools
  - . 20% of households are female headed
  - . 13% are women
- DENSITY: 24,212/km<sup>2</sup>

The Zaatari refugee camp is gradually moving away from a model of top-down service provision, as is usual with refugee camps administered by international humanitarian organisations. Instead, under the aegis of the UNHCR, the camp is gradually transforming into a self-provisioning urban conglomeration, where refugees are provided with various forms of cash-based assistance and encouraged to address their own needs. As so the place can't be defined as a true city nor as a 'true refugee camp'.

**EMERGENCY ARCHITECTURE AND HUMAN RIGHTS (EAHR)**

**'QUBA' classroom, Zaatari**



A vast majority of people who have been displaced from Syria are now living informally within the host community, hence they are often found without access to social security, sanitation and educational facilities. In collaboration with the local community and the local NGO, EAHR implemented an extension to the existing school in order to increase the number of students access to education: the school will be used by children in the morning and by adults during the afternoon, who will use the space to learn reading and writing skills. Due to the limited choice of building methods and materials, the superadobe technique was used. A kind of building technique that does not require high-tensile-strength reinforcements, and can be built quickly with unskilled labour, performing better than tents, cement blocks and corrugated metal sheets in terms of thermal insulation. The costs for construction were halved.



**MAXIMILIAANPARK, BRUSSELS**

Located next to the financial district of Brussels, Maximiliaanpark was/is 'home' to many of the so-called 'transmigrants' aka people who want to go to the United Kingdom and get rid of the endless misery they face on a daily base. In 2015 the park hosted up to 5,000 refugees in desperate need of shelter and food. Thousands of volunteers started to provide basic human needs to those living in the park since the right wing government (N-VA, Open Vld/MR and CD&V) refused to do so. Eventually a brutal police force was used to 'clean' the place and thus ever more shifting the responsibilities of the state to the individual. Hundreds of civilians were/are giving shelter to these people as they have nowhere else to go. On the 8th of november 2018, the "solidariteitsproces" started as 11 citizens are accused of providing aid to refugees. The criminalisation of solidarity has begun, welcome to the 7th richest country in the world...

50°51'44"N 4°21'12"E



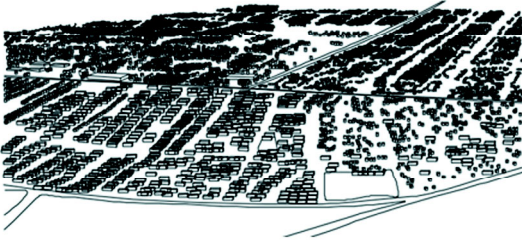


**CASE FILE** #9 + #22 + #7

Zaatari refugee camp - village  
يوت غزل امي حم

Maximiliaanpark, Brussels

Emergency Architecture &  
Human Rights (EAHR)

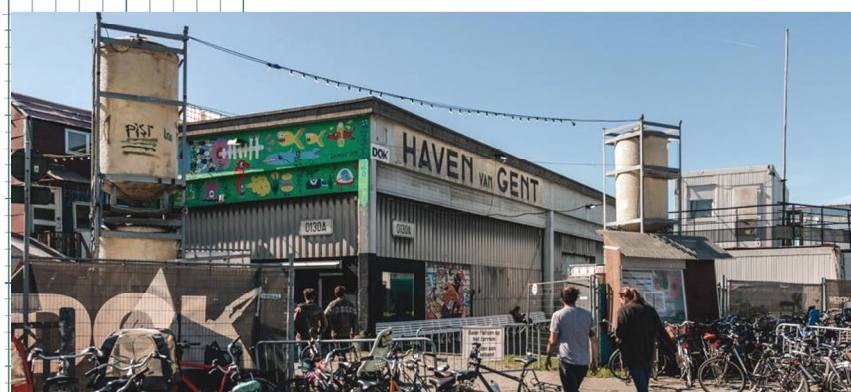






019 is an artist collective running an exhibition, performance and work space in a former welding factory in Ghent.

An emerging space for collaboration and rediscovering through artists, architects, designers and the like. A handling of its space through appropriation and dispossession, a moving practice, a collaborative way of working ready to be moved, reproduced and reinvented elsewhere.



Dok is an inspiring meeting point with big and small events for both young and old. It contains concerts, sports, movies, flea-markets, expo, bar-beque, etcetera. It's a platform for creation and a workspace for DOKbewoners with their own projects and events where culture, sport, art, social-cultural, ecological and welfare are the main themes. Every year DOK changes its position; a space always moving and adopting and with new visions matching the contemporary society.

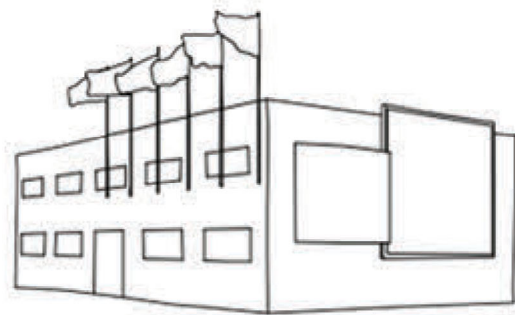
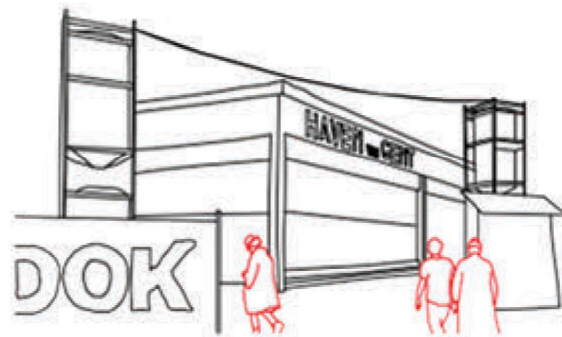


**CASE\_FILE\_ #4 +#8**

Legal and Political Grey  
through evolving

.019

.DOK



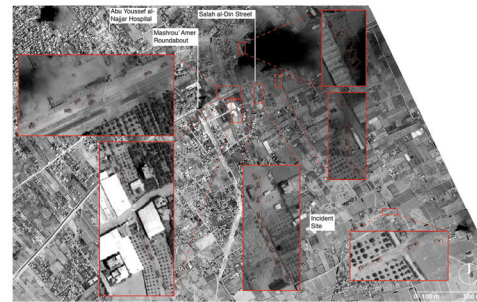
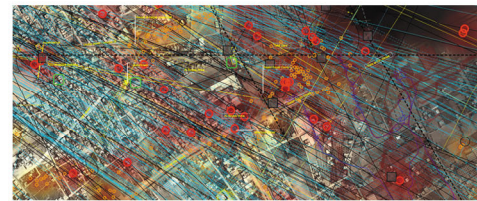
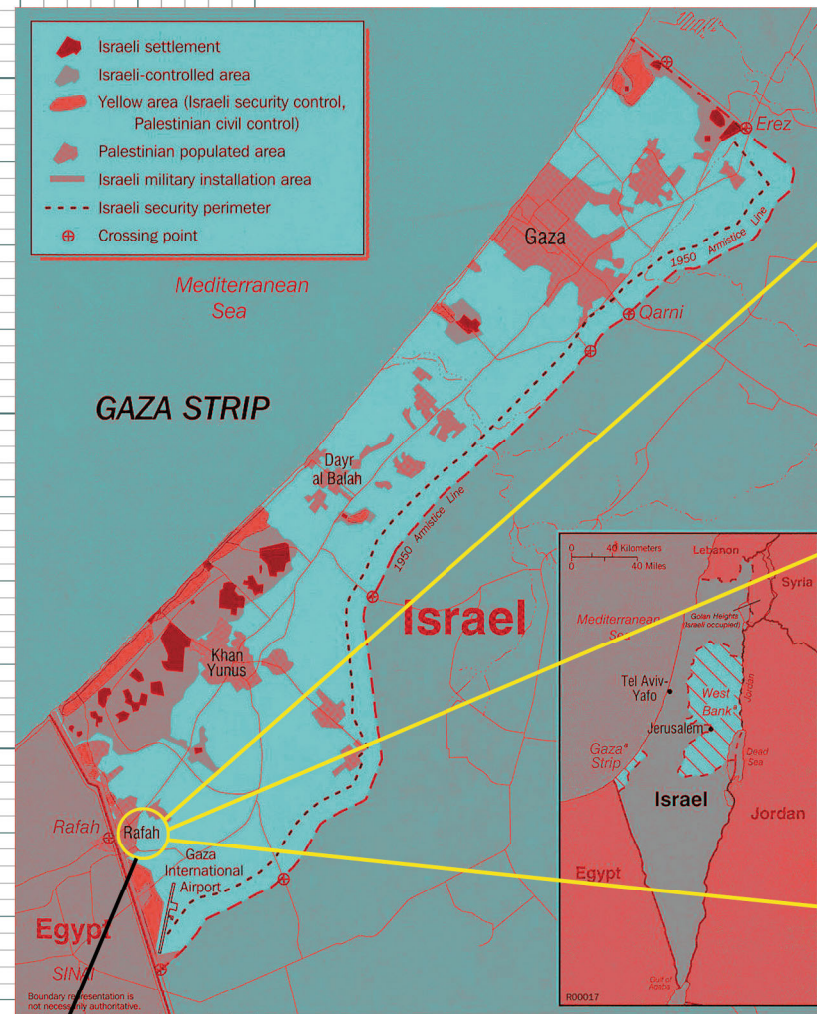
- AREA: 64m<sup>2</sup>
- POPULATION: 152,950
- UTC+01:00
- 31°17'19"N 34°15'07"E



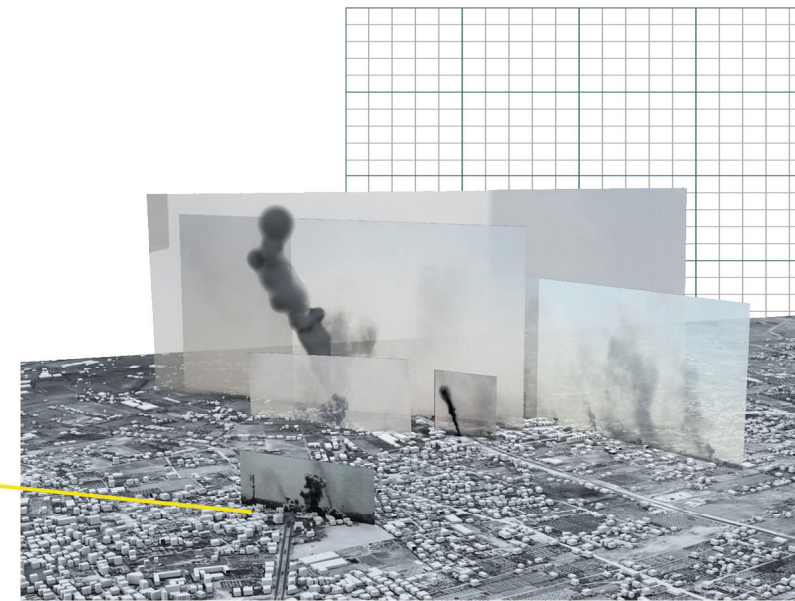
**GAZA**

- AREA: 365km<sup>2</sup> (length 41km, width 6-12km)
- POPULATION 1.850.000
- ANNUAL POPULATION GROWTH: 2,91% (13th highest)
- PREDICTED POPULATION 2020: 2.100.000
- THIRD MOST DENSELY POPULATED POLITY IN THE WORLD

Due to the Israeli and Egyptian border closures and the Israeli sea and air blockade, the population is not free to leave or enter the Gaza Strip, nor allowed to freely import or export goods. Despite the 2005 Israeli disengagement from Gaza, the United Nations, international human rights organisations, and the majority of governments and legal commentators consider the territory to be still occupied by Israel, supported by additional restrictions placed on Gaza by Egypt. Israel maintains direct external control over Gaza and indirect control over life within Gaza: it controls Gaza's air and maritime space, and 6 of Gaza's 7 land crossings. It reserves the right to enter Gaza at will with its military and maintains a no-go buffer zone within the Gaza territory. Gaza is dependent on Israel for its water, electricity, telecommunications, and other utilities. The system of control imposed by Israel is described as an "indirect occupation".



A multidisciplinary research group that undertakes investigations in human rights violations by states or corporations, on behalf of civil society groups. The group uses advanced architectural and media techniques to investigate armed conflicts and environmental destruction, as well as to cross-reference a variety of evidence sources, including: site visits, lidar scanning, photogrammetry and ground-penetrating radar, as well as the use of digital models to locate and synchronize source materials in space and time. The position FA takes towards architecture makes it a perfect example of an office that works in the grey zone.



**RAFAH / BLACK FRIDAY**

**forensic architecture**

- bombardment of the city of Rafah
- August 1, 2014
- population (2016): 164.000
- Rafah civilian deaths: 135-200
- Israeli deaths: 2



The report is a collaboration between FA and Amnesty International. It aims to provide a detailed reconstruction of the events in Rafah, from 1-4 August 2014, based primarily on material found on social media. developed a number of techniques aimed to reconstruct the events from hundreds of images and videos recorded by professional and citizen journalists. The images were thereafter located in a 3D model of Rafah. This resulted in the Image Complex, a device that allowed us to explore the spatial and temporal connections between the various sources and reconstruct the events as they unfolded.



FORENSIC ARCHITECTURE  
THE GAZA STRIP  
RAFAH, BLACK FRIDAY

PERIGEE 362 600 KM  
APOGEE 405 400 KM



## THE MOON TREATY

THE AGREEMENT GOVERNING THE ACTIVITIES OF STATES ON THE MOON AND OTHER CELESTIAL BODIES IS A MULTILATERAL TREATY THAT TURNS JURISDICTION OF ALL CELESTIAL BODIES (INCLUDING THE ORBITS AROUND SUCH BODIES) OVER TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THUS, ALL ACTIVITIES MUST CONFORM TO INTERNATIONAL LAW, INCLUDING THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER.

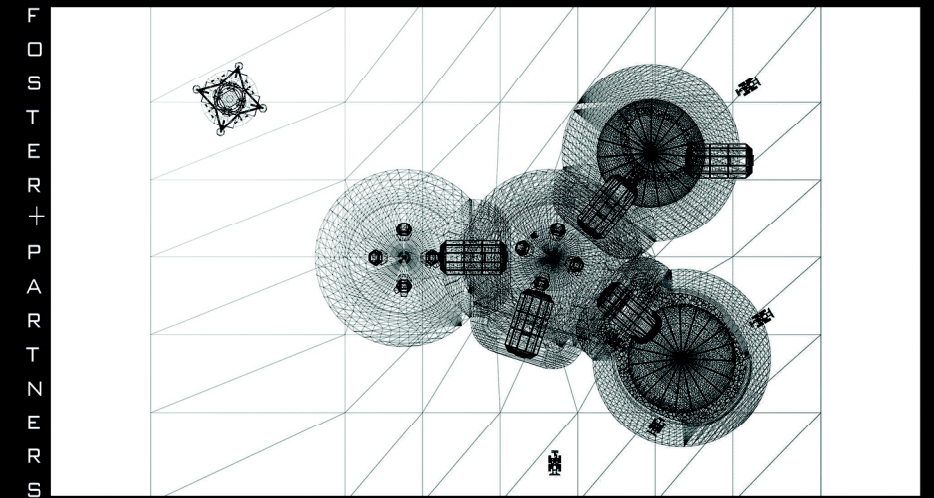
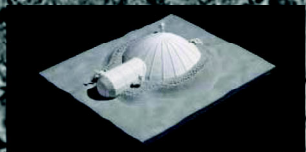
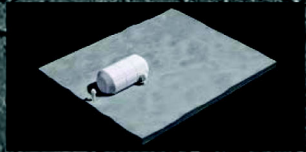
IN PRACTICE IT IS A FAILED TREATY BECAUSE IT HAS NOT BEEN RATIFIED BY ANY STATE THAT ENGAGES IN SELF-LAUNCHED MANNED SPACE EXPLORATION OR HAS PLANS TO DO SO (E.G. THE UNITED STATES, THE LARGER PART OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN SPACE AGENCY, RUSSIA, CHINA AND JAPAN) SINCE ITS CREATION IN 1979, AND THUS HAS A NEGLIGIBLE EFFECT ON ACTUAL SPACEFLIGHT. AS OF JANUARY 2018, 18 STATES ARE PARTIES TO THE TREATY.

THE OBJECTION TO THE TREATY BY THE SPACEFARING NATIONS IS HELD TO BE THE REQUIREMENT THAT EXTRACTED RESOURCES (AND THE TECHNOLOGY USED TO THAT END) MUST BE SHARED WITH OTHER NATIONS. AS COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS FAIL, THE PRIVATISATION OF SPACE HOWEVER IS NOT. MEGACORPORATIONS SUCH AS GOOGLE, SPACE X AND BLUE ORIGIN (OWNED BY JEFF BEZOS) ARE INVESTING BILLIONS IN RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT TO TURN SPACE INTO PROFIT.

### LUNAR OUTPOST

FOSTER + PARTNERS  
EUROPEAN SPACE AGENCY

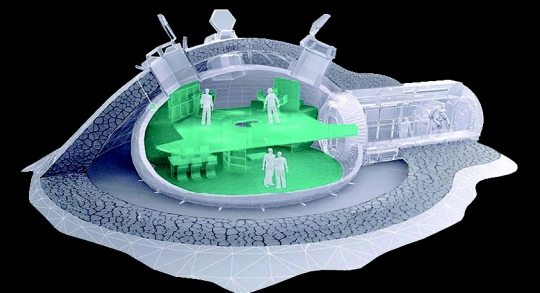
### THE MOON TREATY



"This envisioned "moon village," a product of international collaboration between spacefaring nations, will be a base for science, business, mining and even tourism."

- JOHANN-DIETRICH WÖRNER, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ESA

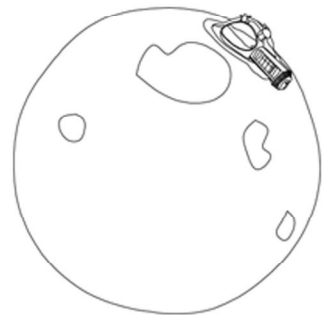
FOSTER + PARTNERS IS PART OF A CONSORTIUM SET UP BY THE EUROPEAN SPACE AGENCY TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITIES OF 3D PRINTING TO CONSTRUCT LUNAR HABITATIONS. ADDRESSING THE CHALLENGES OF TRANSPORTING MATERIALS TO THE MOON, THE STUDY IS INVESTIGATING THE USE OF LUNAR SOIL, KNOWN AS REGOLITH, AS BUILDING MATTER. THE PRACTICE HAS DESIGNED A LUNAR BASE TO HOUSE FOUR PEOPLE, WHICH CAN OFFER PROTECTION FROM METEORITES, GAMMA RADIATION AND HIGH TEMPERATURE FLUCTUATIONS. TO ENSURE STRENGTH WHILE KEEPING THE AMOUNT OF BINDING "INK" TO A MINIMUM, THE SHELL IS MADE UP OF A HOLLOW CLOSED CELLULAR STRUCTURE SIMILAR TO FOAM. THE PRACTICE DESIGNED THE GEOMETRY OF THE STRUCTURE IN COLLABORATION WITH CONSORTIUM PARTNERS - IT IS GROUNDBREAKING IN DEMONSTRATING THE POTENTIAL OF 3D PRINTING TO CREATE STRUCTURES THAT ARE CLOSE TO NATURAL BIOLOGICAL SYSTEMS.





**CASE #2**

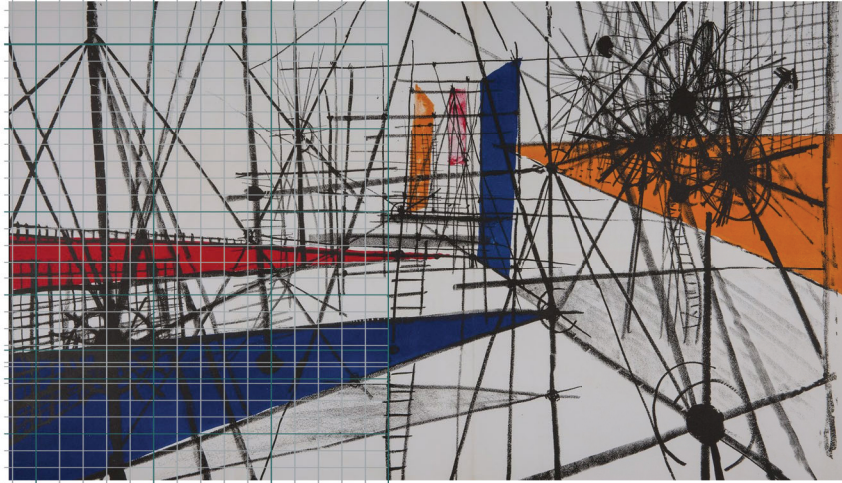
**LEGAL GREY ZONE  
THROUGH  
EVOLVING/REINVENTING**



- 55°40'24.92"N 12°35'58.96"E (C)

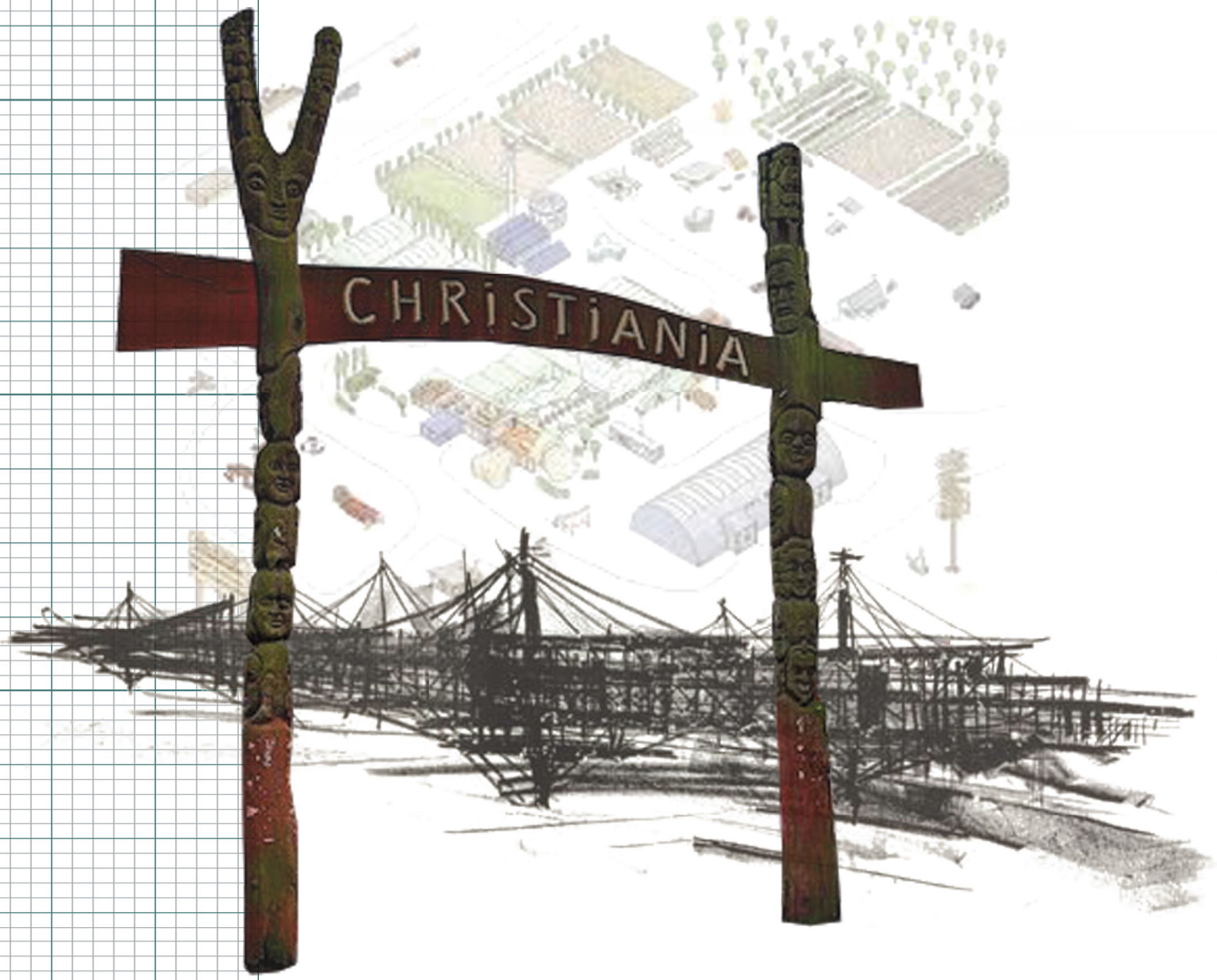
- 51°55'N 4°30'E (AVL)





Constant's "New Babylon" is an anti-capitalist city perceived and designed in 1959-74 as a future potentiality. Constant's megastructures would literally leave the bourgeois metropolis below and would be populated by homo ludens-man at play. The post-revolutionary individual would wander from one leisure environment to another in search of new sensations. Beholden to no one, he would sleep, eat, recreate, and procreate where and when he wanted.

"They wander through the sectors of New Babylon seeking new experiences, as yet unknown ambiances. Without the passivity of tourists, but fully aware of the power they have to act upon the world, to transform it, recreate it. They dispose of a whole arsenal of technical implements for doing this, thanks to which they can make the desired changes without delay."



AVL Ville, was a "free state" in the port of Rotterdam, with its own constitution, currency and flag. It was a village, where people could live and work in an ecological, autarkic way. Besides a large workshop where art works were made, the Pioneer Set, a mobile farm, would provide food. Alcohol and medicines were produced in a special workshop. Through creating their own energy resource powerplant and water purification system, the free state was independent from other resources.



Christiania in Copenhagen is the land of the settlers. It is the biggest opportunity so far to build up a society from scratch - while nevertheless still incorporating the remaining constructions. Own electricity plant, a bath-house, a giant athletics building, where all the seekers of peace could have their grand meditation - and yoga centre. Halls where theater groups can feel at home. Buildings for the stoners who are too paranoid and weak to participate in the race... Yes for those who feel the beating of the pioneer heart there can be no doubt as to the purpose of Christiania.



**CASE FILE #3 + #15**

Legal and Political Grey zone  
through evolving and reinventing

.Christiania, Copenhagen

.New Babylon

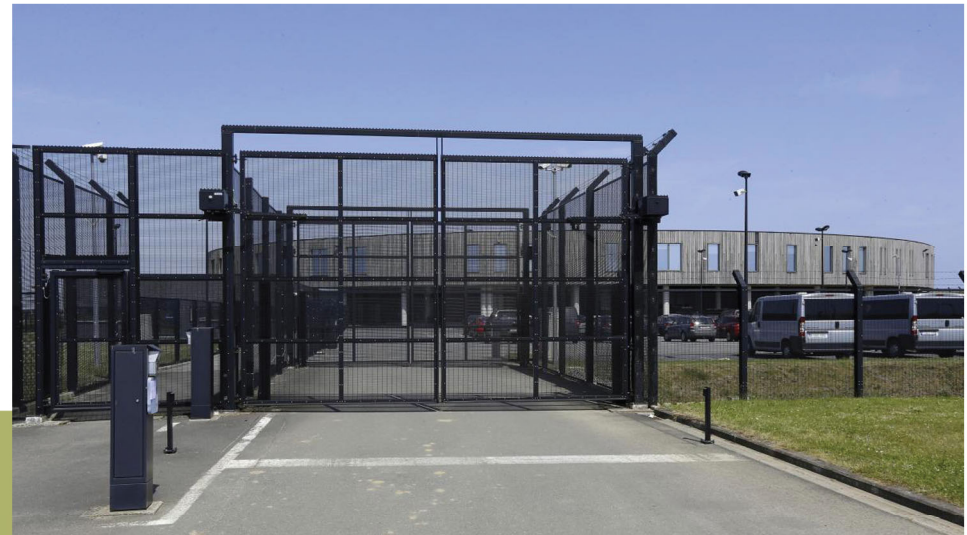
.AVL Ville - atelier van Lieshout



- 50.8929° N, 4.5121° E



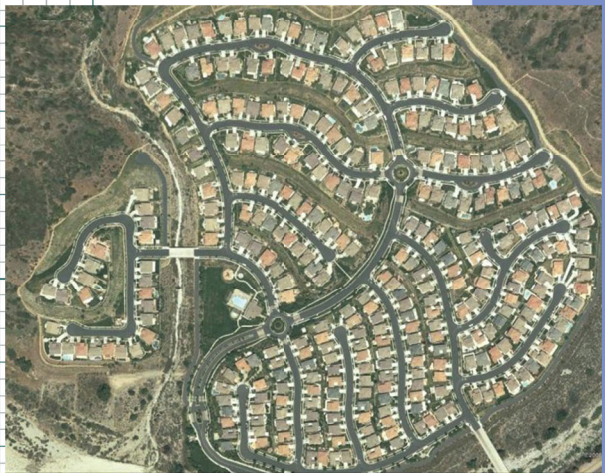
The repatriation centre 127bis, in Steenokkerzeel, Belgium, is a closed centre, an establishment in Belgium where foreigners without a right of residence are administratively detained waiting for their deportation. It functions as some kind of prison under the management of foreign affairs. The Territorial status of a centre like this: A foreign national who is stopped at the border and is detained in a closed centre has not entered Belgium as a matter of residence. Closed centres are equated with places at the border.



Given that gated communities are spatially a type of enclave, Setha M. Low, an anthropologist, has argued that they have a negative effect on the net social capital of the broader community outside the gated community. Some gated communities, usually called guard-gated communities, are staffed by private security guards and are often home to high-value properties, and/or are set up as retirement villages. Some gated communities are secure enough to resemble fortresses and are intended as such.



Proponents of gated communities maintain that the reduction or exclusion of people who would be only passing through, or more generally, of all non-local people, makes any "stranger" much more recognisable in the closed local environment, and thus reduces crime danger.



In its modern form, a gated community (or walled community) is a form of residential community or housing estate containing strictly controlled entrances for pedestrians, bicycles, and automobiles, and often characterized by a closed perimeter of walls and fences.

Similar walls and gates have separated quarters of some cities for centuries. Gated communities usually consist of small residential streets and include various shared amenities.

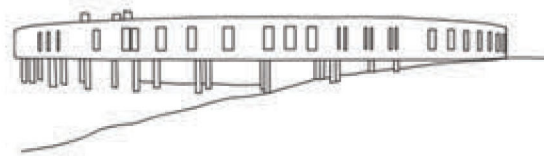


**CASE\_FILE\_ #6 +#12**

Political Grey zone through erasing

.Repatriation Centre 127bis

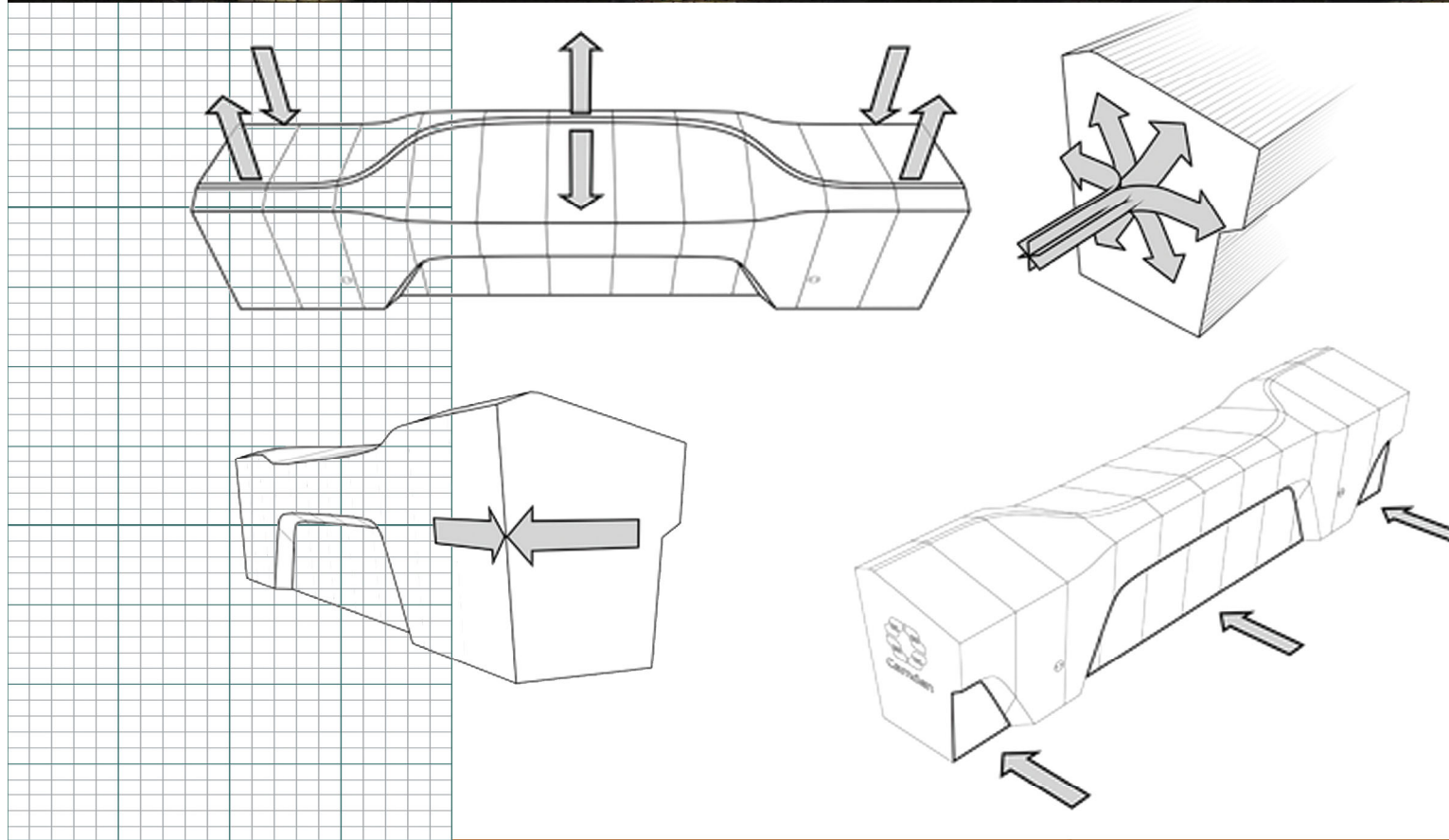
.Gated communities





**James Furzer: Parasitic Architecture**

These lightweight modular parasitic pods come as a reaction to the increasing amount of homeless people in the streets of London. The design for these pods are made on a budget with the material applications being of a variable nature. To allow a material selection with a colour palette similar to that of the intended host building. Allowing the parasite to blend in with its surroundings. These pods are ment to create a simple, warm, dry and comfortable environment for the homeless.



**Hostile Architecture; The Camden Bench**

Unpleasant designs take many shapes, but they share a common goal of exerting some kind of social control in public spaces. They are intended to target, frustrate and deter people, particularly those who fall within unwanted demographics. Of all these unpleasant designs, there is one masterpiece in particular that stands out from the crowd, the Camden Bench. This bench is virtually impossible to sleep on, or even to sit on for long.

Designed by Factory Furniture, the Camden Bench is a strange, angular, sculpted, solid lump of concrete with rounded edges and slopes in unexpected places. Critic Frank Swain calls it the "perfect anti-object."



**Sarah Ross,** meanwhile as a counterreaction to this hostile architecture created a set of 'archisuits', designed to work in and around specific deterrents. For example in one such suit, pads with gaps let the wearer sleep segmented on benches.



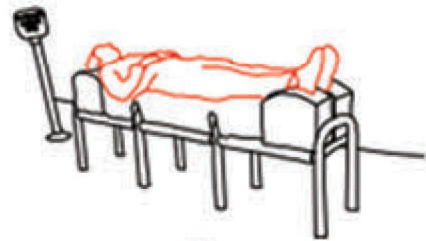
**CASE\_FILE\_ #14 + #18 + #19**

Political gray zone and grey zone  
out of need through erasing

.Parasitic architecture  
Furzer

.Archisuits - Sarah Ross

.Hostile architecture - Camden Bench



- HIGHT: 692M

- UTC

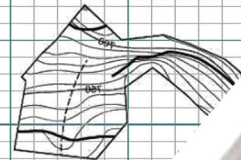
- 46°23'07.7''N 5°53'36.0''E





The tiny house movement is an architectural and social movement that advocates living simply in small homes. There is currently no set definition as to what constitutes as a tiny house.

However, a residential structure under 500 square feet (46m<sup>2</sup>) is generally considered a tiny home. The tiny house movement promotes financial prudence, economically safe, shared community experiences, and a shift in consumerism driven mind-sets.



*Tinyhousesbelgium.be*

Finished: 50.000 - 55.000 euro  
 Casco: 25.000 - 30.000 euro  
 DIY: 20.000 - 25.000 euro  
 Use of the atelier: 400 euro/month

Belgium is behind on the legislation for this movement. The lines of what can and cannot be done are very blurry.



Tiny houses can be made completely off-grid, they can be connected to the grid **but** it is important that they can also be disconnected since they are not seen as a building but as a caravan. A permanent residence cannot be put at the address of a tiny home.

The maximum size is:  
 length: 12m  
 height: 4m  
 width: 2.5m



**Wim Cuyvers** claims his works to be site-specific meditations on public space and architecture more in general. - Expand the view on architecture.

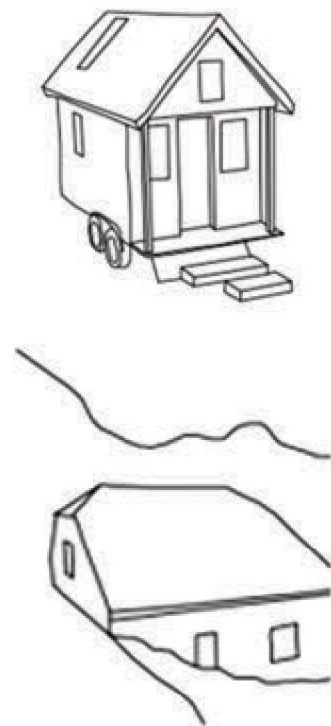
The montavoix refuge is a guarded shelter, which means an open refuge only when the goalkeeper is on site. It is a simple refuge and completely off-grid, no electricity, only two solar panels for minimal led lighting, and no running water (only a source, at a 150m from the refuge). Two dry toilets, wood burning stoves in the kitchen and the dining room, no fridge and two elementary showers (the water is carried from the source and heated in the stove or in sunsacks). Only biodegradable products are allowed and provided.

**CASE\_FILE\_ #5 +#21**

Legal grey zone and grey zone  
out of need through erasing

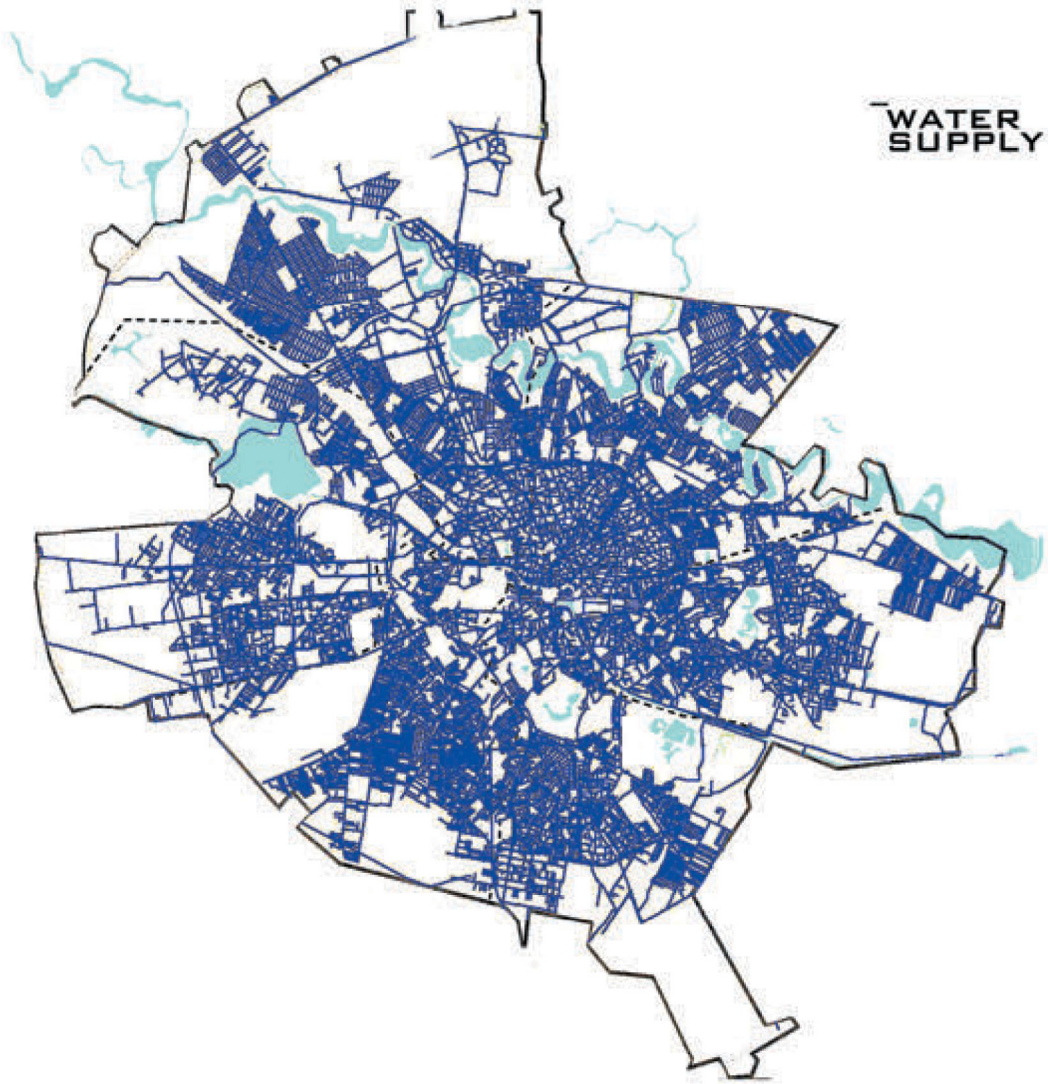
.Tiny House Movement

.Monatvoix - Wim Cuyvers



- AREA: 228KM<sup>2</sup>
- POPULATION: 1.821.380
- DENSITY: 9.237/KM<sup>2</sup>
- UTC+02:00
- 44°25'57''N 26°06'14''E

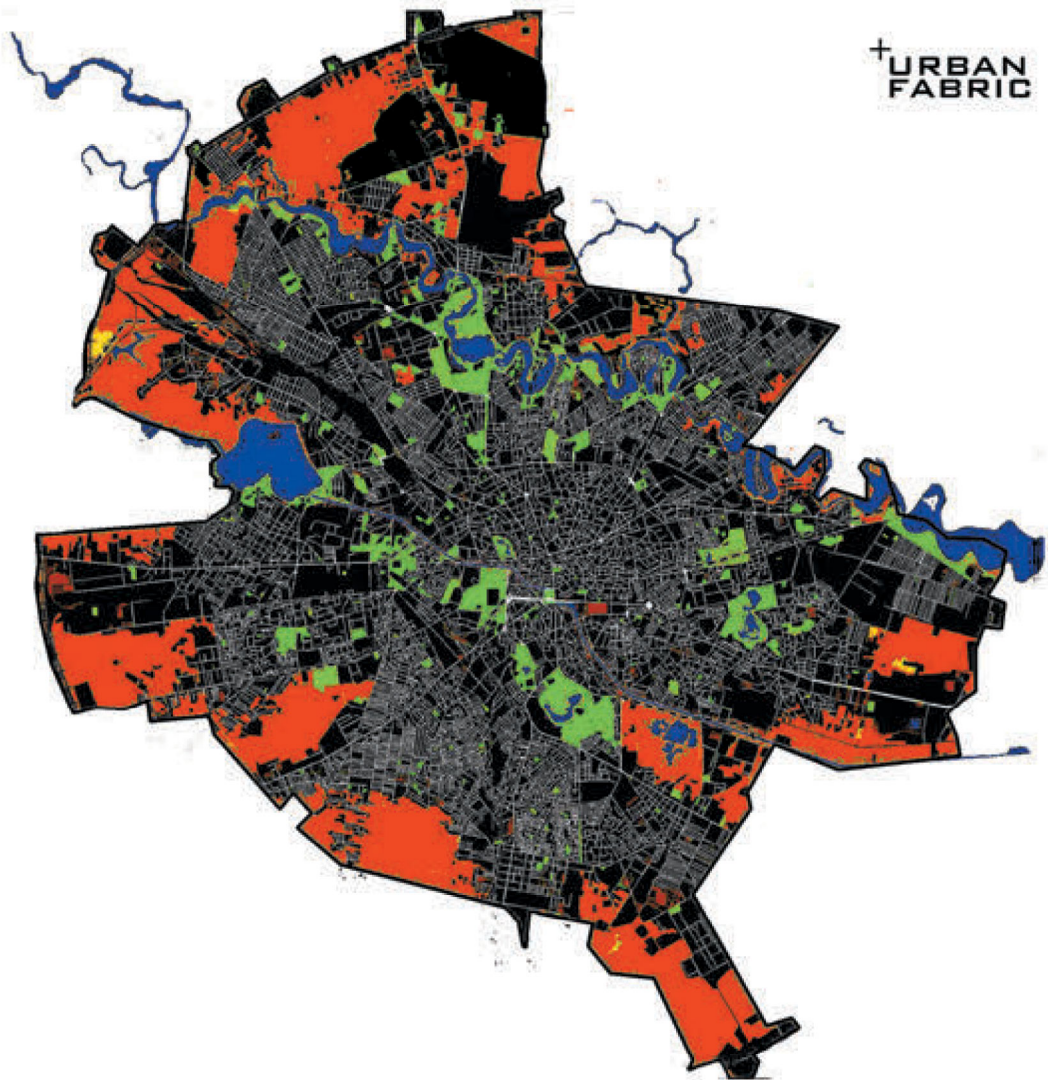




WATER  
SUPPLY



+ URBAN  
FABRIC







Bucharest, the capital of Romania, beneath its beautiful streets is another world, buried there after the fall of Nicolae Ceausescu's brutal stalinist dictatorship (1989) - a world of sewers and forgotten orphans. The sewers are remnants of Ceausescu's grand plan to centrally heat the city. Although this plan didn't work out, the ruined infrastructure gave the orphans a place to live after his rule collapsed and orphanages were shut down due to horrible circumstances. As the country introduced capitalism, life didn't get any better for these people.

An estimated 6,000 homeless people live in the network

Many of the original dwellers have now children by themselves, a **second generation** now calls the sewer system their home



Bucharest isn't the only city where people are forced to live underground due to extreme poverty and a system in crisis. Underneath the glitter and glamour of Las Vegas, there is a 322km long network of flood tunnels where an estimated 1,000 people live. The contrast between the superrich and the ultrapoor couldn't get any clearer. The city ranks 4th when it comes to total homeless population in the US.

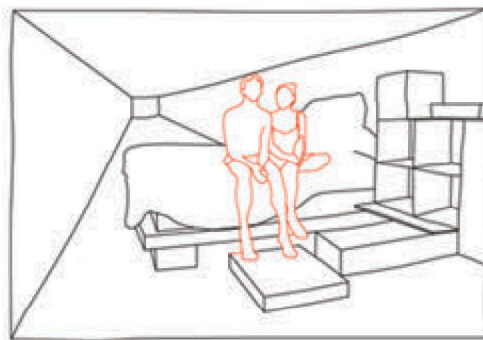


**Bruce Lee**, seen here entering the sewer system, is this underworld's king and primary drug dealer. He keeps the underground supplied with a metallic paint called Aurelac that they inhale to get high and with other synthetic drugs. However, the fearsome orphan and former street-fighter also pays local gangs for protection and protects other young orphans who have fallen through the cracks. Social workers say that Lee protects the youngsters from sexual predators and that junkies are far less likely to die when Lee offers them a warm place to sleep.

**CASE\_FILE\_ #16**

Political grey zone and grey zone  
out of need through erasing and  
evolving

.Sewer dwellers







- The projects of Recetas Urbanas exploit loopholes in civic law to create community gathering space, playgrounds, and other civic amenities which the city is unwilling or unable to provide. Through this work, Recetas Urbanas adds a secondary layer of provocation: by providing these amenities through novel means, the group calls attention to the absence of such amenities, as well as to the fact that subversion is necessary to achieve them. -

## THE ILLEGAL MEASUREMENT AND THE ALEGAL DIMENSION



"The legal nature of some projects relies on loopholes, that is, the absence of a specific regulation or an exact definition within a legal framework. These actions can stimulate a legal change for a further improvement of the juridical framework, or just stay as a transitory step.

We have also assumed extra-legality or non-illegality when we have neither instigated nor required the supervision of the administration for a project's execution.

The concept of 'alegality' applies to occupation strategies carried out by means of neither regulated nor prohibited methods of becoming owner of "things which are ownerless". Unlike legal occupations (adhered to methods in accordance to the law) or illegal occupations (against the law), alegal occupations take advantage of loopholes—areas where the regulation is blurry or does not exist. The texts of legal regulations often oversimplify or limit rights because of their inability to enclose the great variety of real life. Alegality does not mean 'against the law'; it rather goes a step further, displaying possibilities not considered before. This way of acting can finally achieve a change in the legal framework, and so what was initially illegal becomes legal. This process may be called "induced legality" and clearly illustrates the last intention of these transgressions: to get to modify the law.

The most important point of the experience, however, is neither the project itself nor its further actual usage, but the fact that people get organised and learns to think and work by themselves."

Santiago Cirugeda is the founder and principal of Recetas Urbanas (Urban Recipes), a design & advocacy collective of architects, lawyers and social workers based in Seville, Spain. Recetas Urbanas was founded in 2004 to promote the well-being of city residents against a bureaucratic framework that favored investment and development over community life.



In austerity-hit Spain, where the state has retreated and around 500,000 new buildings lie empty, "people are doing things their own way," says Cirugeda. "In times of crisis, people come together to find collective solutions." With his expert knowledge of urban planning legislation, Santiago isn't afraid to "occupy" or squat, abandoned space and use his knowledge of the law to enable community building. "Self-building hasn't been legalised in Spain, so any architect taking on this problem has to take on civil and criminal liability," he says, referring to the logistical issues he faces whilst working on the edges of the law. "Sometimes we do things that are illegal, but we're not doing anyone any harm. On the contrary, we're doing it to benefit more people." The decision to work illegally, means a different approach.





# RECET\_ AS URBAN\_ AS



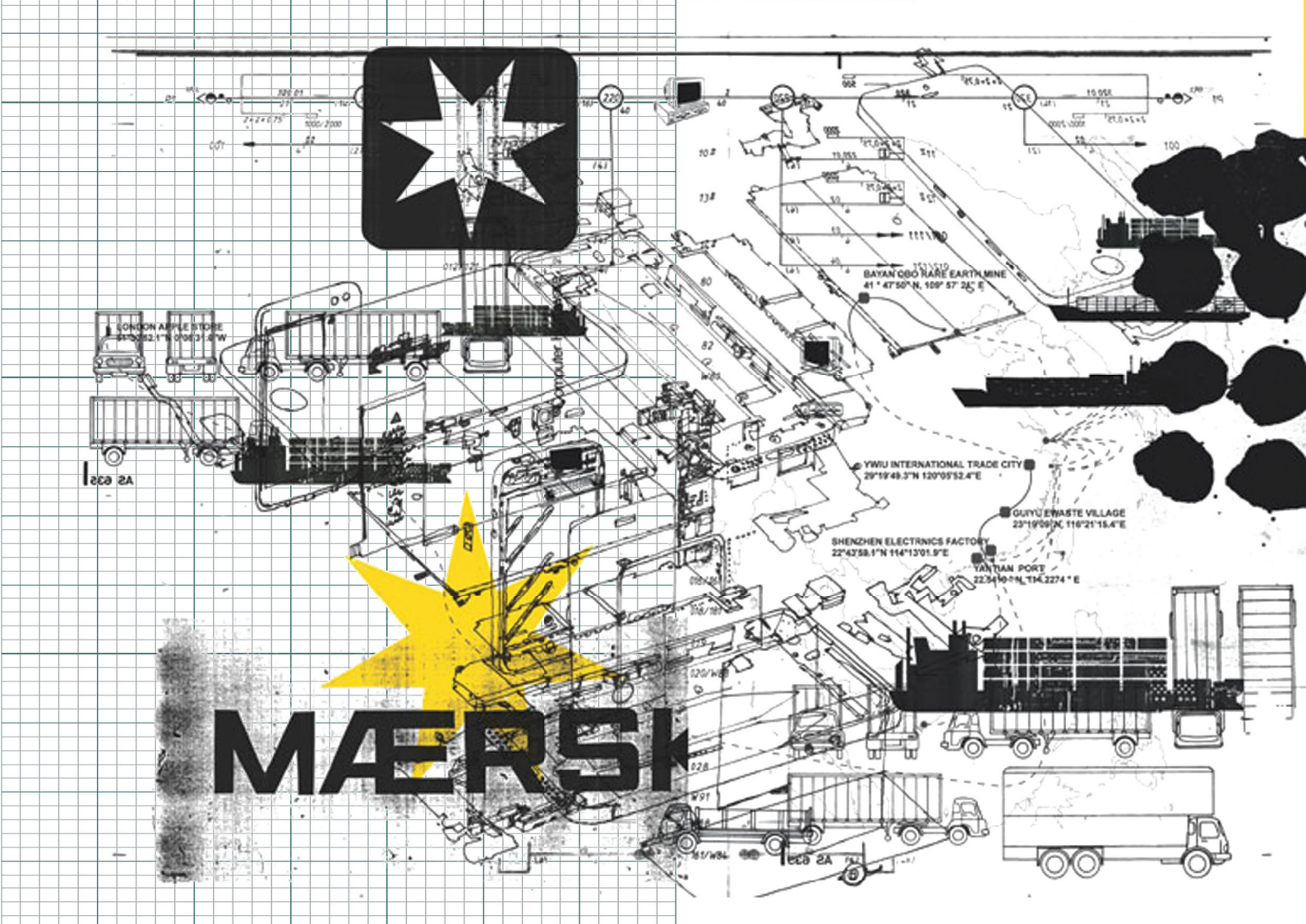
LEGAL AND POLITICAL  
GREY ZONE THROUGH  
REINVENTING





Liam Young// Unknown  
 Fields  
 "There is a need to understand the ignored or unknown in the world of today. To highlight the stories that escape behind an interpreted reality. A need to understand how to act as an architect; to use the tool behind the building."

Unknown is a Fields  
 devision is a nomadic  
 design research studio  
 that ventures out on  
 expeditions to the ends of  
 the earth to bear witness  
 to alternative worlds,  
 alien landscapes,  
 industrial ecologies and  
 precarious wilderness.



These distant landscapes - the iconic and the excavated, irradiated and the pristine, are embedded in global systems that connect them in surprising and complicated ways to our everyday lives.



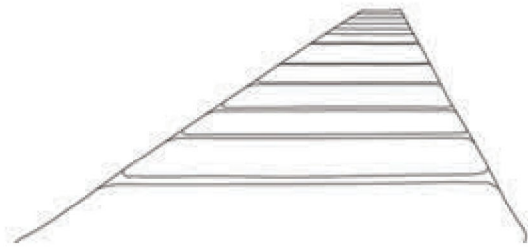
In such a landscape of interwoven narratives, the studio uses film and animation to chronicle this network of hidden stories and re-imagine the complex and contradictory realities of the present as a site of strange and extraordinary futures. The studio is a mix of visionaries and reporters, part documentarians and art science fiction soothsayers. This gives them a distanced viewpoint from which to survey the consequences of emerging environmental and technological scenarios.



**CASE\_FILE\_ #13**

Grey zone Through reinventing

.Unknown Fields - Liam Young





# KOWLOON WALLED CITY

- Hong Kong

Song dynasty  
960 - 1279

Qing Dynasty  
1644 - 1912

1810

1842

1898

1912

1933

1941-1945

military outpost  
to manage the  
trade of salt

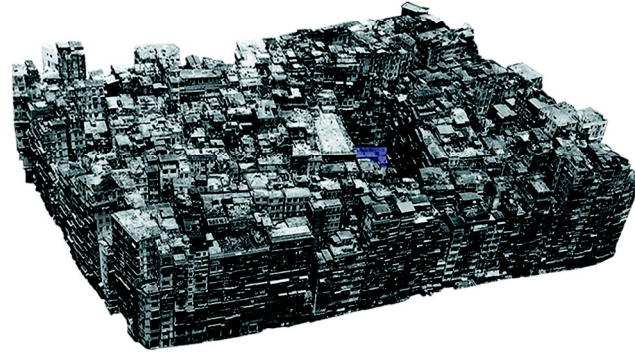


a small  
coastal  
fort is  
built

Hong Kong Island was ceded to Britain by the Treaty of Nanjing (which ended the First Opium war). As a result, the Qing authorities felt it necessary to improve the fort in order to rule the area and check further British influence.

After Japan's surrender in 1945, China announced its intent to reclaim its rights to the Walled City. Refugees from mainland China because of the Chinese Civil War post 1945 poured in to take advantage of British protection (the Walled City was a Chinese territory but surrounded by British land), and 2,000 squatters occupied the Walled City by 1947. After a failed attempt to drive them out in 1948, the British adopted a 'hands-off' policy in most matters concerning the Walled City.

The Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory handed additional parts of Hong Kong (the New Territories) to Britain for 99 years, but excluded the Walled City, which at the time had a population of roughly 700. China was allowed to continue to keep officials there



1987-1994

1960-1980

uncontrolled construction, with many structures being built above older ones. The city becomes **extremely densely populated** and is home to some **50 000 inhabitants**

One prominent example of skirting regulation was the high concentration of dental and medical practitioners operating within **KWC**. In addition to lower rents, doctors who immigrated to Hong Kong from China could avoid expensive licensing and retraining required by the colonial government. Industrial businesses were free to ignore fire, labor, and safety codes to produce goods at a lower cost, or to sell items that were considered taboo in the formal economy (e.g. **restaurants serving dog meat**)

Both Chinese and British governments agree to tear down the Walled City and convert it into a park



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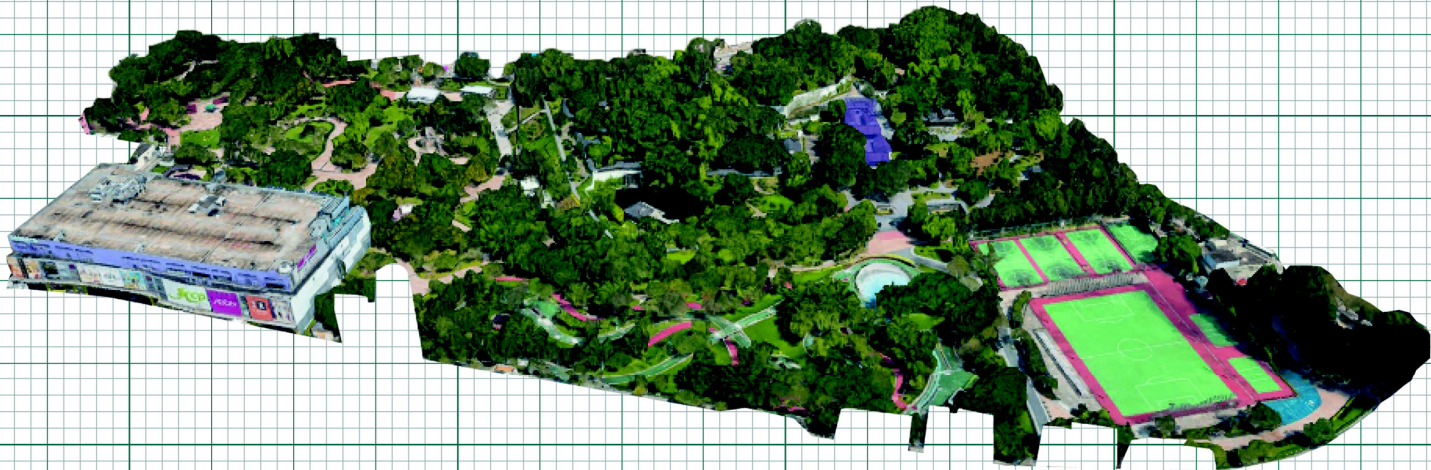
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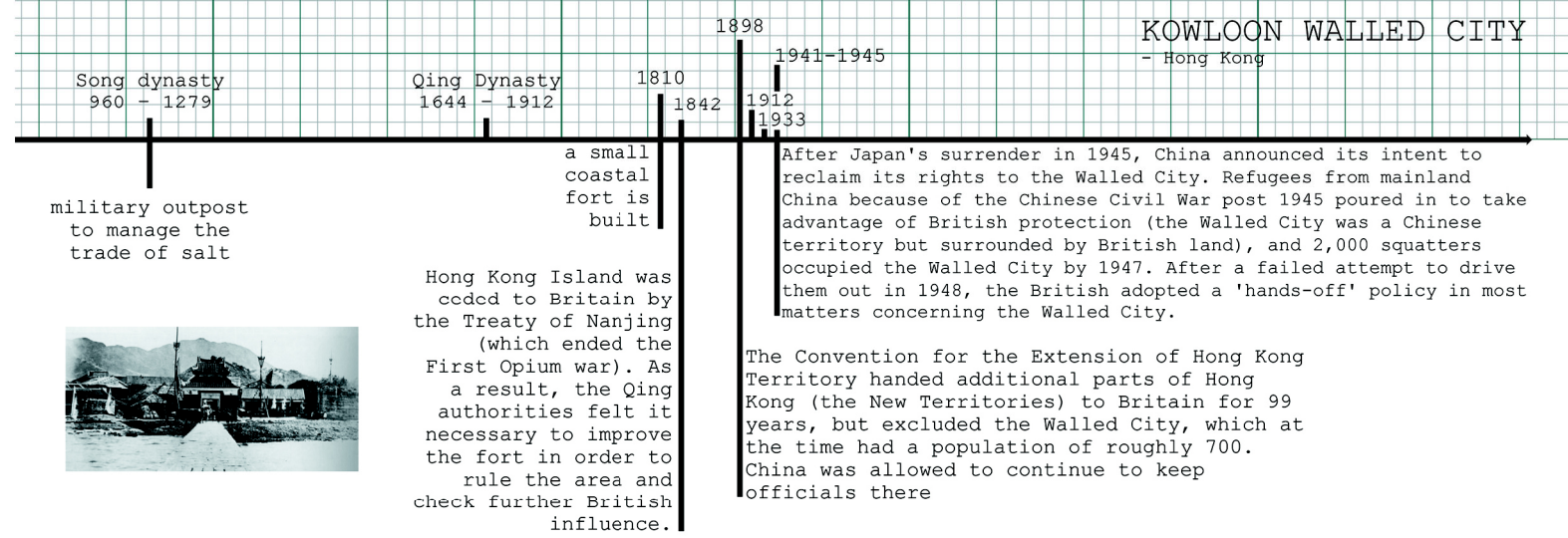
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1950

A fire destroys over 2,500 huts, home to nearly 3,500 families and a total of 17,000 people

1959

With no government enforcement from the Chinese or the British aside from a few raids by the Hong Kong Police, the Walled City became a haven for crime and drugs. It was only during a 1959 trial for a murder that occurred within the Walled City that the Hong Kong government was ruled to have jurisdiction there. By this time, however, the Walled City was virtually ruled by the organised crime syndicates known as triads

**HK**

Triads acted as a de facto city council by resolving civil conflicts, creating a volunteer fire brigade, and organizing garbage disposal. The tight-knit community within the settlement would also coordinate among themselves to conserve electricity and make repairs to shared infrastructure.

九龍寨城

1960-1980

1987-1994

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**KOYU-OPN**  
九龍城



